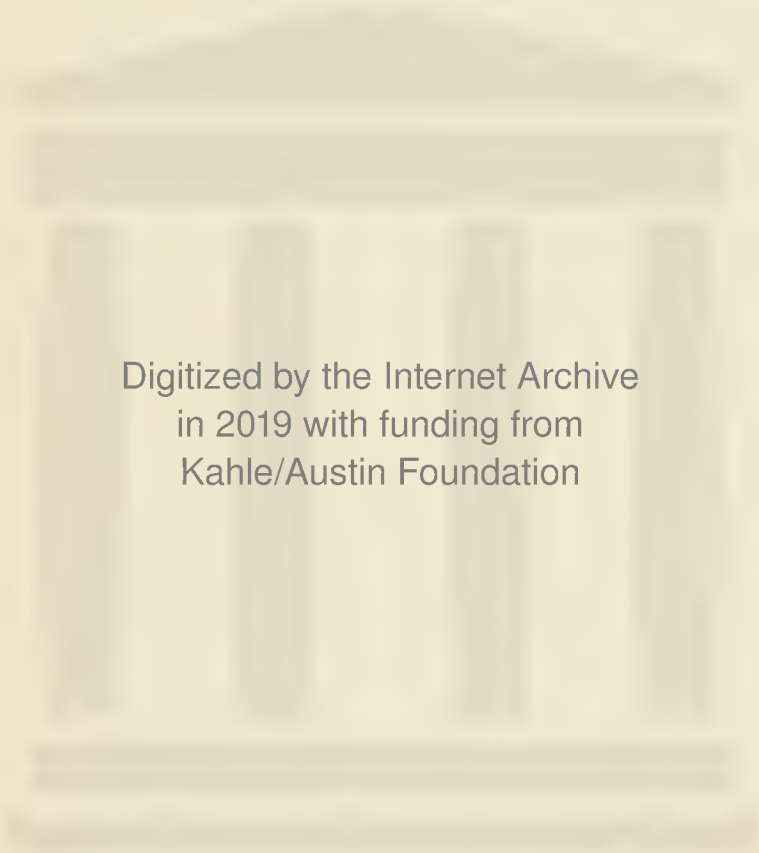


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HISTORY OF THE POPES
VOL. XXXIII

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.-VI. by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.-XXIV. by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory, and Vols. XXV.-XXXIV. by DOM ERNEST GRAF, of Buckfast Abbey. In 34 Volumes.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED BY

DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

MONK OF BUCKFAST

VOLUME XXXIII

CLEMENT XI (1700-1721)

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| <p>BENEVENTO—Archiepiscopal Archives.
 BERLIN—State Library.
 BORDEAUX—Library.
 BREGENZ—Museum Archives.
 BRESCIA—Quirini Library.</p> <p>CARPENTRAS—Library.
 CATANIA—Library.
 CESENA—Communal Library.
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 ERNSTBRUNN—Reuss Archives.</p> <p>FLORENCE—State Archives.
 ——— Marucelliana Library.
 ——— National Library.
 FOSSOMBRONE—Passionei Library.
 FRASCATI—Seminary Archives.
 ——— Seminary Library.</p> <p>GUBBIO—L. Benveduti Library.</p> <p>HOLLESCHAU (Jarmeritz)—Wrbna—Kaunitz Archives.</p> <p>LAIDHOF (Castle) — Sinzendorf Archives.
 INNSBRUCK—Pastor Library.</p> <p>LONDON—British Museum.
 LUCERNE—Archives.</p> | <p>MADRID — Arch. Histórico Nacional.
 ——— Nunciature Archives.
 MILAN—Brera Archives.
 ——— Ambrosiana Library.
 MONTE CASSINO—Library.
 MUNICH—State Archives.
 ——— State Library.</p> <p>NAPLES—Archives.
 ——— National Library.
 ——— Library of the <i>Società di storia patria</i>.</p> <p>ORVIETO—Piccolomini Archives.
 OTTENSTEIN (Castle)—Lamberg Archives.</p> <p>PALERMO—National Library.</p> <p>RAVENNA—State Archives.
 ——— Classense Library.</p> <p>ROME—
 <i>Archives :</i>
 Altieri.
 Boncompagni.
 Briefs, Archives of.
 Dominicans, Archives of.
 Capitol, Archives of.
 Vatican Consistorial Archives.
 Austrian Historical Institute, Archives of.
 Orsini Archives.
 Papal Secret Archives.</p> |
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| Propaganda, Archives of. | TRENT — Library of the episcopal College. |
| Ruspoli Archives. | ——— City Library. |
| Spanish Embassy, Archives of. | TURIN—Archives. |
| Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Archives of. | |
| Theatines, Archives of. | URBINO—Communal Archives. |
| <i>Libraries :</i> | ——— Archiepiscopal Archives. |
| Altieri. | |
| Angelica. | |
| Casanatense. | VENICE—State Archives. |
| Corsini. | VEROLI—Communal Library. |
| S. Pietro in Vincoli. | VICENZA—Bertoliana Library. |
| Sessoriana. | VITERBO—Archives. |
| Vallicelliana. | VIENNA—Lichtenstein Archives. |
| Vatican. | ——— Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. |
| Vittorio Emanuele. | ——— State Archives. |
| | ——— State Library. |
| SALZBURG—Library. | |
| SIMANCAS—Archives. | |
| ST. GALL—Abbey Archives. | |

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CLEMENT XI. 1700-1721.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT XI—HIS ATTITUDE DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE SPANISH WAR OF SUCCESSION—INCREASING TENSION IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD I.

INNOCENT XII.'s advanced age had early claimed the attention of the Cardinals and the ambassadors in Rome¹ and that of the various cabinets of Europe for the next papal election. Preoccupation with the subject became even more acute when his serious illness in November, 1699,² rendered the prospect of his death a proximate possibility. Yet among the Great Powers France was the only one with a definite policy, and this she pursued with energy. Though the Spanish ministers indulged in lengthy discussions, as

¹ The imperial standpoint appears from the “*Vita critica dei cardinali che vivevano circa l'anno 1696” (with supplements up to 1700), *Cod.* I, 4a, 24, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On the Spanish side we have “*Juycio sobre el conclave que devia suceder a la muerte de Innocencio XII.”, *Cod.* III, 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

² *Conjectures politiques sur le conclave de 1700*, Parma, 1700, and the memorials quoted by GALLAND in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 232, to which must be added the detailed “*Report to the Emperor” (ca. 1699), in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, fasc. 5, n. 3343, and “*Reflecciones que conviene tener presentes para el primer futuro conclave”, *Cod.* III., 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, which say of Casanata (d. March 3, 1700): “El card. Casanate es generalmente reputado por muy digno de la Tiara por la edad que sera ya de 70 annos y por la leteratura, celo, comprehension y desinterres.”

a result of the confusion then prevailing at Madrid, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Uzeda, received his instructions too late. The same misfortune befell the Emperor's representative, Count Lamberg.¹ On the other hand, even before the death of Innocent XII., Louis XIV. had dispatched to Rome, on the plea that it was a year of jubilee, the very able Cardinals D'Estrées and Forbin, who were soon followed by Coislin, Arquien and Le Camus. When news came of Innocent XII.'s death, Cardinal Noailles was also sent to Rome with final instructions for the conclave,² but he had not arrived in the Eternal City when the conclave was closed on the evening of October 9th, 1700.³

At the time of Innocent XII.'s death the Sacred College numbered sixty-six members. Out of that number there remained only one Cardinal from the time of Innocent X., three from that of Clement IX., seven from that of Clement X., sixteen from that of Innocent XI., fourteen from that of Alexander VIII., and twenty-five from that of Innocent XII. Fifty-eight out of these sixty-six Cardinals took part in the election,⁴ but they only arrived by degrees: no more than thirty-eight were present at the first ballot.⁵

It was evident from the first that the conclave would be a lengthy as well as an exciting one.⁶ This time the reason

¹ WAHRMUND, *Ius exclusivæ*, 179 seqq.

² *Ibid.*

³ The conclave of Clement XI. has been so extensively described by GALLAND in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 208 seqq., 355 seqq., 596 seqq., that a short synthesis will suffice here. Cf. also EISLER, 178 seqq. " * Pasquinate per la sede vacante d'Innocenzo XII.," in *Cod. XXIV.*, D. 14, Bibl. della Società di storia patria, Naples.

⁴ GUARNACCI, II., 16 seqq.; GALLAND, *loc. cit.*, 616. Portocarrero, Bonsi, Kollonitsch, Radziejowski, Salazar, Fürstenberg, Sousa, and Borgia did not take part in the conclave.

⁵ See the *ballots in *Barb.* 4446, with plan of the conclave, Vatican Library; *Cod.* J. 39, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome; *Cod. Medic.* XCCCV., State Archives, Florence; *Cod.* 42, 5, 18, Communal Library, Veroli.

⁶ **Avviso Marescotti*, October 9, 1700, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

was not the opposition of the various parties, but the fact that the question of the Spanish succession was fraught with so many possibilities of trouble that everything depended on the choice of a personality that would be a match for such perils. The grouping of the parties was accordingly quite simple; one group consisted of the French and the Imperialists, who were implacable opponents, and the other of the "Zelanti" who were inspired by strict ecclesiastical sentiments.¹ The imperial party numbered at first only two members, viz. Medici and Giudice. In November they were reinforced by Cardinals Lamberg and Grimani, dispatched by Leopold I. They were instructed to have Cardinals Panciatici, Carpegna and Acciaoli excluded by the Spanish ambassador, but it was found impossible to carry out such a step.² The French party was numerically the strongest; it was also more compact and united. As Bouillon did not count, by reason of his being out of favour with the court of Paris, it consisted of Cardinals D'Estrées, Forbin, Coislin, Arquien, Le Camus, who experienced no difficulty in preventing a decisive step until Cardinal de Noailles should have arrived.³

The "Zelanti" had agreed to set aside all worldly considerations of nationality, friendship, enmity, kinship, gratitude or interest, and to keep exclusively before their eyes the welfare of the Church. Among the older electors this group comprised Carlo Barberini, Acciaoli and Orsini, as well as ten of Innocent XI.'s Cardinals, viz. Spinola, Mellini, Durazzo, Barbarigo, Petrucci, Colloredo, Pamfili, Negroni, Astalli; they were reinforced by another eighteen who owed their elevation to Innocent XII., namely Morigia, Tanara, Boncompagni, Del Verme, Ferrari, Cenci, Sagripanti, Noris, the younger Spinola, Cornaro, Paolucci,

¹ This grouping of the parties was already foreseen in " *Reflecciones ", etc., Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

² WAHRMUND, 180 *seq.*, where details are also given about the exclusion formulas which were subsequently sent open to Lamberg, with orders to make use of them in case of necessity.

³ GALLAND, 239 *seqq.*

Radolovich, Archinto, Santa Croce, D'Este, Delfino, Sperelli, Gabrielli.¹

A kind of middle position was adopted by the Cardinals of Clement X., viz. Altieri, Carpegna, Nerli, Marescotti, Spada, and by those of Alexander VIII.: Ottoboni, Panciatici, Cantelmi, Adda, Rubini, Costaguti, Bichi, Imperiali, Albani, Omodei and Francesco Barberini. In this group the old abuse of nepotism, by which the Cardinals of the deceased Pope, out of gratitude, completely subordinated themselves to the Cardinal nephew, became operative once more, though Innocent XII.'s Constitution against nepotism achieved at least this much, that on this occasion the influence of the leading nephews was reduced to very small proportions. One section of the centre party took the side of the French, thereby enabling them to offer successful opposition to the "Zelanti".²

As usual the first two weeks were spent in ascertaining, by means of ballots, the intentions and the strength of individual parties; things only became serious when Marescotti was proposed for the papacy. For a while the latter now played a rôle similar to that of Barbarigo at the previous conclave. Marescotti was a devout man, energetic and extraordinarily industrious. He had the strong support of almost all the "Zelanti", but this time also the latter had to reckon with the opposition of the French who wanted as weak a Pope as possible.³ On their part the Imperialists objected to the elevation of Acciaïoli. Ottoboni proposed Panciatici, a most fit candidate, but it was not to be expected that the ambassadors would not oppose a man who, in his capacity as Datarius, had maintained the principle that in the bestowal of benefices that candidate should be supported who was most independent of the princes in whose territory the benefice in question was situate! On the other hand all the secular princes were in favour of Cardinal Morigia who, in the opinion of the "Zelanti", lacked not only administrative experience

¹ *Ibid.*, 248 seqq., 617 seqq.

² *Ibid.*, 356 seqq.

³ Thus G. B. GRAVINA (*Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, Suppl. I. [1898], 127).

but likewise the necessary firmness and energy. After a whole series of *papabili* had thus been eliminated, other personalities such as Costaguti, Orsini, Del Verme and Colloredo came to the front, only to be dropped at once.¹

The situation was further complicated as a result of an encounter of the French ambassador, Louis Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco, with the Roman police. As several of Monaco's men lost their lives in this affray, the Prince demanded from the College of Cardinals so heavy a compensation that it was not possible to grant it. Thereupon Monaco left for San Quirico in Tuscany.²

In this tense situation Cardinal Noailles arrived at length on November 14th, but the hope of a speedy election was not fulfilled, on the contrary, conditions became even more complicated inasmuch as the French Cardinals persisted in their dilatory tactics.³ It was in vain that an attempt was made to persuade Marescotti to remove the Frenchmen's opposition by an appropriate declaration. That excellent Cardinal's answer was that he had come to the conclave to elect a Pope, not to become Pope himself, a thing that had never entered his mind.⁴ The negotiations only got under way when, on November 19th, news reached Rome of the death of Charles II., the last Spanish Habsburg. This news provoked so powerful a commotion that the electors spent a sleepless night. All realized that further delay was impossible.⁵

¹ GALLAND, 356 *seqq.*, 363 *seqq.*; also GRAVINA, *loc. cit.*, 128.

² WAHRMUND, 182 *seq.*; GALLAND, 367 *seqq.*

³ **Avviso Marescotti*, November 20, 1700, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

⁴ Gravina's report in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, Suppl. I., 131.

⁵ Thus Cardinal Lamberg to his cousin, the ambassador (**Diary of Count Lamberg*, Nov. 20, 1700, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). In like manner, Ambassador Lamberg in his **Relazione* of 1701: "Questo infelice avviso funestò gli animi dei cardinali tutti, che ne prevederono le grandi conseguenze ed in quella notte dispensatisi dal sonno vegliarono per tirare a fine sì necessaria e grande opera," State Archives, Vienna.

On November 20th it was rumoured in Rome that Cardinal Albani had been elected in the course of the previous night.¹ The report was premature, but in point of fact out of fifty-eight electors this candidate could count on forty votes. The first suggestion of Albani's election came from the "Zelanti" and it found favour with every party, the only opposition coming from the French, above all from D'Estrées. On the morning of November 20th they dispatched a courier to their ambassador at San Quirico. When word came from the latter that he had no objection to Albani's election, the last obstacle seemed to have been removed. However, Albani persisted in his refusal to consent to the election. As great pressure was being exercised on him, he submitted to four eminent Roman theologians, namely, the Dominican Massoulié, the Jesuit Alfaro, the Franciscan Varese and the Theatine Tomasi, the question whether a Cardinal who felt unequal to the papal dignity could decline with a good conscience a unanimous election. The four theologians replied unanimously that the Cardinal was bound to bow to a unanimous election since otherwise he would be resisting the will of God thus made manifest.² Thereupon Albani yielded at last. On the morning of November 23rd he was unanimously elected. In memory of the Holy Pope and Martyr Clement, whose feast the Church keeps on that day, he took the name of Clement XI.

Gian Francesco Albani was born on July 22nd, 1649, at Urbino,³ where his election was celebrated with splendid

¹ **Avviso Marescotti*, November 20, 1700, *loc. cit.* The enclosure was so badly observed in this conclave that it was a mere formality, says a contemporary. ADEMOLLO, *Suor Maria Pulcheria*, 173.

² LAFITAU, I., 51 *seqq.*; GALLAND, 383 *seqq.*, 622 *seqq.*

³ On Clement XI.'s antecedents, *cf.* the works of POLIDORI, LAFITAU, REBOULET (see Bibliography); NOVAES, XII., 2 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 304 *seqq.*, who rightly criticizes the statements in the **Relazione* of N. Erizzo, quoted by RANKE, III., 209. *Cf.* also the **Report* of O. d'Elce in the Abbey Library, Einsiedeln (*cf.* Vol. XXXII., 571, n. 5, and **Vita critica de' cardinali*, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On the family, see P. E.

festivities.¹ During the pontificate of Urban VIII. his grandfather Orazio, a prominent lawyer, had conducted with the Duke of Urbino the negotiations which led to the devolution of that fief to the Church. As a reward Orazio was given the dignity of a Roman Senator in 1633, and his son Carlo became *Maestro di Camera* to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Carlo chose his wife, Elena Mosca, from a noble family of Pesaro; from this marriage sprang Gian Francesco, the future Pope. Gian Francesco received a most careful education in Rome. He acquired such mastery of the classical languages, as well as of Italian literature, that when only seventeen years old he was able to publish a Latin translation of a Greek sermon of St. Sophronius and other works of this kind.² Three years later he was admitted into the learned Academy of Queen Christine in which he soon played a prominent part. Thoroughly acquainted with classical antiquity, and a poet himself, he was also a skilful impromptu speaker. However, he did not spend all his energies in literary efforts of this kind but devoted himself wholeheartedly to the study of philosophy, theology and law, though he put off for a considerable time the choice of a career.³ He was twenty-eight years old when he entered the Roman prelature. The application to work of which he gave proof as referendary of both *segnaturas* won for him the recognition and the friendship of the celebrated canonist, Cardinal De Luca. As Governor of Rieti, the Sabine province and Orvieto, Albani was able to give proof of his ability as an administrator. On returning to Rome he found a new patron in Cardinal Carlo Barberini

VISCONTI, *Famiglie nobili di Roma*, I., 1 *seqq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 327 *seq.*, 410; on the coat of arms, PASINI-FRASSONI, 46.

¹ " *Allegrezze fatte in Urbino per l'esaltazione al pontificato del card. Albani descritte dal p. Pier Girolamo Vernaccia," Communal Archives, Urbino, III., v., 146.

² NOVAES, XII., 4 *seq.*

³ His rich library in Castello di Imperiali, near Pesaro, was recently sold by Count Castelbarco-Albani to the Catholic University of Washington.

in place of De Luca who had died in the meantime. Barberini obtained for him an appointment as consultor of the consistorial Congregation. Albani once more took his place in the circle of Queen Christine and contracted a close friendship with Angelo Fabroni.¹ When in 1686 the northern queen organized an academic entertainment in honour of the English envoy, Albani delivered the principal speech, at the end of which Christine observed: "We have been listening to Cicero."²

When the important post of a Secretary for Briefs became vacant through the death, in the autumn of 1687, of Cardinal Slusius, Carlo Barberini persuaded Innocent XI. to assign it to Albani.³ Alexander VIII. confirmed him, and Albani won the favour of the new Pope to such an extent that he was made a Cardinal deacon on February 13th, 1690, whilst at the same time retaining the secretariate of Briefs. Rumour had it that three days before the nomination the Pope had dictated to Albani the allocution which he meant to deliver on that occasion. At the end came the names of the newly appointed Cardinals. After the eleventh name the Pope paused for a moment, as if considering who the twelfth should be. "Write down the twelfth," he said at length. "Which, please?" Albani asked. "What!" was the answer, "can't you write your own name?"⁴

Just as Alexander VIII. consulted Albani when there was question of taking steps against the decrees of the Gallican Assembly of 1682, so did Innocent XII. on other important matters, as, for instance, the Bull against nepotism, and lastly in the decision concerning the Spanish succession.⁵ Albani

¹ D'ELCE's *report in Abbey Library, Einsiedeln. Cf. DE BILDT, *Christine de Suède et le Card. Azzolino*, Paris, 1899, XV.

² LAFITAU, I., 23.

³ " *Vita critica," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cardinal Pio *writes on September 27, 1687, on the occasion of the nomination of Albani: "prelato dotato di tante belle qualità che rendono applaudito l'impiego," State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ LAFITAU, I., 26 seq.

⁵ Cf. the present work, Vol. XXXII., 636 seq., 686.

became the most influential person at court and he had the Pope's ear at all times.¹ He made himself worthy of this confidence by his discretion and frankness. He gave proofs of this especially during Innocent XII.'s illness in November, 1699, when he insisted on the Sacred College being consulted on the nomination of Cardinals which took place then.² In his political views Albani leaned towards France, though as a contemporary remarked, without denying his strict ecclesiastical principles³; that is, he stood for good relations with the powerful ruler of France after the latter had dropped his Gallican tendencies.

Albani was one of the youngest members of the Sacred College; he was not even a priest, and he was only ordained in September, 1700.⁴ It was nevertheless generally believed by about the middle of the last decade of the century that he would most probably wear the tiara one day.⁵ All accounts bear witness to his excellent qualifications for such an honour: a blameless life, a dignified appearance,⁶ long experience not

¹ *Relazione di Roma* of N. Erizzo (1702), State Archives, Venice. This *Relazione*, disseminated in many copies—in Rome, Bibl. Altieri and Corsini; Munich, State Library, *Cod. ital.* 80; Salzburg, Studienbibliothek; Vienna, State Library, *Cod.* 5687, 5970, 13917, and State Archives—is printed in CECCHETTI, II., 323 *seqq.* Cf. R. VECCHIATO, *La relazione sulla corte di Roma fatta dall' ambasc. N. Erizzo* (s. l. and s. d.).

² “*Vita critica” in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cf. REBOULET, I., 35 *seqq.*

³ **Relazione D'Elce*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ On November 30, 1700, Clement XI. was consecrated Bishop, on December 8, he was crowned. The taking possession of the Lateran took place on April 10, 1701; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 325 *seqq.*

⁵ D. Contarini in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Relazioni*, Roma, II., 440 *seqq.*, and **Vita critica*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The longish, close-shaven (CANCELLIERI, 327) face with its small, lively black eyes, gives expression to a melancholy gravity. Oil painting by Maratta in the Albani Palace, Urbino. Engraving of Girolamo Rossi (in GUARNACCI, II., 1) after the portrait of Pietro Nelli, and Antonio Odatius' engraving by

only of Canon Law but in all other ecclesiastical branches, as intimate an acquaintance with the political situation as if he had had charge of the most important nunciatures, extraordinary facility in expressing himself both by word of mouth and in writing, untiring application, rare affability and a liberality towards the needy that frequently went beyond his means, whether those in want were Swedish converts or exiled Englishmen.¹ Cardinal Albani, a certain ambassador observed, can refuse nothing ; he accordingly promises more than he can carry out and is unable to satisfy everyone because in his kindness he would wish to help everybody.² His gracious geniality, of which contemporaries have so much to say,³ he shared with his countryman Raphael.

A. V. Nesterhout. Cf. the illustrations given in DRUGULIN (Nos. 3660-3662). Also a contemporary oil painting in the Roman Seminary near the Lateran. Marble bust of Clement XI. in the Sagrestia capitolare of the Duomo of Ferrara and in Rome.

¹ “ *Egli è dottissimo dell’una e dell’altra legge e delle speculative, delle materie ecclesiastiche, delle morali e di belle lettere e d’ogni altra sorte di eruditione. Ha gran cognitione delle materie di stato, notitioso di tutte le corti straniere et è benissimo inteso di tutte le pendenze dell’universo . . .” Favours writers and converts (*cf.* LAFITAU, I., 29 s.), is protector of S. Brigida. “ Egli è applicato e fatigante in sommo grado, di virtù eminente, di gran spirito e di maniere amabilissime, perspicace, accorto, faceto ed obligante al maggior segno et è stato sempre non solo morigerato, ma di santi, prelibati et esemplari costumi, grand’elemosiniere e generoso in tal modo che il grandanimo supera le forze della sua bontà ” (Report of O. D’Elce, Abbey Library, Einsiedeln). *Vita critica (*loc. cit.*) ; “ Egli è versato in molte scienze e particolarmente in belle lettere . . . e talmente adornato delle notizie de’ principi stranieri che ne sa rendere strettissimo conto, come se fosse stato in tutte le nunziature.” A torto i satirici lo dicevano “ corteggiano Romanesco, finto, simulatore ; in realtà è di ottime viscere e pii sentimenti ”.

² *D’Elce, *loc. cit.*

³ “ *La sua bella presenza con quella giovialità di sua natura e quella arte propria di conformarsi al genio di chi egli parla all’uso

But there were limits to his gentleness and goodness, when the interests of the Church were at stake : on such occasions he showed himself a decided adherent of the party of the "Zelanti".

The same dispositions were apparent in the Pope's private life, which was wholly given up to prayer and work. He said Mass daily ; daily also he went to confession. Sleep and food were reduced to the indispensable minimum. His recreation lay in frequent visits to churches and hospitals and in zealously preaching the word of God.¹

The zeal with which Clement XI. applied himself not only to his ecclesiastical functions but to affairs also, could not have been greater.² As he was only fifty-one years old, he believed himself strong enough to deal personally with all important affairs. The number of documents written with his own hand or corrected by him, which are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives or in the Corsini Library, is astonishing. Few Popes have written so much with their own hand and of no Pope do we possess so many autographs.³ Even those who

dell'eco che sempre ripete l'altrui voce senza forma della propria, lo rende sempre amabile a chi che sia." *Ibid.*

¹ Report of Giov. Francesco Morosini, 1707, State Archives, Venice (extract in RANKE, III., 211*) ; LAFITAU, I., 58 seq.

² An *Avviso Marescotti* of December 18, 1700, reports : " Il Papa aveva una febbre leggera ; credesi cagionatagli dalla grand' applicatione che mette negl' affari, de' quali non traspirano le determinazioni, mentre opera senza l'intiera confidenza d'alcuno, scrivendo di proprio pugno e passeggiando con la penna in mano va notando secondo si ricorda." Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

³ The greater part of these autographs are preserved in the large collection **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, Papal Secret Archives ; others are in the Bibl. Corsini, Rome. The former were especially utilized by Pometti, the latter by Sentis (141 seqq.). Numerous other materials are in the Bibl. Albani, Urbino, which, unfortunately, is inaccessible, on which cf. E. GHERARDI, *Guida di Urbino*, Urbino, 1890, III seqq. ; E. CALZINI, *Urbino*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1897, 125 seq. ; MAZZATINTI, *Inventari*, 73 seqq.

were not otherwise in sympathy with him have paid tribute to the beauty of his style.¹

For his Secretary of State Clement XI. made choice of Cardinal Fabricio Paolucci, a most able man and one wholly devoted to him. The sculptor Pietro Bracci has perpetuated the noble and shrewd physiognomy of Paolucci.² Cardinal Sagripanti became *Datarius*; he was a man who conscientiously carried out the duties of his office and kept aloof from politics. The remaining offices of importance were bestowed on men with whom the Pope was best acquainted and on whose devotion he could rely.³ His kinsman Fabio degli Abati Olivieri became Secretary of Briefs, Ulisse Giuseppe Gozzadini Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Curzio Origo Secretary of Memorials, Guido Passionei Secretary of the Cypher, Gian Domenico Parracciani Auditor, Tommaso Ruffo *Maestro di Camera*, Carlo Colonna *Maggiordomo*, Giovanni Maria Lancisi personal physician. As Secretaries of Latin Briefs Clement XI. was served by Zeccadoro, who was assassinated in 1702, and after him by Agostino Favoriti, Giovanni Christoforo Battelli of Urbino, Domenico Rivera, and lastly Gian Vincenzo Lucchesini.⁴

¹ A *letter of Louis XIV. to Cardinal De la Trémoille of September 13, 1706, says: "Le Pape croit trop souvent que sa principale force consiste dans ses lettres mais quelque talent qu'il ait pour les composer avec éloquence, la persuasion n'est pas attachée à la beauté du style." Copy in State Archives, Vienna.

² Bust in the sacristy of S. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome; Tomb in S. Marcello; see V. DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 11 seqq.

³ See report of N. Erizzo in CECCHETTI, II., and that of Lorenzo Tiepolo of 1712, State Archives, Vienna; extract in RANKE, III., 214*. Cf. POMETTI, XXI., 315 seqq.

⁴ NOVAES, VII., 14 seqq. Cf. MORONI, XLIX., 118; LXIII., 272; *ibid.*, LXI., 135 seqq.; 269 seqq., on the successors of T. Ruffo and C. Colonna, created Cardinals in 1706. On Lancisi, see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 328; A. BACCHINI, *La vita e le opere di G. M. Lancisi*, Roma, 1920; *Per G. M. Lancisi nel II. centenario dalla sua morte*, in *Giornale di medicina militare*, LXVIII. (1920), 541-642.

Clement XI. kept himself free from all nepotism. His brother Orazio was obliged to live as a private individual and was not permitted to meddle with affairs or to accept presents. Orazio's sons, Annibale and Carlo, who studied at the Roman College, had to be treated exactly like the other students.¹ Only after Annibale had been employed on various diplomatic missions did he receive the red hat on December 23rd, 1711, at the joint request of the Cardinals. Many had hoped to gain influence over the Pope through his nephew, but Clement XI. thwarted their expectations.² In 1719 Annibale obtained the dignity of a Camerlengo rendered vacant by the death of Spinola, from which, however, in strict compliance with the Bull of his predecessor, Clement XI. severed the more important revenues.³ When the post of a Marshal of the Conclave became vacant through the extinction of the Savelli in 1712, it was generally expected that Carlo Albani would obtain the office, but the Pope bestowed it on Agostino Chigi, whose family enjoys this high dignity to this day.⁴

¹ “*Portatosi mercoledì a sera D. Oratio Albani fratello del Papa con li figli al bacio del piede, vi si trattenne più d'un'ora, servendo le cordiali espressioni di sole parole dalla S. S., imponendogli per altro di non prender donativi nè trattamenti, ma riflettere ch'essendo nati poveri signori si contentassero dello stato medesimo sotto pena della sua disgratia, dicendo a' nipoti, che havevano perso il card. Albani loro zio, ma che haverebbero un Clemente XI. amatore delle virtù, al che D. Alessandro il minore soggiunse: ma non potrà negare la S. S. d'essere nostro zio, et a' questi accenti non potè S. B. tener le lagrime per tenerezza. Oltre di ciò fatto chiamare il Generale de' Giesuiti, ordinò N. S., che non fosse distinto dagl'altri convittori del Seminario Romano D. Annibale Albani suo nipote. Con altrettanta obbedienza vengono adempiti gl'ordini del Papa dal sudetto D. Oratio, havendo ricusata l'offerta fattagli dal card. Barberino del suo palazzo al Monte della Pietà, come anco diverse cedole e donativi di somma consideratione mandatigli da altri principi.” *Avviso Marescotti*, November 27, 1700, *loc. cit.* Cf. REBOULET, I., 49 *seqq.*

² *Report of Lorenzo Tiepolo of 1712, State Archives, Vienna, extract in RANKE, III., 214*.

³ *Opera*, Orat., 157.

⁴ NOVAES, 283 *seqq.*

During the whole of a pontificate of twenty-one years the Albani received not one scudo from the Pope. On the other hand it became known after the death of Clement XI. that his alms from his own patrimony had been on a most generous scale, and that they amounted to a million scudi, a sum which he might have devoted with a good conscience to his own family.¹

Dispositions such as these justified the hope of a happy pontificate. If that hope was not fulfilled, it was due to the circumstances of the time, though not exclusively so, because, notwithstanding his other excellent qualities, in political questions Clement XI. was too distrustful of himself to come rapidly to any firm decision, or to carry it through once he had arrived at it.²

At the very beginning of his pontificate Clement was made to feel that the tiara would be for him a crown of thorns.

On All Saints' Day of the year 1700 the death took place of King Charles II. of Spain, the last male descendant of Charles V. His will, dated October 3rd, named as heir to the undivided Spanish monarchy, in the first instance, Duke Philip of Anjou, son of the Dauphin and nephew of Louis XIV.,

¹ *Report of Andrea Corner of 1724, State Archives, Venice. Extract in RANKE, III., 215*. " *Va S. B. così sempre esercitando qualche opera di pietà e di edificazione, servendo anche frequentemente alla mensa de' poveri, che in numero di tredici sono quotidianamente alimentati con gran liberalità a spese pontificie nel Palazzo Apostolico " (*Avviso Marescotti*, May 15, 1701, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele di Roma). " *Havendo il Papa saputo, che Don Annibale suo nipote facesse li giorni passati una perdita considerabile nel gioco, è stato da S. S. ripreso, e per digerire la correptione fattagli, si è messo a fare gli esercitii spirituali, sperandosi che per obedire lascerà quel volume, che invola il sonno et il senno, l'oro et il decoro " (Lamberg, February 2, 1704, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein).

² Lafitau, who certainly is an impartial witness, says (II., 288) that was the only defect of the Pope. " Bevor des Pabsten worth und wärk zusammen stimmen, allezeith eine grosze Zeit erfordert wird," *wrote the imperial ambassador Gallas to Sinzendorff on March 9, 1715 (Sinzendorff Archives, Castle Jaidhof).

and in the event of Philip being unable to accept, his younger brother, the Duc de Berry, and only in the last instance, the Archduke Charles of Austria, the Emperor's younger son. A clause insisted on the crowns of France and Spain being kept separate.

The news of Charles' will and its acceptance by Louis XIV. was hailed with joy throughout Spain, for it seemed that the disruption of the Spanish monarchy could only be prevented if a Bourbon took up the succession, and if Spain leaned upon powerful France, the sister nation. No one moved a finger in favour of Archduke Charles. Philip of Anjou was able to take possession of the Spanish throne without meeting with the slightest opposition, and he was recognized as King Philip V. by most of the European Powers, among them the Pope who sent him a letter of congratulation on February 6th, 1701.¹

The only opposition came from the Emperor Leopold I., who resolved to force a decision with the sword. He lodged a solemn protest against Charles II.'s will, and in the first

¹ BUDER, I., 147 *seqq.* The impossibility of not recognizing Philip V. is justly stressed by Pometti (XXI., 313). When later on, especially in 1708, Clement XI. was accused of having acted too hastily, and by his recognition having thrown the full weight of his authority into the scales of the House of Bourbon, the writers who took up the pen in favour of Clement XI. pointed to the state of affairs then existing. "The testament of Charles II., which appointed the Duke of Anjou, had been received in Spain with universal rejoicing and without any opposition by the nobility and the people, by the clergy and the laity. All Spaniards had done homage to the new King, Philip V. To this universal wish of the Spanish nation the Pope had also to give his assent. By his recognition, which was confined to Spain, the Pope had done no wrong to anyone" (from the *Romana*, 1708, State Archives, Vienna, in KLOPP, IX., 57). According to Lamberg's report to the Emperor, December 31, 1700, Clement XI., in recognizing Philip V., was influenced by the fear that Spain would break off relations with Rome, when the Curia would lose the large income of the Dataria and so would suffer "irreparable loss". State Archives, Vienna.

weeks of 1701 he began to raise an army for the purpose of invading the territory of Milan in the first instance. To enable him to confront the united forces of France and Spain Leopold looked for allies. Bavaria, Cologne and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, however, sided with France, whilst Hanover took the side of the Emperor. Of great importance for the latter was the circumstance that he succeeded in persuading the powerful Elector Frederick of Brandenburg to lend him assistance. On January 18th, 1701, Frederick had assumed the title of King of Prussia; the Emperor won him over by recognizing him as such. Leopold experienced greater difficulty in inducing the naval Powers, England and Holland, to espouse his cause. However he succeeded, inasmuch as the King of France, strengthened and emboldened by his recent successes, played into the Emperor's hands. Louis' occupation of the frontier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands led to the triumph of the war party at the Hague, as did the setting aside of the clause in Charles II.'s will which forbade the union of France and Spain under one sovereign. A complete revulsion of public feeling took place in England also. On September 7th, 1701, the Emperor, England and Holland concluded at the Hague the so-called "Grand Alliance", for the purpose of securing for the Emperor an equitable and just compensation for his claims to the Spanish inheritance and for the two maritime Powers adequate security for their territorial possessions and for their trade and their ships. As neither of the two groups of States was adequately equipped, the outbreak of the great war was delayed for a time.¹

The Pope's attitude in the face of these perilous developments was conditioned by his twofold capacity as Head of the Church and as an Italian prince. In the former capacity he was resolved to act as the common father of Christendom by doing his best to avert war by means of peaceful mediation. Should he fail in this respect his policy as an Italian prince would be, in the first instance, to avert the calamity of a war from Italy.

¹ Cf. IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 189 seqq.

At the very beginning of the troubles, that is at the end of December, 1700, Clement XI. had dispatched couriers to the Emperor, the King of France and the Government of Madrid with peace exhortations and an offer of mediation. Before the year was out he also wrote to the Dukes of Mantua, Modena and Parma, urging them to remain neutral.¹

For the rôle of a mediator the first prerequisite was strict neutrality, but it was precisely such an attitude that was exceedingly difficult, more particularly for the Pope, because the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in which Philip V.'s rule had been proclaimed without opposition, was a fief of the Church having a common frontier with the Papal States, so that it was possible to exercise the utmost pressure upon Rome from Naples.² In whose favour was the Pope to decide seeing that both Philip V.'s ambassador and the Emperor's representative, Count Lamberg, demanded the investiture of Naples and Sicily for their respective Sovereigns? On the one hand Clement XI., according to Erizzo, the Venetian ambassador, was afraid of the power, the boldness and the pride of the Germans, whilst on the other hand he feared the frivolity, the presumption and the violence of the French, but above all their Gallican principles. Accordingly he did his utmost to avoid having to come to a decision, a policy with which he satisfied neither party.³

As a preliminary condition of his acceptance of papal mediation Leopold had demanded that until a juridical decision should have been reached, Naples, Milan and the

¹ *Opera*, Epist., 14 *seqq.*; BUDER, 137 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI. 318 *seq.*

² In a *Report to the Emperor, of June 30, 1703, Lamberg, expresses himself thus: "Chi sarà padrone del regno di Napoli, sarà sempre da Roma considerato il più formidabile, perchè il regno è alle porte di Roma e i 'preti' vogliono avere pace in casa loro. Se si serra la porta dell'Abbruzzo, Roma resta senza carne, se quella della Puglia, Roma si trova senza oglio, e così in molte altre cose Roma si rovina senza il commercio del regno." Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

³ KLOPP, IX., 58; POMETTI, XXI., 319 *seqq.*, 453 *seq.*

Netherlands should be surrendered to a third party.¹ Louis XIV. rejected the suggestion and in January, 1701, he ordered his troops to advance into Milanese territory. Clement XI. strove in vain to prevent the Emperor from confronting the French in Upper Italy; he had to deem himself fortunate in having secured a promise that Parma, a fief of the Holy See, would not be touched by his troops.²

In view of the fact that as a Cardinal Clement XI. had counselled Charles II.'s will,³ that at first Philip V. encountered no opposition in the Spanish territories, that both the Catholic and the Protestant allies of the Emperor recognized him as King of Spain,⁴ it was scarcely possible for the Pope not to act in like manner. From Philip V. he received nothing but ingratitude in return,⁵ but above all he came into conflict with

¹ KLOPP, IX., 62.

² POMETTI, XXI., 322 *seq.*

³ Cf. the present work, Vol. XXXII., 686.

⁴ These reasons are set forth in a document compiled on the occasion of Prié's negotiations in 1708; "**Giustificazione della condotta del Sommo Pontefice tenuta col ser. Re di Spagna Carlo III.*," State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*.

⁵ Already on April 15, 1701, Philip V. wrote a *letter to Clement XI. in which he communicated to him the deposition of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Baltasar de Mendoza, Bishop of Segovia, who had received this post on October 31, 1699. This action, as also the order that the Council of the Inquisition should henceforth proceed with full papal powers, as when the Inquisitor was absent, justly roused Clement XI.'s resentment, for the reports about the piety of the Spanish king had led him to hope that Philip V. would make amends for the many violations of the rights of the Church committed by the Spanish Government (Paolucci to the Spanish nuncio, March 20, 1701, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 359, Pap. Sec. Arch.). All the complaints and all the efforts of the Pope for the rehabilitation of Mendoza were unsuccessful. Clement XI. took an all the more serious view of the matter, as he did not wish to see the Holy See robbed of its supreme authority in the most important concern of the Church, namely, in the domain of the faith (Paolucci *to the Spanish nuncio, April 2, 1702, *loc. cit.*). However, he did not obtain the reinstatement of Mendoza. On March 24, 1705, Clement XI. appointed

the Emperor. The question of the investiture of Naples and the incompatibility of the respective demands of the two parties, the Franco-Spanish on the one side and the imperial on the other, further aggravated the difficulty of his position. In these circumstances Clement XI. sought before all else to gain time and meanwhile to improve the conditions of the investiture in his favour.

His first step was to appoint a special Congregation of Cardinals for the purpose of studying the question of the fief of Naples.¹ Resentment at the imperial court grew still further when on April 16th, 1701, Clement XI. issued a sharp protest against the assumption of the royal crown by the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, a protest which the Pope chiefly justified by the fact that the new title referred to Prussia and Prussia was the property of an Order of which the Church had been deprived.² This fact had been overlooked

the Bishop of Ceuta Grand Inquisitor of Spain. In August, 1705, he exhorted him to defend the independence of his tribunal against the encroachments of the secular power (*Opera*, Epist., 287). On August 17, 1709, the new Inquisitor-General, the Archbishop of Saragossa, received similar exhortations (*ibid.*, 623), which he carried into effect (*ibid.*, 671). After his death, Philip V. would have liked to have seen the Bishop of Cuenca appointed to the post (*Letter of September 8, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 359, *loc. cit.*); Clement XI., however, appointed Cardinal Giudice (*ibid.*); particularly painful to him were the very numerous encroachments of the Spanish Government in Naples. The expulsion of the Archbishop of Sorrento led to a serious conflict in which, however, the Pope was finally victorious (BELMONTE, II., 60 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 241 *seqq.*; *cf.* POMETTI, XXI., 384, 388). With what obstinacy the encroachments of the civil power continued in Naples appears from the *Letters to the Spanish nuncio, 1705-6, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.*

¹ Lamberg's *Diary, April 9, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein; LANDAU, 65; POMETTI, XXI., 323; BUDER, I., 203 *seq.*

² Briefs of protest, April 16, 1701, to the Emperor and the Catholic Powers in *Clementis XI. Opera*, Epist., 43 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 3 *seq.*, the protest made in the consistory of April 18, 1701. According to LEHMANN (I., 379), the cause of the conduct of

by the Emperor because he was in need of the Brandenburg's military help against Louis XIV. The Holy See, which had repeatedly and expressly protested against the secularization of Prussia, felt that it could not omit a protest, all the more so as according to the report of Bishop Zaluski of Ermland, the imitation of the Catholic ritual at the coronation constituted an insult to the Catholic religion.¹ The publication of the protest against the Prussian kingship, which France persistently demanded, only took place after considerable hesitation. This hesitation shows how anxious the Pope was to avoid anything that might create an impression that he was in Louis XIV.'s service and for that reason was not a suitable mediator; only when war became inevitable did the consideration hitherto observed towards the Emperor appear superfluous.² The Imperial ambassador

Clement XI. was his disappointment at Frederic I. not passing over to the Catholic Church, whilst ZIEKURSCH (*Festgabe für Heigel* [1903], 371) sees in it a measure of purely theoretical significance which was a necessary result of his former conduct towards the secularization of Prussia. On the other hand, HILTEBRANDT (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 340) shows that there can be no question of a projected campaign on the part of the Curia for the conversion of the Prince of Brandenburg, as Lchman and Ziekursch suppose. On the other hand, Hiltebrandt rejects FRIEDENBURG's statement (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXXVII., 416 seqq.), that Clement XI. had acted not on his own initiative, but solely at the instigation of France. Hiltebrandt draws attention to the fact that the Curia counted very little on the prospect of a conversion of the prince, and that it remained neutral even after the news had arrived that the coronation was imminent, and that it came out of its reserve only after it had got thoroughly acquainted with all the facts. After that, on January 29, 1701, and again on February 19, the nuncios in Warsaw and Vienna received instructions to condemn Frederic I.'s step. Eight days later the Briefs of protest were promulgated; they appeared, however, only a month and a half later, in consideration of a strictly impartial conduct necessary for the peace negotiations (*loc. cit.*, 341-354).

¹ HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 355.

² *Ibid.*

Lamberg nevertheless stuck to his preconceived notion that Clement XI.'s attitude was wholly Francophile. This was to misjudge completely the Pope's intentions and aspirations. His chief preoccupation was, if it was impossible to save peace, at least to preserve Italy from the horrors of a war in which the Papal States, in consequence of their weakness, would be exposed to the gravest peril. Despite all his efforts Clement XI. failed to realize this aim; his plan to unite all the Italian States in a league of armed neutrality for the purpose of common defence was quickly found incapable of execution. His attempt to restrain Vittorio Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, from entering into an alliance with the French failed, as did his efforts to secure the neutrality of strongly fortified Mantua. Already at the beginning of March, 1701, Clement XI., whilst insisting on the greatest secrecy being preserved, had urged on the Venetian ambassador the necessity of the occupation of that fortress by Venetian and papal troops. "This is our last effort," he announced, "for the preservation of our independence and our position as a mediator in our capacity as common father of Christendom, and as such raised above every party." This plan also was defeated by the hesitation of Venice. Won over by French gold, the degenerate Duke of Mantua, Ferdinand Charles, surrendered his capital to the troops of Louis XIV. on April 5th after a semblance of a siege.¹

The surrender of Mantua, the key to Upper Italy, to the French, obliged the imperialists to revise all their war plans in that district. With the occupation of the fortress of Verona and other passes, the French imagined their position to be absolutely secure; to get through, the imperial troops would

¹ Besides LANDAU, 85 *seqq.*, cf. KLOPP, IX., 248 *seqq.*, and especially POMETTI, XXI., 318 *seqq.*, 333 *seqq.*, 338 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 357 *seqq.*, a fitting criticism of the report of the Venetian ambassador, Erizzo, which up to now has been only too readily accepted. Pometti rightly calls it a "continua e costante denigrazione del Papa e della corte di Roma", and he shows that Erizzo often completely misrepresents facts. See also VECCHIALO in *Atti dell' Accad. di Padova*, VIII., 2 (1892).

have to turn into birds, Louis XIV.'s Roman adherents used to say¹; hence when at the end of May that man of genius, Prince Eugene, nevertheless appeared before Verona, after having found a way for his troops through pathless valleys and over steep mountain peaks,² the Gallo-Spaniards of Rome grew exceedingly anxious, and they pressed more urgently than ever for Philip V.'s investiture with the fief of Naples. On May 27th Clement XI. had complained to Count Lamberg that the French and the Spaniards subjected him to a real martyrdom. In their opinion he was Spain's greatest enemy and encouraged the malcontents at Naples and that this was the only reason why he delayed the investiture. However, he had told both parties that he could not decide without also hearing the other side; the members of the Congregation of inquiry were impartial men; nothing would be rushed.³ The day after this conversation Lamberg reported to the Emperor that the Pope had expressed the hope that the imperial arms would free him from the tyranny of the French.⁴

Such sentiments are intelligible enough if we bear in mind the conduct of the Spanish ambassador Uzeda towards Clement XI. If the investiture of Naples was not granted by the end of the month, the ambassador announced in mid-July, his sovereign would look upon it as a refusal. Clement XI. replied that up till then he had expressed neither consent nor refusal, but that he had appointed a Congregation of learned and conscientious Cardinals to study the claims of the Emperor. Uzeda interrupted him with the remark: "Why the Emperor? Why the Cardinals? We neither recognize

¹ Lamberg's report of June 2, 1701, in KLOPP, IX., 253.

² WETZER, *Die Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, 1st series, III., Vienna, 1876, 143 seqq.; ERBEN in *Mitteilungen des Österr. Instituts*, XXXVIII.

³ Lamberg's *Diary, May 27, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

⁴ According to Lamberg's *Diary these were the words of the Pope: "Iddio faccia che le armi imperiali facciano un buon colpo per liberarci dalla tirannia de' Francesi." *Ibid.*

the Emperor as a party in this affair nor the Cardinals as judges." The Pope replied that though the ambassador refused to recognize the Cardinals as judges, he himself deemed it necessary to ask for their advice and to follow it.¹

Since Clement XI. remained firm in spite of the insistence of the Gallo-Spaniards,² the latter sought to secure Philip V.'s investiture by surprise. It was a long-standing custom that on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul a richly caparisoned white mule (*la Chineza*) and the sum of 7,000 scudi were solemnly offered to the Apostolic Camera by way of a feudal tribute. The Duke of Uzeda and Cardinal Forbin, as representing Spain and France, begged to be allowed to carry out this ceremony, it being understood that by granting the request the Pope would have decided in favour of Philip V. At the same time Count Lamberg requested permission to pay tribute for Archduke Charles. As was to be expected, the Pope refused to receive any kind of tribute; at the same time he issued a statement to the effect that the omission of the tribute would not prejudice either party. This did not stop Uzeda from carrying out his plan. He ordered an emaciated cart horse to be taken secretly to the Vatican and to be caparisoned there, after which he pretended to offer the *chineza* to the Camerlengo with a draft for 7,000 scudi. When the Camerlengo declined the presentation, Uzeda's representative lodged a protest, but left behind both the nag and the draft.³ This curious incident provided the Romans, with their keen sense of the ridiculous, with an occasion for countless jokes,⁴ but out of Rome it was widely interpreted as a decision in favour of the Emperor. Much more tangible results were produced by the victorious advance

¹ Lamberg's report of June 18, 1701, in KLOPP, IX., 298.

² Cf. Paolucci's *letter to the Spanish nuncio, June 26, 1701, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 383, Pap. Sec. Arch.

³ Cf. LANDAU, 67 *seqq.*; KLOPP, IX., 300 *seqq.*, after Lamberg's reports; POMETTI, XXI., 353.

⁴ " Il riso e deriso era universale e si sentì una voce che disse essere quella la figura e ritratto della monarchia di Spagna." Austrian **Avviso*, July 2, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

of Prince Eugene in Upper Italy. On July 9th the French suffered a complete defeat near Carpi, and after that battle they were forced to abandon position after position.

During the night of July 3rd, 1701, news reached Rome of the entry of the imperial troops into the territory of Ferrara. Such a step infringed papal neutrality, whilst it was at variance with all the promises hitherto given ; it roused the Pope's indignation.¹ On July 3rd, 1701, Clement XI. protested against these encroachments to Lamberg and drew the latter's attention to the fact that both French and Spaniards triumphantly assigned the blame to the Pope : they had warned him often enough, they said, and foretold these events. For the moment Lamberg succeeded once more in calming the Pontiff with apologies and promises,² but an occurrence in the following autumn was bound to rouse the Pope's resentment to a far greater degree. In consequence of Prince Eugene's successes the imperialists had grown increasingly bold, so that with the concurrence of Lamberg and the Austrophile Cardinal Grimani, certain noble Neapolitan malcontents in Rome were working for the overthrow of the Bourbon domination in Naples by means of a popular rising and its replacement by the Austrian Archduke Charles. The undertaking failed, but the fact of so dangerous a plot being hatched in his own capital was bound to force the Pope from the impartial attitude he had hitherto adopted and to take the side of the French. The Emperor, so it was said at the Vatican, was determined to carry the torch of war, which until then had only threatened the northern frontier of the Pontifical States, as far as the southern boundary and almost to the very gates of Rome. The easy suppression of the rising also caused a deep impression.³ In the circumstances Clement XI. could not but feel gratified by the fact that on August 8th, 1701, that

¹ Austrian **Avviso*, July 9, 1701, *ibid.* Cf. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, 6-7.

² Lamberg's **Diary*, *loc. cit.* Cf. BUDER, I., 253 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the reports in LANDAU, 147.

is, before the outbreak of the Neapolitan troubles, he had dispatched Cardinal Archinto to Nice for the purpose of saluting Princess Marie Louise of Savoy, the bride of King Philip V.¹

On October 3rd, 1701, the Pope held a consistory in which he informed the Cardinals of the death, on September 16th, of the ill-starred King of England, James II. He spoke in praise of the deceased monarch's efforts on behalf of the faith, and of his resignation to God's will on his death-bed. At the same time he eulogized Louis XIV. for his kindness to the fugitive royal family and extolled the magnanimity of the French king who, regardless of the consequences, had recognized James' son, Hugh Francis Edward, as King James III. of Great Britain.² The fact that, in this question, Clement XI. took the side of France and the Pretender, as James III. was styled, so promptly and so decidedly, was not only to be fraught with grave consequences for the Catholics in England, it also endangered the Pope's impartiality and, consequently, the success of his attempts at mediation.³ Already in August Clement XI. had made up his mind to send nuncios extraordinary to the Catholic courts in the interest of peace. He reverted to the plan in October when Lamberg and Grimani offered strong opposition to its execution. They suspected a French intrigue in the whole affair, having for its object the estranging of the Emperor

¹ **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf. *Clementis XI., Opera*, Orat., 6. Archinto brought to the new Queen of Spain the Golden Rose which had been destined for her at the beginning of March, but its dispatch was delayed on account of Lamberg's remonstrances (BUDER, I., 153 seq.). On Archinto's mission, see besides SCLOPIS, *Marie Louise Gabrielle de Savoie*, Torino, 1866, 27 seqq., and CLARETTA in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 272 seqq., 278 seqq.; the detailed *Report in *Barb.* 5646, pp. 88-103, Vat. Library. That the Pope sent the Golden Rose to the Bourbon King, as has been affirmed by NOORDEN (III., 135), is a serious error.

² **Acta consist.*, loc. cit.; *Clementis XI., Opera*, 7-8.

³ KLOPP, IX., 339 seqq.

from England and Holland.¹ However, the Pope stuck to his resolve despite every effort to dissuade him. On November 21st the Cologne nuncio, Spada, the Archbishop of Avignon, Fieschi, and Bishop Zondadari were named nuncios extraordinary and peace mediators at the courts of Vienna, Paris and Madrid.²

In a confidential letter of December 14th Louis XIV. had expressed his willingness to accept papal mediation, but the Emperor persisted in his rejection of Spada whilst at the same time demanding a free passage for his troops through the Papal States to Naples. The Venetian ambassador painted the imperial army in the darkest colours ; it included, so he wrote, Danes and Brandenburgers, heretics thirsting for blood and booty, who would plunder the Papal States and the treasure of Loreto even against the Emperor's will.³ The military preparations which the Pope ordered on the receipt of this information were quite inadequate ; he now paid heavily for the previous neglect of the papal military power.⁴

It was said that, realizing his weakness, Clement had ordered provisions to be made ready with a view to their being sold to the imperial troops on their way through, so that they should have no pretext to seize them by force. In the end, however, he refused permission for the passage of the troops.⁵

The Pope who, in February, 1702, ordered prayers for peace in Rome,⁶ continued to hope that the Emperor would accept his mediation. He sought to win over Lamberg for

¹ *Ibid.*, 357 seqq. ; LANDAU, 150.

² **Acta consist.*, November 21, 1701, *loc. cit.* ; *Clementis XI., Opera*, Orat., 7 seq., Epist., 89 seqq. ; BUDER, I., 292 seqq.

³ LANDAU, 151.

⁴ Cf. BROSCHE, I., 464 seq.

⁵ *Letter to the Spanish nuncio, January 8, 1702, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 359, Papal Secret Archives ; LANDAU, 153.

⁶ **Avviso Marescotti*, February 11, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

this plan by assuring him that it would not be to Leopold's detriment seeing that it was not in the interest of the Holy See that France and Spain should coalesce into a single Power. At the same time he also expressed his suspicion that Louis XIV. was in secret correspondence with William III. of England.¹ How much Clement XI. feared the Franco-Spanish preponderance was shown by his inability to conceal his satisfaction at Prince Eugene's great success on February 1st, 1702, when the latter made a prisoner of Maréchal Villeroi. On being informed by Cardinal Forbin that Eugene had lost 4,000 men on this occasion, the Pope observed that he would pray that peace might be furthered thereby.² It was a vain hope: the struggle between the Emperor and the King of France developed into a great coalition war, a veritable world war.

In Rome the mutual embitterment of parties was at fever heat, so much so that it looked as if the days had come back when might was right and everyone was his own defender. To Lamberg the Pope complained that he heard of nothing but murders and assassinations; there had been times of war before this but things had never been so bad as they were just then.³

These laments referred to the incidents connected with the quarrel between the Marchese Cesare del Vasto of Naples and Cardinal Forbin.⁴ Del Vasto was protected by Lamberg. The Emperor, who on December 16th, 1701, had created the Marchese a field-marshal for his services to Austria, resented it as a grievous injury and an act of partiality in favour of France when the Papal authorities unreservedly took the side of Forbin and on March 18th, 1702, condemned Vasto

¹ Lamberg's *Diary, February 4, 1702, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. Cf. KLOPP, X., 166 seq.

² Lamberg's *Diary, February 10, 1702, *loc. cit.*

³ Lamberg's *Diary, February 17, 1702, *ibid.*

⁴ On this conflict, which has never been sufficiently cleared up, see LANDAU, 153 seqq. Cf. BUDER, I., 320 seqq., 341 seq., 359 seq.; POMETTI, XXI., 369 seqq.

to death.¹ On April 4th, 1702, Leopold decided not to receive the papal nuncio in audience until he should have made satisfaction for the injury done to Vasto. At the same time Lamberg was instructed no longer to deal with the Pope directly but only through Cardinal Grimani.²

Thus relations between Rome and Vienna were exceedingly strained when King Philip V. of Spain paid a visit to Naples in mid-April, 1702. As Philip promptly assured the Pope of his entire devotion through the Marquis de Louville,³ it was necessary to acknowledge this act of courtesy. Clement XI. entrusted Cardinal Carlo Barberini with the task and named him Legate extraordinary on May 8th.⁴ Cardinal Grimani protested against this action in the Emperor's name; at the same time he expressed the fear that this legation would be interpreted as a recognition of Philip V. as King of Naples. To allay his anxiety Clement XI. instructed the Secretary of State, Paolucci, to explain in writing under date of May 7th, that the dispatch of a Legate was no more than an act of courtesy, based on long established custom and one that had nothing to do with the investiture:

¹ The sentence was not carried out, because the Emperor let it be known in Rome that the head of the captured Marshal Villeroi was security for that of Vasto.

² LANDAU, 165.

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 121 seq.; BAUDRILLART, I., 106.

⁴ **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; *Clementis XI., Opera*, Orat., 13. Cf. [FR. BIANCHINI], *Descrizione della legazione del card. Carlo Barberini a Filippo V.*, Roma, 1703, reprinted by P. E. VISCONTI, Roma, 1858; a detailed description there by one of the witnesses of all the external ceremonies of the legation. *Documents on the legation, which was preceded by lengthy negotiations about the ceremonial to be observed, in *Barb.* 5408, 5636-38, 34. Cf. *ibid.*, 5828: M. SOCINI, **Giornale della legazione del card. C. Barberini al Re Filippo V. in Napoli*, 5535; G. B. VACCONDIO, **Legazione fatta dal Card. C. Barberini*, 1702, Vat. Library. Also **Collez. Bolognetti*, 61, 64, 170, 268, Papal Secret Archives.

the latter would never be granted in secret, but publicly, with all the customary formalities, and to the person to whom it was due.¹ Cardinal Barberini was accordingly instructed to greet Philip V. on his arrival but to avoid anything that might prejudice the decision of the Holy See.²

Cardinal Barberini delayed his departure from Porto d'Anzio until May 19th so as not to be obliged to assist at Philip V.'s solemn progress through Naples (May 20th), a circumstance which the French might have interpreted to mean that the investiture was an accomplished fact. In like manner the Cardinal Legate's speeches on the occasion of his audiences with Philip V. on May 29th and 30th merely expressed in general terms his satisfaction at the King's arrival,³ and the presents offered by him in the name of the Pope, viz. a golden cross adorned with precious stones and enriched with Indulgences, did not go beyond what was customary on such occasions. The King sailed from Finale for Lombardy for the purpose of visiting the French army there. Previous to his departure the Cardinal offered him his personal presents consisting of a statue of Hercules by Bernini, a Diana of pellucid agate and other works of art.⁴

The conduct of the Government of Vienna, where according to Lamberg's reports Clement XI. was considered completely subservient to France, stands in sharp contrast with the Pope's regard for the Emperor's interests on the occasion of Cardinal Barberini's legation.⁵ Leopold I. strenuously refused

¹ LANDAU, 73 *seqq.*

² POMETTI, XXI., 374.

³ BIANCHINI, ed. Visconti, 26, 51 *seq.*; BELMONTE, 233, 238 *seqq.*

⁴ BIANCHINI, 58 *seq.*, 61 *seqq.*; Austrian **Avviso*, May 20, 1702, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

⁵ On May 2, 1702, in a **Report* to the Emperor, Lamberg describes the Pope as a consummate hypocrite: "essendo nella sua simulatione il suo genio assai simile a quello di fu Tiberio!" The Pope does not seek the interests of the Emperor in peace; a way out would be if the Emperor *proprio pugno* made secret proposals to the nephews of the Pope! (Lamberg's **Diary*, Ottenstein). How little this ambassador knew Clement XI.!

to receive Spada who had been sent as a peace mediator, so that the Legate was forced to stop at Passau. On July 1st the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio in Vienna, Davia, that the Pope felt painfully surprised by the Emperor's refusal to receive an envoy of the Vicar of Christ whose only duty it was to urge peace.¹ On July 22nd Davia was instructed to renew his efforts to get Spada received.² That the Pope continued to hope, in spite of everything, that Leopold would change his mind, appears from the fact that Spada was instructed to remain at Passau for the time being.³

When Cardinal Grimani took his leave of the Pope before setting out for Vienna in December, 1702, the Pontiff charged him to influence the Emperor in favour of peace, an object for which he would willingly dispatch new nuncios. At the same time the Pope granted permission, hitherto asked for in vain, for the imperial troops to obtain once again provisions from Ferrara. As a matter of fact already in September the generals of both armies had been authorized, with a view to preserving the population from pillage, to obtain grain in the Papal States against ready money.⁴

However, in spite of the Pope's concessions to both parties, neither of them was satisfied. He was troubled with ever fresh complaints; one day it was the imperialists who felt

¹ " *Rimane N. S. sempre più sorpreso di sentire che tuttavia costì si persista nel non voler ricevere un ministro Apostolico, che si manda dal Vicario di Cristo col solo oggetto e zelo d'esortar alla pace. Vuol però credere che finalmente la pietà dell'Imperatore sia per superare e sciogliere le machine del nemico d'ogni nostro bene, il quale solamente si serve degli eretici per imprimere negli animi la considerazione dell'impegno contratto da cotesta corte con essi, del quale neppur dovrebbe farsi menzione per riputazione e credito del nome cattolico, ecc. *Nunziat. di Germania*, 44, p. 231, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Insista V. S. fortemente per l'accettazione di Msgr. Spada Nuntio straordinario (*ibid.*, 234). Instruction for Spada, March 25, 1702, in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, new series, 642 seq.

³ *Instruction of August 5, 1702, *ibid.*, 240.

⁴ Cf. BUDER, I., 415, 429 seq., 432.

injured, another day it was the turn of the French and the Spaniards. Both parties frequently infringed the neutrality of the Holy See ; on these occasions the French were favoured by the papal officials, particularly in the sea ports, but in doing so the latter acted on their own authority and the Pope could not be held responsible for everything.¹ The imperialists regarded as specially partial the Governor of Rome, Ranuccio Pallavicini, of whom Lamberg had already complained in the affair Vasto and after that on more than one occasion.²

The breach between the Pope and the imperial House was further widened when on September 12th, 1703, at the request of England and Holland, Leopold I. renounced all his rights to the Spanish monarchy in favour of his son, Archduke Charles, proclaiming him at the same time as " Charles III., King of Spain ". This action created no small embarrassment for Clement XI. In 1701, when all the appearances were against the House of Habsburg ever recovering the whole of the Spanish monarchy, the Pope, like all the other European Powers, had recognized the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain under the name of Philip V. The maritime Powers had acted in like manner, though they now revoked that step, but whereas the latter could justify their conduct by the plea that the House of Bourbon had refused to recognize Queen Anne of England, Clement XI. could allege no such reason since he was not at war with the Bourbons.* His wish was to remain neutral and to wait. Hence his evasive answer to Count Lamberg was fully justified,³ as was his prohibition of the display of a picture of Charles as King of Spain in the church of the Anima at a time when the Archduke asserted his pretensions to the Spanish throne, though he could not claim a foot of Spanish territory as his own.⁴ Yet, however well founded the Pope's conduct may have been in itself, it nevertheless created an impression that Clement XI. made

¹ LANDAU, 182 *seqq.*

² BUDER, I., 525 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 160 *seq.*

³ KLOPP, X., 400 ; LANDAU, 173.

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, 591 *seqq.*

common cause with the House of Bourbon.¹ The French party in Rome took advantage of Leopold's alliance with the Protestant maritime Powers to represent France and Spain as the Church's only protection against the power of the heretics. Unless the Pope put himself under French protection, they said, he would have reason to fear another "Sack" by the imperialists. Cardinal Forbin in particular made it his business to harp on this peril.

Representations of this kind greatly impressed Clement XI., who was of a timorous nature. Whilst on the one hand Vienna provoked him by refusing his envoy, and on the other Paris heaped proofs of friendliness upon him, he found it impossible to resist for ever. The position above all parties which he had striven to maintain was shaken by a number of concessions to the French.² This action increased Lamberg's resentment, so much so that though personally a devout man, he forgot himself to such a degree as to make deplorable comments upon the Roman priests. His description of the Cardinal Secretary of State as "stinkingly French" was by no means his strongest expression since he asked in all seriousness whether the Roman prelates believed anything at all³; he was of opinion that among them, and even in the Sacred College, there were more atheists than Christians!⁴ If in Lamberg's opinion, Clement XI., under the influence of his *entourage*, showed undue hostility towards Austria, the French judged him insufficiently opposed to that country. Marshal Vendôme described the Pope as completely

¹ KLOPP, X., 400-1.

² LANDAU, 174.

³ In his *letters to Prince A. F. Liechten (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna), Lamberg expresses himself just as vehemently as in his reports to the Emperor. His passionate outbursts of anger, which have been aptly described as pathological (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVII., 142), were not only directed against the "priestlings", but against the Italians in general ("one should rather wish to have to deal with savages than with this nation", April 7, 1703).

⁴ Letter to the Emperor, April 14, 1703.

intimidated by the Emperor's threats and reproached him with preventing Italy's neutrality.¹ Thus Clement XI. saw himself ever more and more driven into a corner by both parties.

The tension between Vienna and Rome was greatly increased by a most disastrous occurrence in June, 1704. At that time the imperialists stood on the left bank of the Po, at Melara and Ficarolo, whilst the French were on the right, at Stellata and Bondeno—both on papal territory. Clement XI. summoned them to evacuate his territory; in case of refusal he threatened with excommunication. Thereupon the French left whilst the imperialists delayed their departure; they only surrendered Ficarolo to the papal troops on June 24th after Cardinal Astalli, the papal Legate of Ferrara, had given them a written guarantee, in the name of the Pope, that their retreat would not be molested and that the French would not be permitted to cross the Po. However, scarcely had the Austrians withdrawn than the papal General Paolucci allowed the French to occupy Ficarolo.² The Pope refused to sanction this traitorous action. He made excuses to the Emperor, deprived General Paolucci of his command and ordered an inquiry into his conduct, but he did not carry out his threat of excommunicating the French as he was afraid of their overwhelming power. In the following year also, in view of the continued preponderance of French arms in Italy, Clement overlooked many, though not all, encroachments on the part of the French.³ The imperialists also offended in like manner, as when they once more invaded Ferrara in April, 1705, an action against which the Pope protested with the utmost energy.⁴

Whilst these misunderstandings between Rome and Vienna were on the increase, the Emperor Leopold died on May 5th,

¹ KLOPP, XI., 462.

² Cf. BUDER, I., 589 *seqq.*; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, VI., 281 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 178 *seq.*; KLOPP, X., 246 *seq.*

³ KLOPP, X., 246 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 460.

1705.¹ He was succeeded by his son, the King of the Romans, Joseph I. The Pope hoped to bring about better relations with the new ruler, but the very opposite happened.

¹ On hearing of his illness, Clement ordered prayers to be said and he himself went to the Anima where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed (SCHMIDLIN, 593). In the consistory of May 18, 1705, the Pope freely acknowledged the great qualities of Leopold I. ; see CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 18.

CHAPTER II.

JOSEPH I.'S CONTEST WITH CLEMENT XI—LOUIS XIV.'S
DEFEAT IN 1706 AND THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES BY THE
AUSTRIANS—THE IMPERIALISTS' ATTACK ON THE PAPAL
STATES—DEFEAT OF THE PAPAL TROOPS—THE PEACE
OF JANUARY 15TH, 1709.

CLEMENT's anxiety to reach a compromise with the new Emperor appears from a proposal which he caused to be submitted to Vienna in May, 1705, through Count Althan, a Canon of Olmütz. This was to the effect that the Emperor should dispatch an *obbedienza* embassy with a view to strengthening the Pope against the French and the Spaniards and their insistent demand for Philip V.'s investiture of Naples. When Althan observed that existing differences between Vienna and Rome would prove an insuperable obstacle and insisted upon satisfaction being made for the Pope's conduct in the affair of Del Vasto, as a preliminary condition, Clement XI. remarked that Vienna should not compromise more weighty interests by such trifles.¹ At the same time he drew attention to the fact that in spite of every pressure he had refused the investiture to Philip V., had declined Pomponne's offer of an Italian league of neutrality and, in spite of French resentment, had given his support to King Augustus II. of Poland against his enemies.²

Clement XI. was anxious to submit his proposal directly to the Emperor, without its passing through the hands of the hopelessly embittered Lamberg. The latter, however, came to hear of the affair and he forthwith sent in the following

¹ "Non sappiamo se torni a conto di abbandonare interessi assai maggiori per tali bagatelle," the Pope said, according to Lamberg's report to the Emperor, May 23, 1705, State Archives, Vienna.

² See Lamberg's report, utilized by KLOPP, XI., 463 *seq.*

memorial: If His Majesty was willing to fall in with the Pope's proposal, he, Lamberg, felt confident to bring about a complete agreement; but if the Emperor was disinclined to accede to the Pope's wishes, let him announce his arrival in Rome for the purpose of assuming the imperial crown. Such an announcement would put an end to all further importunity on the part of the Pope for there was nothing Rome feared so much as that the Emperor should assert his authority in Italy. Up to the present the Curia only feared the King of France, and that by reason of his determination. Lamberg then quotes the odious phrase that priests could only be governed with money and the stick,¹ a principle on which the French and the Spaniards had acted with great profit to themselves. Let the Emperor do in like manner. Let him cause the Pope to suffer for his repeated championing of French interests; success would be infallible with timorous Clement XI.²

Joseph I., an energetic prince then in the first flower of his youthful energy, determined to follow the advice of his ambassador. On July 15th, 1705, the latter was ordered to leave Rome with the utmost secrecy and to repair to Tuscany. Acting like a fugitive and greatly fearing lest he should be brought back, Lamberg set out that very night and only on July 21st did he send from Siena a justification of his departure to Paolucci, the Cardinal Secretary of State. In order to give yet greater significance to Lamberg's action, the nuncio in Vienna, Davia, was summoned to leave the imperial capital within three days.³

Clement XI. was all the more alarmed by this step as he had invoked the mediation of the King of Poland in a Brief of August 20th, 1705⁴; he had promised himself good results

¹ "Che per governare bene i preti ci voglia la borsa ed il bastone."

² KLOPP, XI., 465 *seqq.* On Lamberg's sentiments *cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, IX., 133.

³ KLOPP, XI., 467 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 191 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 393.

⁴ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 291.

from his appeal.¹ On August 30th, 1705, he approached the Emperor in an autograph letter. The step taken by His Majesty, he wrote, betrayed an intention of breaking with the father of all the faithful and the first among Christian princes, and that at a time when Christendom was afflicted by so many evils. Foreseeing the unhappy consequences of such a rupture for religion, the Pope was resolved not to incur either before God or man the reproach that he had not done all that was possible to avert such a disaster. For this reason he wrote with his own hand, to beseech the Emperor not to incur the guilt of so great a scandal. He assured him with a frankness born of a good conscience, that he was at all times ready to prove by facts how very wrong those were who sought to prejudice the Emperor with their accusations against the Pope. "God knows," Clement continues, "the world and we ourselves know what we have done or refused to do during the whole course of our unhappy pontificate, perhaps not without incurring the reproach of having thereby neglected the interests of the Holy See. We were unwilling to depart in even the slightest degree from the absolute neutrality of a common father. We do not doubt that your Majesty will likewise recognize this if, as we confidently trust, you follow the impulse of the piety and justice which you have inherited from your illustrious ancestors together with the dignity and honour of a protector of the Church." ²

In his reply of September 26th, 1705, Joseph I. explained that he had no intention of breaking with the Holy See but merely of suspending relations with it until he should have received appropriate satisfaction for the favour shown to his enemies. He then referred to the explanations given by

¹ " *Con sommo orrore si sono intese le notizie recate dal dispaccio di M. Nunzio. Li protestanti pur troppo ne rideranno ed i buoni cattolici lungamente ne piangeranno ; tanto più strane sono giunte, quanto che si supponeva l'affare nelle mani del Re di Polonia e accettata la di lui mediazione," Clement XI. wrote on August 8, 1705, to the nuncio in Vienna ; autograph draft in Papal Secret Archives, XI., 56.

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 293 ; KLOPP, XI., 469 *seq.*

him to nuncio Davia who had withdrawn to Wiener-Neustadt. In conclusion he expressed the hope that there would be no delay in making good the injury done to him. Through the Auditor, Count Francis Charles von Kaunitz, who acted as intermediary since Lamberg's departure, the Emperor assured the Pope that the ambassador's removal from Rome was not meant to be a recall. But this assurance could not alter in any way the fact of the step or the significance which everyone attached to it.¹

How unfair it was to accuse the Pope of positively favouring the Bourbons became evident precisely at this time. When Stanislaus Leszcynski rebelled against Augustus II. of Poland, the Pope forbade the Polish Bishops to take part in the coronation of his rival. As a sequel to this prohibition the Spanish ambassador, Uzeda, requested the Pope to issue a similar prohibition to the Bishops of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia in regard to Charles III. Clement XI. refused to comply with this demand. He expressed his displeasure and explained that there was no parity between the two cases.²

That the Pope was anxious for an agreement with the Emperor is shown by his letters of August 30th, 1705, to the Empress, to Joseph's confessor, to the Electors of Mayence and Trèves, to the Count Palatine John William, to Cardinals Kollonitsch, Lamberg and Grimani, in which he urged them to intervene with the Emperor. However, Joseph I. answered that it only depended on the Pope to empower the nuncio to meet his grievances.³

Cardinal Lamberg sought to mediate by dispatching from Passau a plenipotentiary who represented to the Pope the grievances of the imperial Government drawn up in definite terms. The first complaint was that under pretext of the war against the Moors, Philip V. had been allowed to raise

¹ KLOPP, XI., 469.

² Lamberg's report, September 18, 1705, *ibid.*, 470.

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 295; KLOPP, XI., 470. Towards the end of February, 1706, the nuncio left Wiener-Neustadt. LANDAU, 196.

a tenth from ecclesiastical revenues. Clement XI. denied with the utmost energy his ever having granted such a permission. The second grievance, namely, that the papal Government had given the French leave to occupy Mesola, in the territory of Ferrara, the Pope met with the declaration that he had given no such permission to the French, just as he had refused it to the imperialists who had been in occupation of Mesola for a year and a half ; since he was not strong enough to resist acts of violence by either party, he was compelled to let things take their course. The third grievance, concerning recruiting from the population of the Papal States by the French, Clement XI. rejected emphatically as without foundation.¹ For the rest there exist many proofs of the Pope's desire for a reconciliation with the Emperor. His predecessors, he said, had repeatedly granted investiture to the *de facto* holder of the Kingdom of Naples. For the time being Philip V. was in unquestioned occupation ; for all that, he had refused to give him the investiture so as not to prejudice the claims of Charles III. He had remained firm in this matter although Cardinal Giudice had made tempting promises in Philip V.'s name, though these were likewise accompanied by threats. Of the guilt of Marchese del Vasto the Pope claimed to have in his hands undeniable proofs. The proceedings against Paolucci in connection with the incident of Ficcarolo had failed to establish the latter's guilt ; for all that the General had not been reinstated in his position.²

Instead of an agreement being reached, the tension between Rome and Vienna grew still further in consequence of the dispute over the so-called right of first requests—*jus primarum precum*, viz. the right of the prince to recommend a candidate for the first cathedral benefice that became vacant after his own accession. The Emperors had exercised this right since the 13th century but Clement XI. wished to render it dependent on a papal indult. Conflicts over this point occurred

¹ KLOPP, XI., 470 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 471 *seqq.*

first at Hildesheim and after that at Augsburg and other places.¹

On another canonical question, viz. the disputed episcopal election at Münster, the Pope proved accommodating, whereupon Joseph, on his part, showed some consideration for the rights of the Holy See in the controversy over the visitation of the German national church, the Anima. A further token of the Pope's conciliatory disposition was the circumstance that he removed from office the Governor of Rome, Pallavicini, a Cardinal since May 19th, 1706, the same who had so often been in conflict with Lamberg, replacing him by Caffarelli who was well-disposed towards the Emperor.² After the return to Rome of Cardinal Grimani, named Co-Protector of Germany, there was a hope of some amelioration in the relations between Pope and Emperor. These relations, however, were being constantly subjected to new tests by reason of the reaction on the Eternal City of various warlike events.³

¹ BUDER, I., 850 *seqq.*; CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 331. 443, 449, 627, 1561. A controversy arose about the right of the first petitions. A Bull of October 3, 1711, annulled all *primae preces*, **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 171 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Archives; *Bull.*, XXI., 437.

² LANDAU, 197 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVII., 311 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the *reports of Count F. K. von Kaunitz in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On February 27, 1706, he reports that he had protested to the Prodatarius against the granting of a prebend in Barcelona to a "fierissimo Angiovinio". The Prodatarius excuses himself that he does not know the circumstances and asks for a list for "vacanze future". Kaunitz declares that he cannot do this without orders. On March 6 Kaunitz complains that in the affair of the benefices of Catalonia more consideration was shown to Uzeda and Forbin than to himself. On April 10 he reports a complaint of his, replied to in general terms, to the effect that in S. Giacomo and S. Maria di Monserrato the preacher had said that in Catalonia heresy was being taught from the pulpit. On June 5 a fresh complaint that after the surrender of Barcelona a fanatical Spaniard had received a canonry in that city and that he had protested in vain.

The reaction was strongest when in 1706 the Franco-Spanish power was dealt three terrible blows. In Spain the struggle for Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, ended with the capitulation of the garrison, to the disadvantage of Philip V. Thereupon Catalonia and the whole of Aragon rose in favour of Charles III. As a result of Portuguese intervention Philip V. was compelled to leave Madrid where Charles III. was proclaimed King on June 25th.¹

In the Netherlands Villeroi's defeat at Ramillies on May 23rd, 1706, led to the loss by France of Brabant and the greater part of Flanders. Even more far-reaching was Prince Eugene's victory at Turin on September 7th, 1706. This event forced the French to evacuate the whole of Upper Italy. On September 26th Prince Eugène entered Milan; at the approach of winter the French flag only fluttered on the walls of a few fortified places: the country was in the hands of the Emperor. After this tremendous reversal, which created a wide and powerful impression, the moment seemed propitious for punishing the Pope and making him feel his helplessness.

Already whilst on his way to the relief of Turin, which was stoutly defended by the imperialists under Daun, Prince Eugene had occupied papal territory and carried out reckless requisitions. The Pope lodged a protest towards the end of July, 1706, with both Prince Eugène and the Emperor and once more with the Prince on August 14th. In this document he drew a vivid picture of the plundering of his poor subjects, the ill treatment of the clergy, the spoliation and profanation of churches by a disorderly soldiery consisting in part of Protestant Prussians.² Fresh trials befell the Pope's unhappy subjects in the sequel also, but Clement XI.'s further protests on September 17th remained unheeded.³ Towards the end of 1706 the imperial troops began to overrun the Legations

¹ BAUDRILLART, I., 253 *seq.*, 264.

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 347, 349, 353.

³ *Ibid.*, 355.

of Bologna and Ferrara and to requisition the inhabitants for bread, wine, oil, hay and even money.¹

As his repeated warnings remained unheeded,² Clement XI. addressed another Brief to the Emperor on January 4th, 1707, couched in sterner terms. To his protests, the Pope wrote, against the action of the imperialists in going into winter quarters in the Papal States, Prince Eugene had replied with empty compliments and various excuses to the effect that the occupation was necessary for the purpose of expelling the enemy. But at present not one Frenchman was left in Upper Italy, though the Pope's subjects continued to suffer from the oppression of the imperial troops. Accordingly he must insist on a remedy being applied.³ Thereupon the Emperor charged Grimani to calm the Pope by drawing his attention to the fact that the restoration of the Emperor's prestige in Italy would have for its consequence the deliverance of the Holy See from its dependence on France, and to hold out to him the prospect of at least partial compensation for the damage done.⁴ Negotiations now began between the papal delegate Riviera and the representative of Prince Eugene, Captain Locatelli, which led to an agreement on February 5th, 1707. It was stipulated that the imperial troops would evacuate the papal territory whilst on the other hand the Legates of Ferrara and Bologna were to pay considerable sums, amounting to as much as 250,000 florins, as compensation for the attack on Ficarolo in 1704 and the loss thereby incurred.⁵

Like the Pope, the small Italian States were destined to learn from experience that unarmed neutrality was no protection against devastation. For the purpose of replenishing the chronically empty war chest of the imperialists, Prince Eugène laid a tribute on all those Italian States which were

¹ Cf. BROSCHE, II., 37.

² December 19, 1706, to Prince Eugene. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 363.

³ *Ibid.*, 371.

⁴ LANDAU, 251.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 251 seq.

considered as imperial fiefs ; Genoa, Tuscany, Lucca, Modena, Parma and Piacenza had to pay enormous sums. With a view to protecting his territory at least in some measure from arbitrary interference, the Duke of Parma had felt compelled already on December 14th, 1706, to come to terms with the civil commissary of the imperial army, Marquis von Prié, and to pay the sum of 540,000 florins, of which the clergy had had to contribute one-fourth. This raised anew, and in an acute form, the controversy between Pope and Emperor whether Parma and Piacenza were papal or imperial fiefs, and once more called in question the agreement which had been so laboriously arrived at.¹

If up till then the Papal States had been sorely tried by invasions and requisitions, the storm of war at length reached the very gates of Rome, so to speak, when in May, 1707, the imperial Field-Marshal Daun set out to conquer Naples. The imperialists demanded a free passage through the Pontifical States. The Pope was powerless to oppose them, though such a step was suggested to him by the French²; reluctantly he was forced to give way. His annoyance was further increased by the fact that, instead of taking the shortest road along the Adriatic in the direction of the Abruzzi, the imperial generals decided to pass hard by Rome.³ After an agreement had been reached on the subject of the provisions to be supplied to the troops by the inhabitants of the Papal States,⁴ the imperialists began their march. On June 16th they reached Monte Rotondo where, surrounded by crowds of curious Romans, both men and women, who looked with wonder at the Austrian camp, they rested for a few days, after which they proceeded in the direction of Tivoli.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 256 *seqq.* Text of the agreement of December 14, 1706, in BUDER, I., 1049 *seqq.*

² NOORDEN, III., 137.

³ LANDAU, 261 *seqq.*

⁴ May 11, 1707 ; see BROSCHE, II., 39.

⁵ NOORDEN, III., 141. Cf. A. ALFIERI, *Un passaggio di truppe tedesche per lo Stato Pontificio* (1707), in *Bollet. per l'Umbria*, XIV. (1908).

There can be no doubt that by sending 10,000 imperial troops to the very gates of Rome, the intention was to exercise pressure on the negotiations with the Pope.¹ To this end Count Martinitz, of whose arrogance Rome had had experience under Innocent XII., was dispatched to the Eternal City. In conjunction with Cardinal Grimani, who was wholly devoted to the Emperor, Martinitz was to obtain Clement XI.'s consent to an agreement which would have been of the greatest advantage to the House of Habsburg. Martinitz and Grimani together laid before the Pope the old grievances of the Government of Vienna and demanded the recognition of Charles III. as King or at least that account should be taken of his presentations to ecclesiastical offices in the territories occupied by him, and that certain Neapolitans who were imprisoned in Rome for conspiring against the Spanish domination be set at liberty. However, their mission proved a complete failure. Grimani felt hurt and humiliated because the Emperor had named Martinitz Viceroy of Naples instead of himself. So Martinitz had to act single-handed. During his stay of five days in Rome—June 18th–22nd—he had two audiences in which he obtained next to nothing. His demands were met with counter-demands by the Pope who flatly refused to recognize Charles III. as King of Spain; the only thing he was willing to grant was the liberation of the Neapolitans.²

In spite of strict orders the passage of the imperial troops through the Papal States was not effected without some excesses. During the night of the June 27th–28th they crossed the Garigliano and on July 4th they took Capua. Almost everywhere the Austrians met with an enthusiastic welcome; this was particularly the case at Naples where Daun and

¹ LANDAU, 261, where reference is made to a letter of Joseph I. to Daun, on May 30, 1707, preserved in the Palfy-Daun family archives. According to this letter Daun should, if it could be done without dangerous delay, prolong the march by making a halt of one or at most two days before Rome, to enable Martinitz to get there first.

² LANDAU, 270 *seqq.* Cf. KLOPP, XII., 319 *seq.*

Martinitz made their entry on July 7th. At the end of a bare fortnight the whole Kingdom of Naples was in the hands of the imperialists with the exception of the fortresses of Pescara and Gaeta.¹

Everyone did homage to King Joseph I.'s brother, King Charles III., who was in Spain at the time. Since the Austrians already ruled in Milan, they were now masters of all Italy and instead of the feeble Spanish rule, the Holy See had henceforth to reckon with a youthful, energetic monarch who had an imposing military force at his disposal.

The proceedings at Parma and Piacenza, which were a challenge to the Papacy, were but a foretaste of the imperial pretensions.² The agreement to which the Duke of Parma was compelled to give his assent in December, 1706,³ denied not only the papal over-lordship, but implied a breach of the rights of the Church by the arbitrary imposition of a war tax on the clergy. Clement XI. accordingly refused his sanction, forbade the Duke, as his vassal, to put the agreement into execution and threatened with ecclesiastical penalties all who should attempt to collect the prescribed levies.⁴ The Pope felt particularly hurt by the circumstance that the imperial troops, which had gone into winter quarters in the above-named Duchies, were for the most part Protestants whose chaplains held heretical services. But his complaints on this point had as little effect with the Emperor as the prohibition forbidding the imperial commanders to tax the clergy on their own authority. Prince Eugene even went so far as to compel the submission of priests who offered resistance, by billeting a greater number of soldiers on them and by making still heavier demands on the monasteries.⁵

¹ BELMONTE, II., 128 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 310 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 392.

² Opinion of BROSCHE, who is certainly not favourable to the Popes (II., 37).

³ Cf. above, p. 43.

⁴ Cf. BUDER, I., 1070.

⁵ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 375; *Bull.*, XXI., 292 *seqq.*; MENZEL, IX., 470.

Clement XI. took much counsel, ordered the Blessed Sacrament to be exposed in the principal churches, and special prayers to be recited for three days, to the end that he might be guided in making the right decision in so difficult a situation.¹ In the end he came to the conclusion that it was his duty to make a solemn protest against the violation of the secular and spiritual prerogatives of the Holy See.

On July 27th, 1707, a Bull was drawn up which, basing itself on the Constitutions of Leo X. of the year 1515 and Urban VIII. of 1641, declared the agreement of the imperialists with the Duke of Parma to be null and void ; all those who laid hands on the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza and billeted troops, or laid taxes, on the priests there, and all those who approved their action and co-operated in it, were to fall under the penalty of major excommunication.² On August 1st the Bull was published, together with two monitories, by simple affixing on the doors of St. Peter's, the Lateran and the other customary places. One of the monitories was directed against the violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by Duke Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, the other against the royal officials at Aquila who had expelled the Bishop of that place.³

In a consistory of the same date, August 1st, the Pope commented upon the painful incidents in Parma, Piacenza, Savoy and Naples of which these documents gave notice. Alluding to the feast of the day, St. Peter-in-Chains, Clement declared that he was determined to break the chains with which the secular power sought to hamper the natural freedom of the Church.⁴

Prince Eugene took no notice of the excommunication which was directed against himself in the first instance. He continued to levy contributions and urged the Emperor to take an energetic decision and not to allow His Holiness

¹ Cf. B. Nani's report of May 21, 1707, in BROSCHE, II., 38.

² BUDER, I., 1046 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, I., 1037 *seqq.* Cf. LANDAU, 277 *seqq.* ; CARUTTI, *Storia del regno di Vitt. Amadeo*, II., 95, 197, 208, 214 *seq.*, 303.

⁴ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 28 *seq.*

“to mix and meddle so much with temporal affairs”.¹ The Duke of Savoy also sought to rouse Joseph I. by representing to him that the Holy See was only strong in words but timid and submissive in the face of those who lost no words but boldly passed on to deeds in the assertion of their just rights.² However, the Emperor seemed unwilling to push things to extremes. When the Pope made representations to him on the fact that by the terms of the Peace of Altranstadt the Silesian Protestants were to have their churches restored to them,³ he excused himself by pleading that in accordance with the counsel of theologians, he had chosen the lesser of two evils.⁴

So long as there was no decision in the field Clement XI. upheld Philip V. as King of Spain and looked on Archduke Charles as a pretender who could not be allowed to have a say in ecclesiastical appointments in the territories occupied by him. Charles swore vengeance. In so doing he went by the principle that in order to obtain a thing in Rome, it

¹ Eugene's letter from Turin, October 20, 1707, in *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, Suppl., Heft. IX., 198.

² CARUTTI, 285.

³ BUDER, I., 1097 *seqq.*

⁴ KLOPP, XII., 442 *seq.*, 551 *seqq.* Cf. LANDAU, 282. In *Europäische Fama*, LXXIV., 80, there is an Italian letter of Clement XI. on this matter, directed to Leopold I. and dated September 10, 1708, which up to now has been considered authentic. The fact, however, that it is not among the *Epist. Clementis XI.*, t. 86, Pap. Sec. Archives, tells against its authenticity. After the restoration of peace between the Emperor and the Pope, as there were numerous apostasies from the Catholic Church in consequence of the treaty of Altranstadt, Joseph I., to pacify Clement XI., issued an order on June 3, 1709, through the Silesian authorities, against such apostasies (MENZEL, IX., 461). Clement XI. repudiated the treaty of Altranstadt by a Brief to the King of Poland, September 31, 1709 (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 645 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 649 *seq.*, the King's written apology, April 2, 1710), and again by a Brief to the Emperor, Charles VI., June 4, 1712 (*ibid.*, 1689 *seq.*).

was necessary to show one's teeth and to inspire fear.¹ The exhortations in this sense, which he addressed to the Emperor from Barcelona, fell on good soil. Since April, 1706, both at Naples and at Milan, the revenues of all ecclesiastics living outside those territories were being sequestered, whilst the dispatch of money to Rome and the publication of papal Bulls without a *placet*, was forbidden. As by this means a number of Bishops and Cardinals lost a considerable part of their income, the strict execution of the measure was bitterly resented in Rome.² In a Brief of May 6th, 1708, Clement XI. protested to Joseph I. himself, whilst by Briefs addressed to the Empress, the Empress-Mother, Cardinal Lamberg and the Elector of Mayence in his capacity as Chancellor of Empire, he sought to induce Joseph I. to give way.³ But the Emperor listened to the advice of Duke Rinaldo of Modena whose wife was a sister of the Empress Amalia. As an imperial vassal Rinaldo hoped to wrest from the Holy See the States lost by the Este. He gave it as his opinion that in order to render the Pope more accommodating, it was necessary to diminish the Papal States by cutting off Ferrara from them.⁴ Thus a step was decided upon which was as impolitic as it was precipitate.⁵ Though even Prince Eugene was unwilling to have anything to do with it, since there was question of an attack upon territory which the Church had claimed as her own for over a century,⁶ imperial troops led by General Bonneval crossed the frontier of the Papal States without previous declaration of war and on May 24th, 1708, occupied the defenceless coastal town of Commacchio, situated between Ravenna and Ferrara. At

¹ Charles III. to Count Wratislaw, November 8, 1707, in ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, 50.

² SENTIS, 141 ; NOORDEN, III., 329 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 353 *seqq.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 506 *seq.*

⁴ BROSCHE, II., 42. On the furtherance of the attack on Ferrara by the Duke of Modena, *cf.* the report of his envoy in *Atti e Mem. per la Prov. dell' Emilia N. S. I.*, Modena, 1878, 103 *seq.*

⁵ Opinion of LANDAU (357).

⁶ KLOPP, XIII., 94 *seq.*

the same time they also seized the valuable salt mines and fisheries.¹ They at once began to erect works of fortification ; over the gate a stone was inserted bearing the ominous inscription : " To Emperor Joseph, the revendicator of Italy's ancient rights." ²

On receipt of this information the Pope resolved, though with a heavy heart, to defend himself.³ The Legate of Ferrara was instructed to put that city and the other fortified places in a state of defence.⁴ In Rome, where consternation and anxiety reigned, troops were enrolled and military conferences held.⁵ On June 2nd the Pope appealed not only to the Emperor and the Empresses, the Emperor's confessor and Count Lamberg, but likewise to the Republics of Genoa, Venice and Lucca, to the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the Electors of Mayence and Trèves, the Kings of Poland and Portugal, and to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John.⁶ With the Emperor the Pope expostulated in the following terms : " The action of your Majesty's troops in throwing garrisons into the Pontifical States and unfurling their banners as in a conquered territory, and, so it would seem, contemplating even graver measures, is contrary to equity and reason, as well as to the regard due to the Holy See and the rights of the Church. This can only have happened through a misuse of the imperial name and is in direct contradiction with the

¹ See the detailed *report of Paolucci, Papal Secretary of State, based on the evidence of eye-witnesses, in *Miscell. di Clement XI.*^e 29, p. 30 *seqq.* (Papal Sec. Arch.), where there are further numerous documents on this matter. Cf. LANDAU, 358 ; POMETTI, XXI., 394 *seq.*

² Cf. RINCK, *Leben Josephi des Sieghaften*, II., 413 ; BUDER, II., 138. Another version of the inscription in OTTIERI, III., 48, and in **Avviso di Roma*, June 26, 1708, *Cod. Ital.*, 198, State Library, Munich.

³ Cf. NOORDEN, III., 334.

⁴ BUDER, II., 61 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 358.

⁵ Cf. **Avvisi di Roma* of May 29, June 3, 12, 26, July 10 and 17, 1708, *Cod. Ital.*, 198, *loc. cit.*

⁶ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 514 *seqq.*

title of a protector of the Church of which former Emperors were so proud. You cannot be ignorant of the prescriptions of the sacred canons and the Apostolic Constitutions against such conduct. Consider then whither you are being led by the evil and destructive counsels of those who have induced you thus openly to provoke the anger of God. Withdraw without delay your foot from where your soul would find certain damnation and your name everlasting shame. We shall not cease humbly to pray for divine assistance and, assured that it will be granted, we shall take this affair in hand, together with all that is entrusted to our care, with such firmness that no one shall have reason to reproach us with having neglected the duty of our office, or with having failed to take the necessary measures, both spiritual and temporal, for we do not value our life more than the discharge of the duty laid upon us by heaven. We bear in mind, as you also should remember, that all men, whatever their dignity may be, shall one day have to give an account of their conduct before a most dreadful tribunal. May this thought, which is for us a source of calm, prove salutary to your Majesty also ! Take heed, most beloved son (we call upon you for the last time in the name of Jesus Christ whose unworthy representative we are), take heed lest you stain the first-fruits of your flourishing youth by scandalizing the whole Christian people and begin your reign by offending the Church, the Bride of Christ, and her Apostles. That you may fully realize this, and with God's help may follow better counsels, we bestow upon your Majesty the Apostolic blessing." ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, 514 ; MENZEL, IX., 473. A second and stronger Brief of July 16, 1708, threatening excommunication and war, and published in 1708, in *Lettres hist.*, XXXIV., 273, is considered by NOORDEN (III., 337) as an interpolation, whilst LANDAU (360 *seqq.*) regards it as authentic, although it is not found in the State Archives of Vienna. However, there can be no question of its authenticity since it is not among the authentic *Epist. Clementis XI.*, in Papal Sec. Archives. That at this time, in order to foster discord among the Christian princes, many stories were invented and spread abroad, especially by the French, is shown by the

Instead of any answer to the Brief of June 2nd, the Emperor published a manifesto dated June 26th. In form it was a refutation of the papal decree of the preceding year which had declared null and void the agreement between the Duke of Parma and the imperialists, but in substance it was an open declaration of war. Everybody knew, the document said, at what cost the victorious arms of the Emperor and his allies had freed Italy from the domination of the French and restored to it its liberty, and what claims to the gratitude of the Italian States the Emperor had thereby acquired! Instead of this, to the amazement and scandal of the whole world, the ministers of the Roman See had had recourse to spiritual weapons in secular concerns, and attempted to overthrow the ancient rights of the Emperor and the Empire to Italy and its dependent territories of the Duchy of Milan, with an appeal to an alleged feudal suzerainty of the Roman See. But history and unquestionable documents prove that suzerainty over the aforesaid Duchies belonged exclusively to the Emperor and the Empire who invested the legitimate holders of the Duchy of Milan. This suzerainty had never been renounced. The Emperor's rights were so interwoven with those of the Empire that they could not be separated from the latter without the consent of the whole; still less could they be torn away from it by papal Bulls, however many excommunications these might threaten. It was an utterly vain, and even a ridiculous thing, to arrogate to oneself judgment in one's own cause, and by means of Bulls to claim for oneself the rights of a third party. The quartering and provisioning of troops in imperial feudal territories had done

report in *Mercure historique*, XLV., 119, that in his homily on the feast of St. Peter, Clement XI. had compared the Emperor to an eagle whose bill was full of blood. In the authentic text of the homily (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Hom., 54 *seqq.*), there is a quotation from the Holy Scripture about the eagle, but not in connection with the Emperor. With reference to the difficulties of the time the Pope says at the end in a very general way: "Fluctuabit Petri navis, sed non mergetur; ac licet tot tantisque Ecclesia turbinibus agitetur, portae inferi adversus eam non praevalerunt."

no injury to the Church's property, especially as by this means the peace and tranquillity of those territories had been assured ! Moreover it was a long standing custom in those parts to draw upon ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of the troops.

The Emperor further reproached the Pope with having allowed the French to tax the clergy, whereas he himself had been repeatedly offended by the Pontiff. Until now he had patiently borne with everything, but the time had now come when he would no longer be able to justify further hesitation before God and his successors. Accordingly, after hearing his privy council and the council of Empire, as well as the opinions of foreign theologians of good repute and that of experts in civil and canon law, he, on his part, declared null and void the Pope's nullity Brief as well as the sentence of excommunication, all the more so as it had been pronounced, not in defence of the Lord's inheritance, but in order to bolster up papal pretensions. Since, according to the holy Fathers and the Councils, unjust ecclesiastical penalties are to be feared, not by those against whom they are pronounced, but by those who pronounce them, he appealed to the judgment of God and that of all impartial people. As for the two Duchies, no right of any kind, least of all that of direct suzerainty over them, could be conceded to the Holy See. Accordingly he forbade the Duke of Parma and his subjects, under pain of confiscation of their property and other corporal punishments, to take any notice of the Pope's declaration of nullity, or to recognize any other overlord except the Emperor and his brother King Charles of Spain.¹

The tone of this manifesto, to which the Pope declined to reply,² will be more easily understood if we remember that

¹ BUDER, II., 83 *seqq.* LANDAU (361) says the manifesto is perhaps the strongest document ever penned by an Emperor of the House of Habsburg against a Pope.

² On the unauthenticity of the Brief of July 16, 1708, see above, p. 50, note 4. Authentic, however, are the Briefs protesting against the invasion of the Papal States by the imperialists and the edicts of Milan and Naples, addressed to

in Joseph's case reverence for the Holy See had been undermined already in his early youth, whilst his head had been stuffed with "new interpretations of the faded imperial prerogatives".¹ At this time a number of writers in the pay of the Government of Vienna were busily engaged in reviving, by means of documents and parchments, "the phantom of the ancient imperial fiefs in Italy".² In all seriousness they advocated the notion that the Emperor had an inalienable claim not only to Parma and Piacenza, but to all Italy, the City of Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter.³ A professor of theology of Tübingen, in a defence of Joseph I. against the Roman Bulls written in 1708 and published in the following year, laid down the following propositions:—

1. The Pope cannot be a temporal lord.
2. The donations of the Emperors to the Popes give to the latter no sovereign rights, and they may be taken back should a Pope be guilty of grievous ingratitude.
3. The Emperor is the supreme arbiter in all conflicts concerning the temporal possessions of the Bishop of Rome.
4. The Council is above the Pope and must be convened by the Emperor.
5. The Church of Germany has the same rights as those enjoyed by that of France.

Cardinals Lamberg and the Cardinal of Saxony, to the ecclesiastical Electors and to the German Episcopate, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 541 seq. (cf. 555 seq.). On July 21, 1708, Clement XI. made similar complaints to Louis XIV. (*ibid.*, 545 seq.). *Letters of this kind were sent also on July 21 to the Kings of Spain and Poland, to Venice and other Italian States. *Epist. Clementis XI.*, t. 81, Papal Sec. Archives.

¹ See the memorandum compiled about 1695 for the information of Joseph, in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, VI., 23 seqq. Cf. NOORDEN, III., 330.

² RINGHOFFER, *Die Flugschriftenliteratur zu Beginn des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges*, Leipzig, 1881, 86; NOORDEN, *Papsttum und Kaiser im 18. Jahrhundert* in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876.

³ Such is the title of a book published at Jena, 1708-9, by G. RÜHLMANN.

6. Clement XI.'s threat of excommunication against the Emperor is an abuse of spiritual authority for a secular purpose.

7. The Pope may not wage war.¹

To this kind of literature belongs a memorial steeped in Ghibelline notions, against the Pope's temporal power and his "pretensions against the Emperor", whose author endeavours to prove from history that the Popes were subject to the Germano-Roman Emperors in the same way as the Patriarchs of Constantinople were subordinate to the Byzantine rulers!²

In addition to the French,³ two Italian princes, viz. the Dukes of Savoy and Modena, did their best to join in the dispute between Pope and Emperor. Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy had been involved in an ecclesiastico-political dispute with the Holy See since the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XI.⁴ In June, 1708, he suggested that the following steps should be taken jointly with Joseph I. and Charles III., viz. sequestration of the revenues of absentee clerics, prohibition to publish papal Bulls, Briefs, Monitories, etc., until they should have received the approval of the secular authority, restriction of the activities of the Inquisition, the right of sanctuary and other such matters.⁵ Duke Rinaldo d'Este of Modena was primarily concerned with his claims to Comacchio. The Pope had the latter's arguments on the subject refuted by the learned Giusto Fontanini who in his turn was attacked by the celebrated Muratori.⁶

¹ *Defensio aug. Rom. Imperatoris Josephi contra Curiae Romanae bullas a I. Wolfg. Iaegero cancellario Tubingensi*, Tübingen, 1709. Cf. LANDAU, 365 seq.

² Extracts from this memorandum preserved in State Archives, Vienna (*Romana*, February, 1709), are given in LANDAU, 366 seq.

³ NOORDEN, III., 331 seq.

⁴ Cf. below.

⁵ On the Duke's *Mémoire* of June 8, 1708, in State Archives, Turin, cf. LANDAU, 369 seqq.

⁶ On these and other polemical writings (indexed in BUDER, II., 189 seq., 244 seq., 486 seq., 652 seq. LEBRET, *Gesch. Italiens*,

These polemics were followed by an armed struggle, though not a very bloody one. War between the Pope and the Emperor, for which French diplomacy had worked with all the means at its disposal since the autumn of 1706,¹ broke out in October, 1708.

Before things had come to this extremity the seniors in rank among the Cardinals had written directly to the Emperor on August 12th, 1708, in the name of their colleagues. The Emperor had sent the Sacred College copies of his manifesto of June 26th. "We all," the Cardinals wrote, "could only peruse this document with deep sorrow, and some of us only with tears in our eyes". The Emperor was doing Clement XI. a grievous wrong. When he declared null and void the agreement with the Duke of Parma, the Pope could not possibly intend to injure or restrict the rights of the Emperor since there were no such rights in regard to the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza. The Holy See had held these territories for three centuries by a rightful tenure; both before and after the investiture of the House of Farnese, at each renewal, the fees had always been paid to the Apostolic Camera. This had been expressly sanctioned by the Emperor Leopold in 1695 and 1697, who in a decree of the Council of Empire had publicly declared that the Duke held only a few small territories in fief from Emperor and Empire. They were surprised that this fact should not have been brought to the Emperor's notice, unless it was purposely kept dark with a view to preventing His Majesty from acting as the protector of the rights of the Roman Church, and in order to make room for the advice of evil counsellors, theologians and canonists. Let the Emperor calmly consider both how far the authors of the manifesto had strayed and the expressions they had used about the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, the Vicar of Christ on earth, and about the clergy.

IX., 660 seqq.), cf. also FEA, *Il diritto sovrano della S. Sede sopra le valli di Comacchio*, Roma, 1824, and SAUER, *Die Schrift des G. Valla*, Göttingen, 1905, 15 seqq., 18 seqq.

¹ NOORDEN, III., 331.

His Majesty could not fail, in view of his native, truly Austrian piety, to be horrified by such language. To this must be added the attack and occupation of Comacchio, to the injury of natural and international law, as well as the unheard of decrees issued in Milan and Naples.¹

The Cardinals gave further support to the Pope when they agreed to the removal from Sixtus V.'s treasure in Castel S. Angelo of the sum of 500,000 scudi for armaments.² As this sum proved inadequate it became necessary to impose fresh taxes, to raise the nominal value of money without, however, raising the metallic content, and to incur debts. Even so the armaments were insufficient. The untrained mob of hurriedly collected troops were no match for the Emperor's tried veterans, all the more so as their supreme commander, the scholarly Count Louis Ferdinand Marsigli, was unequal to his task.³

If Clement XI., in opposition to the advice of several Cardinals,⁴ decided to risk armed resistance to the Emperor, he was chiefly inspired by the hope of help from Louis XIV. That hope, however, proved a delusion. The King of France, already hard pressed in his own realm, was unable to send troops to Italy, even if he had had the will to do so, but he kept that fact from the Pope. Marshal Tessé, whom he dispatched to Italy, was the bearer of more empty words and a project for an anti-imperial Italian league, a scheme that had not the slightest chance of ever being realized. The Pope was not allowed to raise troops at Avignon, and in the

¹ BUDER, II., 125 *seq.*; MENZEL, IX., 480 *seqq.* Noorden's doubts about the authenticity of the document are unfounded, it is found among the *Romana* of the State Archives, Vienna; see KLOPP, XIII., 99.

² Cf. **Acta consist.*, September 24, 1708, Vatican Library; REBOULET, I., 231.

³ Cf. OTTIERI, 64 *seqq.*; BROSCHE, II., 43 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 378 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. Acciajoli's *letters of November 16 and 19, and Tanara's *letter of November 26, 1708, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, p. 16 *seq.* Papal Sec. Archives.

Catholic Cantons of Switzerland such enrolments were prevented by Austria. Nor could the Pope look for help in any other quarter. Venice, Florence and Genoa remained neutral, whilst Savoy and Modena were in league with the Emperor. Thus the Pope was completely dependent on his own, utterly inadequate resources.¹

In these circumstances there might have occurred a repetition of the events of 1527, as indeed many people in Rome feared,² had not the view prevailed in Vienna that it would be best not to push things to extremes. Accordingly, the Marquis von Prié, a diplomatist as dexterous as he was ambitious, was sent to Rome in order to initiate fresh negotiations with the Pope, and to force him to yield under pressure of the imperial arms.³

In September, 1708, imperial troops set out from Piedmont in the direction of Ferrara. They succeeded in occupying the line of the Po without serious loss. At the beginning of October the papal troops were driven from Sant 'Agostino, San Carlo and Mirabello. The garrison of Bondeno, which had offered a determined resistance, was forced to surrender on October 28th. When Field-Marshal Daun took over the command the course of the operations was further accelerated. Whilst one division blocked Ferrara the main force marched through Cento against Bologna. On November 8th nine imperial regiments appeared before the walls of the second capital of the Pontifical States, whose head had protested against these doings in a Brief to the Cardinal of Saxony, dated November 3rd, 1708.⁴ At Bologna there was no thought of resistance. The magistrates undertook to remain neutral, to grant a free passage to the imperialists and to provide

¹ Cf. NOORDEN, III., 341 *seq.*; LANDAU, 390 *seq.*, 403; POMETTI, XXI., 406.

² Cf. Zondadari's report in LAMBERTY, V., 256, quoted by KLOPP, XIII., 102.

³ LANDAU, 391 *seqq.* On Prié, cf. REUMONT in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XVII. (1886), 218 *seqq.*; CLARETTA in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 321 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 400.

⁴ **Epist. Clementis XI.*, 86, p. 280, Papal Sec. Archives.

them with winter quarters. On November 11th the imperial troops marched through Bologna and occupied Forlì and Faenza where Daun established his headquarters on November 21st. Avoiding battle, Marsigli and his troops retreated to Pesaro and eventually as far as Ancona where they entrenched themselves.¹

In the midst of this hopeless situation circumstances changed in favour of the Pope in a most unexpected manner. Clement XI. had given assistance to the Pretender James III., the unfortunate son of James II. of England, in his attempt to reconquer Scotland.² For this action Admiral Leake, the commander of the English Mediterranean fleet, was instructed to demand satisfaction and to bombard Civita-vecchia. Both the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy realized that such an action against the Supreme Head of the Church would not be in their interest. They only wanted to push things as far as was necessary for securing a favourable separate peace. The Dutch also thoroughly disapproved of the English plan. The pensioner of the Council, Heinsius, told the imperial ambassador that the Dutch admiral in the Mediterranean had not been ordered to take hostile action against the Pope, hence if Leake were to take such action he would dissociate himself from him; in fact complaints

¹ Cf. BUDER, II., 175 seq.; LANDAU, 400 seqq.

² Not only by ostentatious supplications to God but, though it was afterwards denied, also secretly with money, which, however, was to be paid only after the success of the enterprise. This is clear from an *instruction in code of Paolucci, April 4, 1708, to the nuncio in Paris. There he speaks of: "quella somma di denaro che già da molti anni ha tenuto a tale soggetto segretamente in cotesti banchi destinata a beneficio di questa grande impresa"—in all 110,517 scudi—; however, this subsidy should only be paid "quando sia veramente non solo imbarcato, ma giunto e ricevuto in Scozia il Re, e che però possa dirsi riuscito felicemente il disegno"; the payment should be made directly to the Queen of England, not all at once, "ma di tempo in tempo," according to Torcy's advice. *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, Pap. Sec. Arch.

were heard at the Hague to the effect that Joseph I. had gone too far already. The Dutch, and soon after them the English, saw with growing anxiety that instead of supporting their enterprises against France, the Emperor employed his troops against the Pope in a campaign which not only was of no advantage to them in the war of succession, but which was bound to lessen the value of the contribution of their imperial ally on the Rhine, in Flanders and in Spain.¹

These favourable symptoms remained hidden from the Pope. He was overawed by the relentless advance of the imperial army. Tossed hither and thither by fear and hope, he vainly strove to arrive at a firm decision, with the consequence that his moods and utterances were subject to endless change. If at any time, it was now that his character revealed itself as described by Abbé Polignac, who compared him to a reed which only stands because it bends.²

The Marquis Prié reached Rome on October 24th, 1708, but he was only received in audience on November 10th, after Cardinal Barberini had effected a compromise on the subject of the ceremonial.³ This was followed by further discussions often lasting three hours.⁴ Prié presented five demands: disarmament of the papal troops; satisfaction for a number of measures which the Emperor considered as injuries; recognition of Charles III. as King of Spain in the same way as Philip IV.; the handing over of the disputed questions concerning Comacchio, Parma and other fiefs of Empire to a cardinalitial commission in which Prié and the Milanese senator Caroelli would take part as representing the Emperor; recognition of the Roman Emperor's precedence over the King of France.⁵

¹ NOORDEN, III., 355 *seqq.*; KLOPP, XIII., 100 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 404 *seqq.*

² NOORDEN, III., 346.

³ *Report in *Barb.* 5643-4, Vatican Library. Cf. LANDAU, 410 *seq.*

⁴ Prié's *report of November 26, 1708, State Archives, Vienna.

⁵ " Cinque sono stati li punti principali e generali ai quali ho ridotto le dimande di V. M^{ta} et a cui si ponno poi riferire tutte

The third demand, viz. the recognition of Charles III,¹ quelle che si potessero promuovere in appresso per ordine della Mtà Vra. Il primo è stato la riforma delle nuove leve, e ho proposto sul motivo di togliere le reciproche diffidenze e massimamente quelle che si sono date non solo a V. Mtà, ma a tutti li Collegati con un armamento sì strepitoso e sì puoco necessario doppo tutte le proteste, che V. M. haveva fatto fare dai suoi Generali, e poi da me si chiaramente et si positivamente al cardinale Casoni, nel congresso havuto a Ferrara, sopra il che si condanna universalmente la condotta di questa corte, e si rendono giustificate le determinazioni di V. M.

Ho ricercato le giuste sodisfattioni dovute a V. M. non solo per gl'insulti, che sono stati fatti ultimamente nel Ferrarese, ma per tutti gl'aggravii, che sono portati dai capi di doglianza compresi nelle mie istruzioni, che mi son riservato di proporre a suo tempo.

Ho dimandato la ricognitione di S. Mtà Cattca con ugualianza al Duca d'Angiò, havendo stimato di portare tutti li giusti motivi, che favoriscono tal dimanda, e di contenermi in tal forma sino alle risposte del Re Cattolico, oltre che si sarebbe sempre in tempo di restringere le suddite pretensioni.

Che sua Stà deputi cardinali per entrare in congresso meco e col senatore Caroelli a fine d'esaminare amichevolmente le pendenze dei stati di Parma e di Comacchio e de' feudi imperiali, che sono massimamente nei contorni di Roma: che Sua Stà si degni commettere a' detti cardinali d'entrare in tal discussione coll'istesso spirito d'equità e di verità, che ci ha imposto la M. V. per parte sua, sì che S. Stà si contenti rendere l'istessa giustizia alle ragioni di V. M. e dell'imperio, che la Mtà Va s'è dichiarata di voler rendere alle ragioni della Chiesa. Ho stimato di dover protestare, che questo sia un congresso e non un giudizio, mentre la Mtà V. non può riconoscere alcun giudice, nè prende altra legge che dalla sua grand'equità in queste materie spettanti al sacro Romano Imperio.

Ho più stimato di non dover promettere di accennare pur anche in ultimo luogo, che sia in avvenire più rispettata la dignità di V. Mtà in Roma, non volendosi più soffrire il predominio, che s'è usurpato la Francia in questa corte." Prié's report, November 26, 1708, State Archives, Vienna. Cf. KLOPP, XIII., 103; LANDAU, 411.

¹ " Il terzo punto più difficile e più importante," Prié says in his *report of Nov. 30, 1708, *loc. cit.*

was the one fraught with the weightiest consequences. When the imperialists pointed to the strong moral support given to the House of Bourbon by the recognition of Philip V., the answer from the papal side was that the Pope had only followed the usual course, and that at the time of the recognition in 1701, neither Leopold I. himself nor his Roman ambassador had raised a protest; all they had demanded was that Philip V. should not receive the investiture of Naples which, as a matter of fact, the Pope had not granted in spite of the complaints of the French.¹

To the Pope the situation must have appeared extraordinarily serious. The Roman populace was discontented; people recalled to mind the sack of Rome by Charles V.'s army under Bourbon; the Sacred College was divided; since the middle of December the city was threatened from the south also by an army based on San Germano under the command of the Prince of Darmstadt, whilst no help could be expected from any quarter. The Pope feared the fate of the seventh Clement. There was nothing he could do except to yield; but in that case Louis XIV. and Philip V. threatened with sequestration of all revenues from France and Spain, the rupture of diplomatic relations and the seizure of Avignon.²

¹ "Si diffendono essi," says Prié in his report of Nov. 30, 1708 (*ibid.*), "da questi rimproveri, col dire, che non poteva dimeno Sua Stà dal riconoscere detto prencipe, senza violar gl'usi ecclesiastici, e caggionare gravissimi inconvenienti, e ch'il defonto Imperatore, nè il suo ambasciatore in Roma non si era mai opposto a tal ricognitione, sendosi solo chiesto da Sua Stà, che non concedesse l'investitura di Napoli, il che fu promesso et osservato inviolabilmente non ostante tutte le doglianze e le premure de' Gallispani."

² KLOPP, XIII., 102, 104. On the French menaces Kaunitz *reports on Dec. 2, 1708, "che la corona di Francia s'esimirebbe dall'ubedienza della S. Sede, impedirebbe tanto in Spagna che in Francia le rendite della Dataria, richiamerebbe i suoi ministri da Roma e s'impadronirebbe della contea d'Avignone, ogni qualvolta S. Stà in qualsivoglia modo ardisse di riconoscere S. M. Catt." State Archives, Vienna. The troops concentrated at

An attempt by the Pope to obtain a mitigation of the harsh conditions through the mediation of Giulio Piazza, Bishop of Nazaret, who was dispatched to Vienna about the middle of December, proved a complete failure.¹ Clement discussed the affair thoroughly with Cardinals Paolucci, Marescotti, Spada, Panciatici, Spinola and Fabroni.² He felt he must be prepared for the worst. He gave orders for the restoration of the covered passage by which Clement VII. had fled from the Vatican to Castel S. Angelo at the approach of the troops of Charles V.³ More than once he thought of fleeing from Rome. But where to? Genoa, Venice and other places offered no safety from the imperialists; there only remained Avignon, suggested by Louis XIV., but if he went there he ran the risk of enslavement by France.⁴

Thus bereft of all human help Clement XI. stormed heaven by the publication of a jubilee, and by ordering prayers and processions. On January 2nd, 1709, he ordered the ancient picture of our Lord to be carried in solemn procession from the chapel of *Sancta Sanctorum* to St. Peter's. The Pope himself followed the procession on foot, accompanied by all the Cardinals and a vast number of secular and regular clergy.⁵ Whilst these processions were being repeated the agents of the Bourbons, Abbé Polignac and the auditor Molines, made a fresh assault on Clement XI. At this interview the Pope compared himself to a captain who, seeing

San Germano numbered 4,000 men, and had a strong artillery; see Paolucci's *letter to Piazza, Dec. 22, 1708. *Nunziat. di Germania*, 45, Papal Sec. Archives.

¹ On Piazza's mission see CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 573 seqq.; LANDAU, 413; POMETTI, XXI., 404 seq., 409 seqq.

² Cf. the *notes of the discussions of December 17, 19 and 23, 1708, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, Papal Sec. Archives; there also Prié's **Articoli* with autograph notes by the Pope; also **Repliche del Marchese di Prié* and **Contro risposte per parte di S. Stà.*

³ Cf. OTTIERI, III., 82, 92; RINCK, II., 421.

⁴ NOORDEN, III., 347 seq., 350, 353.

⁵ BUDER, II., 211 seq.

himself surrounded by corsairs, offers part of the cargo as a ransom for ship and crew, though without pretending to have a right to dispose of another's property.¹

Vienna was afraid of ecclesiastical penalties for which the French were pressing. It also feared lest the Pope should take to flight, so much so indeed that the Emperor threatened the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John with confiscation of all the possessions of the Order within his States should he lend the Pope assistance with his ships.² Prié allowed nothing to transpire of this fear, nor of the pressure on the part of the maritime Powers in Vienna and Barcelona for a speedy conclusion of peace. He gave the impression that the imperialists were prepared for extreme measures, and fixed January 15th, 1609, as the farthest time limit for the Pope to make up his mind ; should he fail to do so the imperial troops, which were drawing ever nearer, would march on Rome.³ The Pope's extreme reluctance to yield appears from the circumstance that he deferred his decision up to the last minute of the time limit. On January 15th, 1709, at eleven o'clock at night, yielding to force, he accepted the treaty on which his Secretary of State, Cardinal Paolucci and Prié had agreed three days before.⁴

The document, dated January 15th, 1709, bore the signatures of Cardinal Paolucci and of Prié and comprised nineteen articles.⁵ By its terms the Pope bound himself to

¹ NOORDEN, III., 358.

² LANDAU, 415 *seqq.*, 423.

³ Cf. Paolucci's *Letter to Piazza, January 5, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 45, Papal Sec. Archives.

⁴ NOORDEN, III., 359 ; LANDAU, 425 ; POMETTI, XXI., 406 *seq.* The *Brief to Paolucci, with powers to come to a settlement with Prié, is dated January 12, 1709, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, p. 126, Papal Sec. Archives. *Ibid.*, 133, *Letter of Cardinal Negroni to the Pope, *Di casa 12 gennaio, 1709* : the dying Cardinal Colleredo had implored the Pope not to discuss any further with the Cardinals, but to conclude the matter.

⁵ " *nella scorsa notte," reports Paolucci to Piazza on January 16, 1709. *Nunziat di Germania*, Pap. Sec. Archives.

disarm completely, to grant a free passage to Naples to the imperial troops whilst the war lasted, and to give no assistance to the Francophile refugees from Naples. As the papal demobilization progressed the imperial army would be withdrawn from the Papal States, Comacchio alone remaining in the occupation of imperial troops until the disputes about its possession should have been amicably settled by a Congregation of Cardinals, in conjunction with Prié. The dispute over Parma and Piacenza and Este's claim to Ferrara were to be settled by similar means.¹

Certain secret articles concerned the most difficult question of all, viz. the recognition of Charles III. as King. The Pope was prepared to grant it, with all its consequences, that is the dispatch of a nuncio to Charles' court at Barcelona, consideration for existing conditions of possession in the bestowal of benefices and a declaration to the Emperor that the title conceded to Philip V. granted the latter no new rights and in no way curtailed those of the Habsburgs. In return some concessions were also made to the Pope, namely in regard to Naples and Milan the abolition of the prohibition of the export of money and the sequestration of the possessions of non-native ecclesiastics, canonical satisfaction for the violation of the Church's immunity at Parma and Piacenza, compensation for the damage caused by the passage of the imperial troops, abolition of the *placet* in all Charles' Italian territories. A commission of fifteen Cardinals was to decide whether the Habsburg King should be styled simply "Catholic King" or "King of Spain" as well.²

These discussions, difficult as they were in themselves, were rendered still more arduous by the delay in the execution of the concessions demanded by the Pope in return for the

¹ DUMONT, VIII., 1 ; BUDER, II., 221 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 425 *seqq.*

² See the summary of the secret articles in Paolucci's *letter to Piazza, dat. Rome, Jan. 16, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania*, *loc. cit.* The most important passages are in POMETTI, XXI., 406-7. Cf. a resumé according to Priés reports in LANDAU, 427 *seqq.*

full recognition of Charles, and by the insistence of the Cardinalitial Congregation on the surrender of Comacchio.¹

Meanwhile the oppression of the papal subjects by the imperialists continued.² In the circumstances the letter of February 19th, 1709, in which Joseph I. expressed to Clement XI. his satisfaction at the conclusion of peace,³ sounded almost like a mockery. To the Pope's complaints the Emperor replied on March 10th, 1709, promising an inquiry and redress,⁴ but the imperial troops continued their acts of violence and their demands for contributions in the territory of Ferrara throughout the months of May and June.⁵

At the same time Clement XI. had to face the bitter enmity of Philip V. For some years already he had watched with anxiety the Gallican tendencies pursued by the Government of Madrid through Amelot and Orry, and he had to put up a constant fight for the preservation of his ancient ecclesiastical rights in Spain.⁶ The influence of the Holy See on the Inquisition was a thorn in the side of the absolutist Government quite as much as the existence of the tribunal of the nunciature and the Church's immunity. Before the battle of Almansa (April 27th, 1707) contributions had indeed been laid upon the clergy, but ecclesiastical immunity had been safeguarded. After the victory Amelot and Princess Orsini, who was all-powerful with the King, were bent on a further step. This was to impose on the clergy also the so-called free-will gift of money which had been enforced on the laity. The Pope protested against this patent attempt to tax the

¹ POMETTI, XXI., 409 *seqq.*, 412.

² BUDER, II., 311 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 441; POMETTI, XXI., 411.

³ *Original, dat. Vienna, Feb. 19, 1709, in *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., 30, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Original, *ibid.*

⁵ Paolucci's *letter to Piazza of May 6 ("il martirio si soffre o per dir meglio continua soffrirsi"), May 18, June 1, 15, and 29, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ BAUDRILLART, I., 302 *seq.*

clergy by the State's own authority.¹ As Louis XIV. sided with the Pope in this matter, Madrid decided to beat a retreat. The attempt to introduce the Gallican principles in Spain had thus failed,² but when at the beginning of 1709 the Pope found himself compelled to promise the imperialists to recognize Charles III., a rupture between Rome and Madrid ensued. The warnings of Louis XIV. remained unheeded. In vain the latter represented to his nephew that the Pope had only yielded to force ; in vain he dissuaded Philip from countering the dispatch of a nuncio to Barcelona by the expulsion of the Madrid nuncio and the recall of his Roman ambassador, since such measures would only benefit his enemy.³ Deaf to all warnings the ill-advised Philip V. had recourse to the severest reprisals. In May the Duke of Uzeda was recalled from Rome.⁴ Thereupon nuncio Zondadari, who had loyally stood by the King in the saddest and most critical days, saw himself expelled from Spain, and the Madrid nunciature closed. An edict of Philip V. of June 29th, 1709, sequestrated all the revenues of the Holy See in Spain and forbade all relations with Rome.⁵

The consternation caused in Rome by Philip's action was all the greater as it had not seemed possible.⁶ " All that

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 399 seq., 429 seqq.

² *Ibid.*, 303 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 316 seq.

⁴ BUDER, 291 seq.

⁵ LA FUENTE, XIII., 215 ; BUDER, II., 310.

⁶ On Feb. 16, 1709, Paolucci had written to the nuncio in Paris : " La cognizione che V. S. I. avvisa haversi da cotesta corte della strana violenza ch'è stata usata dagli Alemanni con N. Sig^{re}, quale certamente è maggiore di ogni espressione e superiore ad ogni credere, non concorda punto con le risoluzioni che Ella teme siano per prendersi tanto dalla medesima corte quanto da quella di Spagna circa l'espulsione de' Nunzii. È vanità il temere che, appresso la pietà e religione della nazione Spagnuola, la ricognizione che farà Sua Beat^{ne} dell'Arciduca sia per produrre effetto alcuno pregiudiziale a Filippo V, mentre se sapranno le cose con verità e sarà nota, come dovrebbe essere, la barbarie

could have been imagined was exceeded by the reality," the Pope lamented in the first days of April, 1709. The nuncio was instructed to make a protest should he be expelled from Madrid but not to leave the country, and to keep the nunciature open.¹ When the action of the Spanish Government made this impossible, he was ordered to withdraw to Avignon. The Secretary of State now seriously threatened to recognize Charles III. as King.² That step was facilitated by the following events.

con cui è stato trattato il Patrimonio de' santi apostoli Pietro e Paolo, e la violenza praticatasi contro ogni ragione col Vicario di Giesù Christo, la stessa pietà e religione della nazione produrrà un effetto totalmente contrario, e cagionando orrore e avversione ne' Spagnuoli contro chi ha tenuta una sì ingiusta e violenta condotta, accrescerà in loro la venerazione e l'amore verso chi se n'è astenuto e se ne astiene; tanto più che l'haver Sua Stà, prima di far'alcun passo, aspettato, per così dire, l'estermínio totale del suo stato e dei suoi sudditi, ha fatto e fa ben conoscere a tutto il mondo, verso qual parte era la sua inclinazione. E troppo male si corrisponderebbe dall'istessa parte al molto che ha sofferto la Stà S., se si procedesse alle risoluzioni che si minacciano." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, p. 99, Papal Sec. Archives.

¹ Paolucci to Zondadari, April 6, 1709: "Although six regiments were in the Papal States, the Pope had not recognized the Archduke Charles. "Or questo non si chiama esser martire di Filippo V. ? e che poi dal medesimo e da' suoi Ministri si abbia a ricevere in corrispondenza un sì irreverente e scandaloso trattamento senza punto riflettere allo stato violento e forzoso, in cui si è trovato e si trova la S. S., è cosa per verità, e che sorpassa ogn'imaginazione. Esclami perciò V. S. Ill^{ma}, quanto conviene e quanto può, mentre non dirà mai tanto, quanto potrebbe e si dovrebbe dire. In caso che si procedesse alla di lei espulsione da Madrid, non esca dal regno, ma si fermi in qualche luogo, dove le sarà permesso, con tener sempre aperto il tribunale, e con protestare dell'incorso nelle censure contro quelli, che recassero impedimenti all'esercizio della sua giurisdizione, o che la disacciassero dalla sua resistenza." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, p. 206. Papal Sec. Archives.

² Paolucci to Zondadari, May 4, 1709: "Ha udito N. S. con quell'amarezza, che può ben persuadersi, la risoluzione presa dalla

The summer witnessed a change in the distribution of power in Europe. Compelled by necessity Louis XIV. made peace proposals to the allies which only included a demand of Naples for Philip V.¹ The negotiations broke down. On September 11th, 1709, in spite of a valiant resistance, the French suffered a heavy defeat at Malplaquet, the bloodiest battle of the whole war. Almost at the same time news reached Rome from Barcelona that on August 28th, 1709, Charles had at last revoked the decrees published in Naples and Milan against the rights of the Holy See. Thereupon Clement XI. announced on October 10th, 1709, that full recognition of Charles III. would be proclaimed at the next consistory.² In vain Cardinal De La Trémoille protested on October 13th against "the injury thereby done to the rights of France and Spain."³ The Pope had made up his mind, and a short Brief, dated October 10th, was already drawn up; it was headed: "To our beloved son Charles, Catholic King of Spain."⁴ The consistory was held on October 14th. In his communication to the Cardinals the Pope observed that his decision

corte di Spagna circa la di lei espulsione da quel regno. La condotta tenuta da N. S. in haver sofferta l'ultima desolazione dello Stato Ecclesiastico e in tuttavia soffrire presentemente tanti e si pesanti aggravii per la ritardata ricognizione regia del Ser^{mo} Arciduca, ben meritava di ricevere altra corrispondenza. Havrà ora la S. S. un più giusto titolo di pensare unicamente all'indennità del proprio stato e de' suoi afflitti sudditi, mentre si vede si mal corrisposta, e potrà liberamente prendere diverse misure da quelle sinora tenute." *Ibid.*, p. 311^b.

¹ NOORDEN, III., 462.

² POMETTI, XXI., 412 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 413; LANDAU, 411.

⁴ "Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Carolo Hispaniarum regi catholico." The much disputed (NOORDEN, III., 362; against him LANDAU, 437) authenticity of the Brief beginning: "Suscepta a Maiestate tua consilium" is established by **Epist. Clementis XI.*, 87, p. 140^b, Papal Sec. Archives. The statement by DE LA TORRE (*Mém. et négociat. secrètes*, V., 218) is therefore correct. The original of the *Letter of thanks of Charles III. to the Pope, Dec. 7, 1709, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 106, p. 82, *loc. cit.*

would not be prejudicial to those other princes who contended for the Spanish monarchy.¹ On the same day he informed Joseph I., in an autograph Brief, of the condescension he had displayed in spite of the non-fulfilment of the conditions agreed upon ; once more also he conjured him to restore Comacchio to the Holy See.²

Thus was peace at last re-established between Pope and Emperor ; the Emperor was the victor. But when we look at it more closely, his success appears modest enough. In spite of the employment of all the resources of the State, in spite of victory on the battlefield, in spite of Prié's undeniable skill, Joseph I. had secured no more than the recognition of his brother as King of Spain, the not very valuable right provisionally to occupy Comacchio and a pardon for some of his partisans.³

The emotions of the past year had greatly affected the

¹ *Acta consist., Vatican Library, and **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 106, *loc. cit.* The **Voti* of the Cardinals, *ibid.*, 107. Cf. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 41 *seq.*, and POMETTI, XXI., 414.

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 663 *seq.*, with the wrong date of September 14, 1709. The *original is in State Archives, Vienna ; see LANDAU, 437.

³ Opinion of LANDAU (438). MENZEL (IX., 486 *seqq.*) observes : ' Without doubt these quarrels with the Pope, which, putting it as mildly as possible, could only be described as inopportune, damaged the Austrian cause in Spain far more than the extorted Papal recognition could benefit it, for they afforded the French party an excellent pretext for representing the German King to a nation full of faith as the friend and champion of heretical principles, and for confirming the opinion already widely spread and based on his alliance with the Protestant Powers, that he intended to put a Lutheran or a Calvinist on the throne of the Catholic Kings. The Emperor would have been much better served if he had been reminded of the old German proverb, proved by many national experiences, that it is best not to fall out with the clergy without necessity, rather than with all the juridical wisdom about the rights of the Empire to Parma and wretched Comacchio.' Cf. also the remarks of BOTTA (I., 33) and BROSCHE (II., 45 *seq.*).

Pope, who had been ailing all through the summer, with the result that at the beginning of 1710 he fell grievously sick.¹ In March his condition was such that no one doubted his early demise, and discussions about the election of a new Pope began,² but by April he was sufficiently recovered to carry out the exacting religious functions of Holy Week³; only a stay at Castel Gandolfo in May and June led to a recovery, though it proved but a partial one.⁴

¹ BUDER, II., 353 *seq.* It appears from Lamberg's *Diary that the Pope fell ill for the first time in September, 1702; on October 15 his condition was dangerous. On March 4, 1703, Clement XI. appeared quite pale and emaciated; in April he suffered much from asthma (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the illness of 1706, *cf.* REBOULET, I., 179.

² Kaunitz' *reports to Liechtenstein, March 15 and 22, 1710, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

³ Kaunitz' *reports of April 12 and 19, 1710, *ibid.*

⁴ Kaunitz' *reports of September 6, November 8 and 29, and December 27, 1710, *ibid.* *Cf.* REBOULET, I., 261. Clement XI. repeated his visit to Castelgandolfo in 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714 and 1715; *cf.* BUDER, II., 527, 631 *seq.*, 707 *seq.*; III., 118 *seq.*, 257 *seq.* *Cf.* **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 26, Papal Secret Archives.

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP V.'S HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE HOLY SEE—
NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RESTITUTION OF COMACCHIO—
DEATH OF JOSEPH I.—ELECTION OF CHARLES VI. AS
EMPEROR—PEACE TREATIES OF UTRECHT, RASTATT
AND BADEN (1713–1714).

FORSAKEN by France and Spain, and driven by extreme necessity, Clement XI. had only yielded to force when, pressed by the violence of the imperialists, he had consented to recognize the Archduke Charles as Catholic King of Spain. He was fully aware that such a step would lead Philip V. to take even severer reprisals than those he had already indulged in. As a matter of fact, not content with the expulsion of the nuncio, Philip V. proceeded to take further violent measures. True, as a result of an earnest exhortation by the Pope,¹ the best among the Spanish Bishops had ranged themselves by the side of Clement XI.,² but this did not stop Philip V. A royal edict dated from Madrid, October 30th, 1709, forbade all the King's subjects to have anything to do with the court of Rome. An ordinance of December 12th ordered all Philip's vassals, under pain of forfeiture of their property, to quit Rome and the Papal States within four months.³ All this was done even though before his death

¹ Briefs to the Spanish Episcopate of August 24, 1709, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 629 seq.

² On September 14, 1709, Paolucci wrote to Zondadari, *that to his great consolation the Pope saw from the letters of the Bishop of Cartagena, "che non è ancor spento ne' prelati di Spagna l'antico valore. Si sente che il zelo del medesimo monsignor vescovo sia stato imitato anco da altri e che a tutti habbia proceduto l'esempio del card. Portocarrero." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362. Papal Sec. Archives.

³ Zondadari's *report of April 23, 1710, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 54, *loc. cit.*

Cardinal Portocarrero had conjured Philip V. to refrain from further acts of violence.¹

Philip V. felt particularly hit by the fact that Clement XI. refused confirmation to the candidates proposed by him for the vacant dioceses. The few Bishops who had sided with the King soon returned to obedience to the Pope, as for instance, the Bishop of Lerida, who, when appointed to Avila by Philip V., had so far forgotten himself as to take possession of the diocese without confirmation by the Holy See. Clement XI. forbade him and the Chapter of Avila, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to exercise their functions, in consequence of which the Bishop resigned the administration of the diocese.² Just then it looked as if Philip V. were about to alter his conduct. He let it be known in Rome that he had no intention of renouncing obedience to the Pope; that the prohibition of all relations with the Roman Curia only concerned secular matters. However, he was told that the prohibition to send money to Rome likewise affected spiritual relations with the Head of the Church.³ Clement XI. firmly stuck to his resolution not to confirm the Bishops named by Philip V. The Spanish auditor of the Rota, José Molines, sought to induce the Pope to change his mind, but at an audience on February 5th, 1710, Clement XI. made it a condition for all further negotiations that Philip should unequivocally revoke the ordinances hitherto published by him. Molines was not in a position to give the desired guarantee.⁴

On February 22nd, 1710, the Pope addressed yet another Brief of grave warning to Philip V. He declared categorically

¹ Text of the *edicts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 91, pp. 199, 204, Papal Sec. Archives. Cf. Paolucci's *letter to Zondadari, February 15, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.* Cf. GAMS, II., 2, 312 *seqq.*

² *Paolucci to Zondadari, February 15, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, Papal Sec. Archives.

³ *Paolucci to the Archbishop of Saragossa, March 15, 1710, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 74 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Autograph *notes of the Pope of the audience, *ibid.*, p. 8.

that unless the expulsion of the nuncio, the closing of the nunciature and the prohibition of all relations with Rome were revoked, there could be no question of his assenting to Philip's presentation to the vacant sees.¹ The Brief was handed to Molines at an audience of March 5th.² On March 15th the Secretary of State wrote to the Archbishop of Saragossa that it was the Pope's duty to insist on the recall of Philip's ordinances, for he could not have it on his conscience to leave the King's territory in open schism. His Holiness hoped for a great deal from the King's goodness and sense of justice, though he did not expect much from his advisers.³

Unfortunately the youthful ruler succumbed to the influence of those around him. In the negative answer which the King at length made on June 18th, 1710, to the Brief of February 10th, he had the effrontery to speak of his Christian moderation and his reverence for the person of the Holy Father.⁴ Through Molines he bitterly reproached the Pope for not assenting to his presentations, and for the recognition by him of Charles III., a fact which encouraged rebellion among his subjects. The Pope's action was not only an attack on his crown but on the sovereignty of every other lawful ruler. He, the King, was resolved to uphold his rights in spite of the Pope's hostility. Philip endeavoured to justify

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 685. *Original draft of the Brief with corrections by the Pope's own hand in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 46, *loc. cit.*

² *Miscell.*, 92, p. 52, *ibid.* There also the Pope's autograph *notes of the audience.

³ " Monsignore, le cose son troppo chiare, le intenzioni non possono più celarsi. N. S. è risoluto, quando non si rivochino tutte le novità costà fatte, di non lasciare le parti dovute al suo ministero ; non vuole offendere la sua coscienza con lassare cotesti regni in uno scisma manifesto. Molto spera nella bontà e giustizia di S. M., ben poco in quella de' suoi consiglieri." *Ibid.*, 92, p. 78.

⁴ The original of the *letter dated " Dèl campo Reale tra Ibars e Barbens ", June 18, 1710, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 96, *loc. cit.*

the expulsion of the nuncio on the plea that in such extreme cases his action was in accordance with international law ; the closing of the nunciature he excused on the ground that scandal must be avoided !¹ At the same time administrators were named for the vacant dioceses by the King's own authority, and a contribution of a million scudi was extorted from the Spanish clergy.² The Pope exhaustively-discussed with the Cardinals the hopeless situation created by Philip V.³

An important contributory cause of the deterioration of the relations between Clement XI. and Philip V. was the Spanish auditor of the Rota José Molines who, after Uzeda's departure, acted as the King's representative in Rome, though on account of his blustering temperament he did more harm than good to his own interests. Clement bore with him for a long time, but when in September, 1711, Molines had the effrontery to put up on the Dataria an ordinance to the effect that all Spaniards were to quit Rome, he felt compelled to intervene. Molines was suspended.⁴

¹ Cf. the second detailed *letter of Philip V. to the Pope which, however, was only dispatched with Molines' letter of August 9, 1710, to " Msgr. Corradini, Uditore di S. Stà ", for the latter to hand over to the Pope. *Ibid.*, p. 101 seq.

² Paolucci writes to Zondadari on July 5, 1710 : " e la longanimità, che fin hora S. S. ha usato in non prendere alcuna risoluzione contro così scandalosi attentati, onde per sodisfare all'obbligo del suo apostolico ministero, ha risoluto di non più tolerarli, e già va pensando al modo di dargli il dovuto riparo." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, *loc. cit.* ; *Letter of Zondadari to Paolucci, dat. Avignon, July 2 and 16, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 209, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. the *notes on the discussions with the Cardinals, written partly in Clement XI.'s own hand and the **Voti* in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, *loc. cit.*, 213 seqq.

⁴ Cf. BUDER, II., 550 seqq. Cardinal Paolucci *wrote to Zondadari on September 26, 1711 : " Delle tante lesioni, che sono state inferite dalla corte di Madrid, pare che non possa mettersi in dubbio esserne stato o l'autore o l'istigatore Mons. Molines, mentre si sa, ch' egli ha sempre scritto in Spagna con sentimenti

An even more decisive measure followed. Soon afterwards, on October 17th, 1711, a Brief declared null and void everything Philip V. had done in Spain against ecclesiastical immunity and papal authority.¹ The Government of Madrid replied in November by renewing the prohibition of all relations with Rome.²

Though several attempts at a compromise had proved in vain, the Pope invoked the mediation of Louis XIV. on April 1st, 1712, whilst a grave warning was given to Philip V.³ The Bishop of Cartagena, Luis Belluga, also conjured the King not to throw his realm into hopeless confusion.⁴ In his reply to the Pope on May 23rd, Philip V. accepted the mediation of Louis XIV.,⁵ in fact he altered his line of action in so far as he informed the Bishops on July 30th that he would not interfere with Bulls on purely spiritual matters, such as dispensations, and so forth.⁶ But negotiations on numerous other points in dispute became increasingly difficult.⁷ In May, 1713, Pompeo Aldrovandi was sent to Paris by the Pope for the purpose of initiating a compromise by negotiating with Philip's representative, José Rodrigo Villalpando, with the co-operation of the French minister

indegni non solo del proprio carattere di ecclesiastico, ma atti a tener sempre in maggior discordia le due corti, et irritato l'animo del Re contro la S. Sede." On account of other outrages the Pope has now decided to suspend him "a divinis", and from ecclesiastical benefices (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, *loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clement XI. autograph notes on Molines in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 93, *loc. cit.*

¹ The Brief "Alias ad" of October 17, 1711 (*Bull. XXI.*, 450), was formulated only after a careful elaboration, as appears from the *drafts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 93.

² **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 94, p. 301, and 93, p. 301, *loc. cit.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1643 *seqq.*

⁴ **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 94, p. 93, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Original, *ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146, 192.

⁷ Cf. Prié's reports to the Emperor, dat. Rome, October 22 and December 17, 1712, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (now in State Archives, Vienna).

Torcy.¹ Louis XIV., too, was full of hope just then.² However, every effort to get Aldrovandi accepted as nuncio in Madrid proved of no avail, nor could agreement be reached either on the jurisdiction of the nuncio, or the taxation of the clergy. As the year drew to its close even Aldrovandi began to despair.³

As a matter of fact at this time those counsellors of Philip V. who were hostile to the Church had gained the upper hand once more. On December 12th, 1713, the Council of Castile was ordered to make suggestions as to how the Government might best counter the abuses of the nunciature, the Dataria and whatever else was described as encroachments of the Curia. On December 19th the Fiscal of the Council of Castile, Melchior Raphael de Macanaz, sent in a report which he further supplemented a little later.⁴ Macanaz' report is mainly based on the grievances which Chumacero and Pimentel had put forward against the nunciature in the days of Urban VIII,⁵ though he went much further than they when he demanded that the nuncio should not be allowed any jurisdiction at all, and that the Bishops should be chosen by the Chapters and confirmed, not by the Pope, but by the King.

Macanaz' memorial is a synthesis and the outcome of the regalist doctrine. It enumerated every single question in dispute between Church and State, not indeed with a view to a loyal understanding, but rather the suppression of the rights of the Church by the State. Such views are not surprising in a man of whom we are told that he never went to

¹ *Reports of Aldrovandi, who journeyed to Paris, where he arrived at the end of May, 1713, via Genoa and Marseilles, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, Papal Sec. Archives. At first it was decided to entrust the mission to A. Albani; see Prié's report of March 4, 1713, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, June 5, 1713, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, December 25, 1713, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *Colección de los Concordatos*, Madrid, 1848; LA FUENTE, *Hist. gen. de España*, XIII., Barcelona, 1889, 159 seq., 213-234.

⁵ Cf. the present work, XXIX., 189 seqq.

church.¹ So long as such counsellors found a ready hearing in Madrid the negotiations in Paris between Aldrovandi and Villalpando, for a compromise, were as little likely to yield a favourable result as the conversations which were taking place at the same time in Rome between Corradini and Molines.²

Thus by his recognition of Charles III., Clement XI. had become involved in exceedingly grave difficulties. Yet in spite of all its encroachments the court of Barcelona was not yet satisfied. In fulfilment of a promise he had made, the Pope had sent the Abbate Giuseppe Lucini to represent him in Barcelona (February 7th, 1710).³ But Charles was not

¹ P. Aldrovandi, in his *report of November 26, 1714, characterizes Mancanaz as "uomo empio senza religione, e che sono già molti anni che non si accosta alla chiesa." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

² Aldrovandi's *reports show how much he exerted himself. According to his letter of January 1, 1714, his hopes revived again; on January 8 he broke forth in bitter complaints, on January 22 he is again more hopeful; on the 29th he reports the difficulties of his negotiations with Villalpando; on February 5 he narrates a vehement conversation with Villalpando, with whom he insisted on the return of a nuncio with jurisdiction; at the time he believed there would be a rupture. Louis XIV. stepped in now (report of February 12); Aldrovandi continued his negotiations (report of February 19); but on February 22 he had to point out how untimely and harmful to the negotiations were the new "decreti lesivi della giurisdittione e libertà ecclesiastica estratti dalla nuova giunta del governo e del tribunale di Spagna". Soon he saw himself disappointed in his new hopes (report of March 22), for the French ambassador in Madrid reported that the King and the ministers declined to make a compromise. On April 4 he is convinced that the worst opinions about Rome have been spread in Madrid. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

³ " *Instruttione data al signor abb. Gius. Lucini spedito alla corte di Barcellona," in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 360, p. 2 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, Paolucci's *letters to Lucini from February 8, 1710, to September 19, 1711, which contain much information on the encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Lucini

satisfied with this; he demanded a nuncio, and drew the Pope's attention to the fact that he had dispatched the Prince of Avellino to Rome as *obbedienza* ambassador.¹ The latter reached Rome in April, 1710, but only made his pompous entry on January 18th, 1711, after he had secured the promise of a regular nuncio and the settlement of the ceremonial. The first audience was delayed by further questions of ceremonial; it only took place on October 2nd, 1711.² In spite of the opposition of the French Cardinals, Lucini was recalled from Barcelona and replaced by Giorgio Spinola as apostolic nuncio.³

With the Emperor also the Pope did not succeed in establishing amicable relations.

In a consistory of July, 1709, Clement XI. informed the Cardinals that he intended to send his nephew, Annibale Albani, to the Emperor and some other Catholic princes with a view to the restoration of peace.⁴ On the other hand the Emperor Joseph made the recognition of his brother Charles as King of Spain a condition of Albani's reception. He would not hear of the Pope intervening in the peace negotiations. He accordingly directed his representatives in London and at the Hague to prevent the admission of the papal and Venetian envoys in any capacity, much less at the

could do very little; especially was he unsuccessful in obtaining the condemnation "del nuovo modo di procedere nelle cause del S. Offizio che si vorrebbe introdurre in Napoli contro l'antico stilo".

¹ Cf. BUDER, II., 410 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 459 *seqq.*, 520.

³ The " *Instruttione data a Mons. arcivescovo di Cesarea destinato Nuntio alla corte di Barcellona," corrected by Clement XI. himself (see the draft in *Miscell. di Clement XI.*, 106, *loc. cit.*), is in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 361, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, Paolucci's *letters to G. Spinola from July 11, 1711, to July 29, 1713, which mostly treat of the conflicts in Naples.

⁴ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 38 *seqq.* Cf. G. MENTZ, *Aus dem Kontobuch des Nuntius A. Albani*, in *Zeitschr. für Kulturgesch.*, VIII. (1901), 43-58.

Congress itself.¹ Albani nevertheless set out in September, and since Charles had been recognized in the meantime, he was justified in hoping for a favourable issue of his mission in Vienna.

Albani's main task was to procure the restoration of Comacchio to the Holy See. To this end he was armed with a papal Brief dated October 4th, 1709.² In keeping with the terms of the treaty of January 15th,³ he also insisted on compensation for the damage done in the Pontifical States by the imperial troops, whereas the Emperor was only willing to pay the expenses due to the passage to Naples⁴; of the surrender of Comacchio he would not hear. It was evident that he was afraid of publicly admitting that its occupation had been a grave mistake.⁵ To this was added the fact that the Empress was an ardent defender of the interests of her brother-in-law, the Duke of Modena. The imperialists offered a determined opposition to Albani's insistence on the opening of negotiations in Rome, as had been agreed upon; they even rejected a conciliatory proposal by which the Pope declared his readiness to content himself with the political and economic possession of Comacchio, and to suffer a small imperial garrison to remain there until the matter should have been settled.⁶

In January, 1710, Albani went for a short time to Dresden in order to bring pressure to bear on King Augustus, with a view to the Catholic upbringing of the Elector Frederick

¹ LANDAU, 445.

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 664 (with wrong date: September 14, 1709).

³ See above, p. 64.

⁴ LANDAU, 446.

⁵ This is emphasized in the " *Breve relazione di quanto è succeduto in proposito dell'affare di Comacchio dal tempo dell'arrivo di Msgr. Albani alla corte di Vienna seguito alli 18 del mese di ottobre 1709 fino alla morte dello Imperatore Giuseppe I seguita li 17 aprile, 1711 " (*Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 35, p. 9 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*), compiled from the reports of Albani, with a view to his justification.

⁶ *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

Augustus.¹ On his return to Vienna he found the question of Comacchio just as he had left it.² Only after repeated efforts,³ on March 17th, 1710, that is five months after his arrival, did he secure the opening of negotiations in Rome. Prié and the Senator Caroelli were chosen to represent the Emperor, whilst Cardinals Spinola, Paracciani and Gozzadini represented the Pope. The discussions were held in the palace of Spinola who held the office of Camerlengo at the time. At the first session the fiscal advocate Filippo Sagripanti and the commissary of the Apostolic Camera, Gaspare Turco, were also present.⁴ As at first only one session a week was held, the negotiations proved extremely wearisome. The Pope's annoyance was further increased by the fresh excesses committed by some imperial troops during their passage through the Papal States, and by the attempt to tax the Milanese clergy with a view to meeting the cost of the war.⁵ Particular annoyance was caused to the Holy See by the Viceroy of Naples, Cardinal Grimani, who, always more imperialist than the Emperor, was for ever threatening the rights of the Church.⁶

¹ BUDER, II., 360 *seq.*

² Albani was only absent from Vienna for twenty-four days. *Ma quando egli pensava di ritrovar quivi le relazioni dei congressi già terminati, trovò che per nuove pretensioni del duca di Modena (che voleva che nel tempo istesso si trattasse ne' medesimi e di Ferrara e delli beni allodiali) non si erano peranco incominciati i congressi medesimi. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. the accurate *draft entitled: Relazione dei congressi tenuti sopra l'affare di Comacchio dalli 17 di Marzo fino alli 19 [*sic. !*] di Ottobre 1710, distesa dal s. card. Gozzadini. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 39, *loc. cit.*

⁵ BUDER, II., 436 *seqq.*

⁶ Cf. the Briefs of 1708, 1709, and 1710, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 561 *seq.*, 699, 719. Grimani died in September, 1710; he asked for absolution from the Pope, which, however, arrived only after his death. In the meantime, Pignatelli had absolved him. BUDER, II., 419 *seq.*

The negotiations in Rome took an unfavourable turn; it became even necessary to suspend them for a time on account of the pretensions of the Duke of Modena.¹ Prospects remained so unpromising that doubts about the possibility of an agreement began to rise. With a view to speeding up the work of the conference, the Pope proposed the co-operation of his auditor Corradini, but Prié declined the offer. Albani, however, obtained the Emperor's approval of the proposal,² but Prié continued to do all he could to draw out the negotiations.³ The Vatican must have breathed more freely when they were at last concluded on October 9th.⁴ Meanwhile Albani had been indefatigable. There was not an audience with the Emperor at which he did not bring up the affair, and he also appealed to the Electors of Mayence, Trèves and the Palatinate, to King Augustus of Poland, to the Bishops of Osnabrück, Breslau, Münster, Würzburg, and Salzburg, to get them to exercise pressure on Joseph I.⁵

The final decisions of the conference were wholly in favour of the Pope. Examination of all the documents had shown that in strict law, and without qualifications of any kind, Comacchio was the property of the Roman Church even from the temporal point of view.⁶ The protocol of the sessions was printed, but a copy only reached Vienna on February 5th, 1711.⁷ There a rumour had been spread that an anti-Austrian league of the Italian princes was being formed. On January 10th, 1711, Paolucci hastened to inform Vienna that

¹ Cf. *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. the *declaration of the three Cardinals, dat. October 10, 1710, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 39, *loc. cit.* On December 7, after many postponements, Prié had his first solemn audience as imperial ambassador when he displayed extraordinary pomp. BUDER, II., 459.

⁵ *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Declaration of the three Cardinals of October 10, 1710, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

the Pope had had nothing to do with intrigues of this kind.¹ On January 24th Clement XI. addressed a Brief to Joseph I. in which he urged that, as soon as the question of right was clarified, the restoration of Comacchio should follow without further delay. Briefs to the same effect were addressed at the same time to the Empress, to the widow of the late Emperor and to Prince Eugene.²

Under this fresh pressure Joseph I. gave way. After reception of the Brief of January 24th, 1711, which had been delayed by the carnival, he announced his readiness to take decisive steps. He had the protocol of the sittings distributed among his ministers who subjected it to a thorough examination.³ On March 8th Count Trautson, Count Wratislaw, Baron Seilern and Prince Eugene met in a secret conference at which the surrender of Comacchio to the Pope was decided.⁴ Though the Emperor gave his assent, fresh delays occurred. On April 8th it was decided that the Catholic Electors must also be consulted.⁵ What their advice would be could easily be foreseen. Count Wratislaw considered this consultation as no more than a means of effecting the restitution without

¹ POMETTI, XXI., 421.

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1481 *seqq.*

³ *Essendo però giunto l'acennato corriero in tempo di carnevale (5 febbraio), non potè pensarsi fino al principio di Quaresima a far alcun passo in questo negozio. Ma, questa appena entrata, si portò Msgr. Albani nella prima domenica all'udienza dell'Imperatore e presentatagli la lettera di S. Stà segnata C, ottenne risposta favorevolissima da S. Mtà, che gli promise di voler far tenere sollecitamente una conferenza su la materia. Onde distribuite in giro ai ministri le accennate stampe dei congressi, si andò susseguentemente sollecitando la cosa fintanto che il sigr Cte di Trautson, maggiordomo maggiore della Mtà Sua, il sabbato dei 7 di Marzo 1711, venne ad avvisare Msgr. Albani che d'ordine di S. Mtà doveva tenersi una conferenza segretissima di 4 soli sogetti, che furono il sudetto Conte, oggi principe di Trautson, il Cte di Vratislau, il Baron Seilern e il principe Eugenio. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

compromising the imperial dignity and as an excuse with the Empress.¹

When affairs had progressed thus far, and the Pope was confidently looking forward to a favourable solution of the matter,² the Emperor was suddenly taken ill. Symptoms of small-pox, which in those days caused great ravages, soon appeared. On April 17th, 1711, Joseph I. died. Through the Bishop of Vienna and the Emperor's confessor, Albani had vainly sought to persuade the sick man to take a last hour decision; but he was being continually reported to be better, until he died.³ Three days previously Louis XIV.'s only son, the Dauphin of France, had also died of the small-pox, at the age of fifty.

Clement XI. informed the Cardinals of the death of Joseph I. in a consistory of April 27th, 1711. He expressed his regret that the deceased had not been able to do homage to the Holy See, as was the custom, nor to carry out his decision to restore Comacchio which he had unjustly occupied. "We do not know," the Pope went on, "whether this is due to our sins, or whether God, in his inscrutable designs, has permitted it in order to show that there should be no delays

¹ LANDAU, 447.

² Kaunitz' report, dat. Rome, April 11, 1711, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

³ *Per mezzo di Msgr. vescovo, che solo avea l'accesso alla S. Mtà, fu pensato da Msgr. Albani che convenisse di far qualche passo con l'infermo, acciochè pensasse in materia di tanto rilievo a sgravare la sua coscienza. Di fatto Msgr. vescovo lo fece, come costa dalla copia della di lui attestazione. Nulladimeno non si quietò Msgr. Albani e voleva far fare nuovamente le istesse parti da Msgr. vescovo sudetto e dal P. confessore, al qual conveniva far però parlare per un terzo, essendo anch'egli infermo, non si movendo dalla camera dell'Imperatore. Ma conoscendosi che il fare le dette parti con vigore (eccetto solo negli estremi periodi) più tosto poteva nuocere, quando si credette a proposito il farlo, non si fu più a tempo, poichè si disse sempre che l'Imperatore stava meglio sin tanto che non era più in stato da potersegli parlare. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

in an affair on which the salvation of the soul depends." For all that, he trusted that God had been merciful to the Emperor, not so much because of the resolutions which, it appears, the deceased monarch had decided upon, as by reason of his Christian preparation for death.¹ In a consistory of May 11th a funeral service was ordered to be held in the papal chapel both for the Emperor and the Dauphin.

The unexpected deaths of these two princes created a profound impression throughout Europe. Two illustrious houses have been struck by death "with impartial foot", the Pope said in his address; two princes had been carried away in the same week by the same disease. Thus does divine Wisdom, which "plays in the world" (Prov. viii, 30), teach us that nothing is so great or splendid as not to be at the same time transitory and perishable. How can men, after such an experience, be so blind as not to see the vanity of earthly greatness, or so foolish as to disguise it, or so thoughtless as to deny it? ² In Vienna consternation was such, both at court and in private houses and in the streets, as to be almost beyond belief and not to be described".³ On the other hand Paris was jubilant at the Emperor's death. But there too there was a readiness to see in this event the intervention of a higher Power which had, as it were playfully, robbed the allies, with a single stroke, of the fruits of their brilliant victories, and rescued exhausted France, as if by a miracle, when she was on the verge of ruin.⁴ As the Emperor left only daughters, whom the German law of succession excluded from the throne, Austria fell to his brother Charles who was disputing with Philip V. for the crown of Spain. But if Joseph I.'s brother was now to inherit Austria, it was not to be expected that England and Holland would allow him to get hold of the entire Spanish monarchy. Thus the Grand Alliance against France was broken up, and who was to become Emperor?

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 53 *seqq.*, 183.

² *Ibid.*, 55 *seq.*

³ ZIEKURSCH, 38.

⁴ Report of the Saxon ambassador, *ibid.*, 6 *seq.*

Up to this time it had been customary to secure the imperial crown for the House of Habsburg by the Emperor getting either one of his sons or a brother elected as his successor during his lifetime. When Joseph I. died at thirty-three he had not yet considered such a step. The prospect of a Protestant Emperor now became an immediate threat.¹ Brandenburg-Prussia in particular inspired great fear in this respect. True, before accepting the royal crown, Frederick I. had bound himself to support Austria at the imperial elections; but in 1706 he was engaged in negotiations with Sweden and Hanover, the aim of which was to make it possible for a Protestant to win the imperial throne in spite of his religion. As a matter of fact it soon became known that the Prussian Crown Prince intended to put forward his candidature for the highest dignity in Christendom on the very next occasion.² In 1711 it was widely believed in the Empire that Frederick I. would be a future candidate.³ Circumstances seemed favourable. In 1710 enormous masses of Turkish troops were concentrated on the Danube for an attack on Russia; it was generally believed that Charles XII. of Sweden would put himself at the head of the Turkish host. In that case the eastern frontiers of the German Empire lay defenceless before him, so that in concert with France, the Swedish king could make Emperor whomsoever he chose.⁴ As it was, by reason of the Spanish war of succession—"a civil war between the Catholic nations"—the decision of European questions had got into the hands of the Protestant maritime Powers, England and Holland. However, these fears were groundless. For the time being the maritime Powers could not make up their minds as to whether Spain should be divided or not, but the English Secretary of State, addressing both Houses of Parliament, spoke in the Queen's name in favour of the election of

¹ On the aspirations and desires of the German Protestants since the time of Luther, *cf.* H. GÜNTER, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXVII. (1916), 376 *seqq.*

² ZIEKURSCH, 28.

³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

Charles as Emperor. The States General came to a similar decision, and informed their allies accordingly.¹ In this way the Electors of Mayence and Trèves and the Elector Palatine were relieved of their fear of a Protestant Emperor, whilst on this occasion the King of Prussia gave up his designs. Hanover and Saxony also pronounced in favour of Charles. The Archbishop of Mayence fixed August 20th as the day of election.²

France, of course, was unwilling to see an opponent against whom she had fought so long on the imperial throne, so she tried at least to oppose his election in Rome. The imperial dignity was of the Church's making, and the fact was still more or less clearly remembered by wide circles. Accordingly the French party in Rome suggested to the Pope to send the customary monitories to the two banned Wittelsbachs, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne. As such a step might provoke resentment in Germany, the chance of troubling the election was there.³ The same end would also be served by suggesting to the Pope that he should object to the participation of Hanover in the imperial election since the ninth electorate, that of Hanover, had not been recognized by Rome.⁴ At the death of the Emperor Joseph the powers of his ambassador Prié also expired, so the French pressed the Pope no longer to receive Prié.⁵

In spite of everything, Clement XI. decided in favour of Charles, and he firmly adhered to his resolution. Like all right-thinking people, he wrote to the Emperor, he too was firmly convinced that, for the greater good of all Christendom,

¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

² *Ibid.*, 23-7.

³ *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.* Extracts from the "Memorialbüchel" of the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement, during his exile in France are given by H. SCHRÖRS in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XCII. (1910). Cf. *ibid.*, XCVII. (1915), 1 *seqq.*; XCVIII. (1916), 1 *seqq.*

⁴ ZIEKURSCH, 50 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 95 *seqq.*

⁵ ZIEKURSCH, 47.

the imperial crown must remain in the House of Austria.¹ In spite of all French efforts to prevent it, Prié continued to be received in audience as before.² He thought, indeed, so the Pope told the ambassador, that at the conclusion of peace, the idea of a partition would crop up again, but as the common father of Christendom, it was not right for him to take sides ; he would content himself with exhorting the Christian princes to preserve mutual concord. As for the two Wittelsbachs, he could not meddle in the disputes of princes, but custom obliged him to write to all the Catholic Electors. Joseph Clement of Cologne, as an Archbishop and an ecclesiastical Elector, could not be set aside without the Pope's consent ; were he to look on his deprivation as valid in law, he would approve an act of encroachment on the part of the secular power.³

As a matter of fact the Briefs to the Wittelsbachs were dispatched in mid-June,⁴ whilst the appropriate monitories had been previously forwarded to the other Electors through Albani. Charles was not mentioned in them, but in a covering letter to Albani, the Pope stated that he had only him in view.⁵ In subsequent letters of Clement XI. to Albani the Electors were expressly urged to elect Charles.⁶ When the French ambassador suggested that the Pope should raise the ban pronounced against the Wittelsbachs and insist on their reinstatement, or otherwise protest against the election, Clement XI. refused to listen to him.⁷ Through Prié he informed Charles that it was the long-standing custom of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 46. Against LANDAU and ROSENLEHNER, who represent Clement XI. as favourable to France and unfavourable to Charles, see *ibid.*, 2. Exkurs, 156-162.

² *Ibid.*, 47.

³ *Ibid.*, 48. On the attitude of the Cathedral Chapter of Cologne to the imperial election, cf. H. GERIG in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, CXIII. (1929).

⁴ ZIEKURSCH, 58.

⁵ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., II., 1533 *seqq.*

⁶ The Briefs are dated June 20, 1711. The Brief to August II., *ibid.*, 1551 ; on other Briefs, see ZIEKURSCH, 61, n. 1.

⁷ ZIEKURSCH, 52.

Holy See simply to recognize the rights and titles of all princes, even when they had been deprived of their territories ; hence the Briefs to the Wittelsbachs were a matter of pure form.¹ Purely formal also was the Pope's objection to the participation of Hanover in the election ; the Elector of Mayence had been instructed to inform the Catholic Electors of the Brief in question (dated May 30th), but after that to bury it in his archives.² A Brief of June 13th acknowledged the election as valid even if Protestants were to intervene in it.³ A few days later Clement XI. assured Prié that he would take no steps against the Wittelsbachs though the French pressed him to do so.⁵

Louis XIV. also sought to disturb the election by raising hopes of the imperial crown in Hanover,⁶ and even more so in Saxony. King Augustus of Saxony refused to have anything to do with the French agents Besenval and Baron Hooch ; he remained firmly resolved to give his vote to Charles.⁷ However, rumours about King Augustus' plan for securing the imperial crown had reached even as far as Barcelona ; accordingly the Saxon envoy met with a cool reception on the part of Charles, all the more so as an agent of Prince Eugene had spread the rumour in Barcelona that France, Saxony and the Pope had agreed to secure for the Saxon Elector the dignity of King of the Romans.⁷

As a matter of fact Augustus II. speculated on Charles leaving no male heirs, in which case he hoped to succeed him. With this end in view he sought to influence the ecclesiastical Electors, through the Pope, in favour of his own, or his son's election as King of the Romans ; thus the imperial crown, together with the rich Austrian heritage, would have fallen to his House. However, the Pope did not

¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

² *Ibid.*, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 90 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 85 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 101 *seq.*

take seriously Augustus' schemes with regard to the imperial crown, since it was as yet by no means certain that the male line of the Habsburgs would die out with Charles. On the other hand the Pope could not reject altogether the question of the Prince-Elector's nomination as King. The first condition for such an election was, however, the Prince's conversion to the Catholic faith; but influenced as he was by his mother and grandmother, the latter held firmly to the Lutheran confession. It was nevertheless felt in Rome that if he were surrounded by Catholics who would convince him that the old religion was a very different thing from the Protestant caricature of it, there might be a chance that the keen Lutheran might change his mind; at any rate the prospect of the election to the royal dignity might induce the prince's father to fulfil his promise by putting his son in touch with Catholicism.

As a matter of fact Augustus II. did now carry out his promise, but even so the Pope did not feel he could support his aspirations to the royal dignity. Only in one eventuality did he promise his aid, namely, if one of the Electors spontaneously proposed Augustus as King of the Romans, or if the Protestants attempted to secure that dignity for one of their co-religionists, though both these eventualities seemed remote enough. But things would be different if Charles were to die without a male heir. In that eventuality the Pope would favour the wishes of the Saxon King, though only on condition that by then the Prince-Elector would long ago have returned to the Catholic Church. Clement XI. laid down the same condition for his support of the Prince's marriage with an Austrian Archduchess.¹

The Archbishop of Mayence had convoked the Electors for August 20th, at Frankfort, but subsequently he announced that the deliberations would begin on July 20th.² In the last days of July and at the beginning of August the Electors assembled in the ancient imperial city. Mayence and Trèves

¹ ZIEKURSCH, 107-9, 183 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 99.

came in person, whilst Brandenburg, Hanover, Saxony and Charles (as King of Bohemia) were represented by delegates. The Rhine Palatine only arrived on September 23rd, and Bavaria and Cologne remained excluded.¹ On August 13th the Saxon Prince-Elector also arrived under the name of Count of Lusatia.

The position of the papal delegate Albani at the conference was a very difficult one. The Duke of Modena feared that under his influence the ecclesiastical Electors would make the restitution of Comacchio one of the clauses of the election capitulation to be submitted to the future Emperor. Accordingly the Duke's envoy, Olivazzi, taking advantage of the prevailing none too friendly feeling towards the Pope, did his best, especially by means of pamphlets, "to prevent the court of Rome from meddling in any way with the affairs of the Empire, least of all when there was question of the election of an Emperor."² Before long it was generally believed that Olivazzi had a secret understanding with Charles; hence the Pope, through the nuncio of Vienna, requested the imperial Government to suppress by every means at its disposal a particularly dangerous pamphlet. But it was too late, and rumours of a papal intervention in favour of the two Wittelsbachs and against Hanover further increased the prevailing resentment.³

When Albani arrived at Frankfort for the electoral Diet, he was repelled in most rude fashion. On his way he had intended to call on the Elector of Trèves at Coblenz, but his demand to be received like a royal envoy was met by the Elector hurrying off to the chase and informing Albani that he was unable to receive him, as owing to the war the furniture had been removed from the castle.⁴ The Elector Palatine absolutely refused to receive the papal representative,⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, III.

² *Ibid.*, 116. Contents of the more important pamphlet, *ibid.*, 115-120.

³ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 126.

whilst at the opening of the deliberations the Prussian envoy formally demanded his expulsion.¹ Nothing was gained by the Pope's raising his nephew to a higher rank by giving him the post of nuncio at Cologne. On the occasion of Albani's first visit to the Countess Palatine, the guard was drawn up in front of her house and presented arms as a state coach approached. But when it was seen that it was not that of the Elector of Mayence, who was expected, but that of the representative of the Pope, the commanding officer dismissed the troops. The same scene was enacted at Albani's departure, whilst the domestics of the Elector of Mayence and those of the Palatine stood at the windows and indulged in loud guffaws.² Previous to this the Prussian delegate had already threatened to use violence against Albani should he reiterate the papal protest against the Prussian kingship.³ After that there was no need to repeat explicitly that the traditional conception of the union between Church and State was now definitely at an end.⁴ Revolution from above had arrived ; revolution from below would not be so very long in coming.

By his lack of self-control Albani himself set the crown on the indignities he had had to endure. He meant to disappear from Frankfort as quietly as possible, but his carriage was driven through streets in which the traffic was blocked by the carriages and the domestics of the delegates of the Electors. Albani lost all self-control and ordered his servants to thrash the postilions.⁵

The election of the Emperor took place on October 12th ; within a quarter of an hour it was decided in favour of Charles.⁶ The Saxon plans for the election of a king failed,⁷ and a so-called perpetual election capitulation had been drawn up on the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 138.

³ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁴ *Europäische Fama*, Th. 122, 107 ; *ibid.*, 140 ; *cf.* 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 142 *seq.*

previous day.¹ Albani returned to Frankfort after the election in order to lodge a purely formal protest against the exclusion of the Wittelsbachs, and various other things.²

Meanwhile Charles remained at Barcelona. Although both Prince Eugene and the Chancellor of Bohemia, Wratislaw, pressed him to leave Spain as soon as possible, Charles hesitated. He had come to love that country; those grave, moderate men appealed to his calm and somewhat melancholy temperament.³ He only set out from Barcelona on September 27th, 1711, after entrusting the government to his wife, Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, whilst Starhemberg was named Governor-General. On October 12th he landed at Vado near Savona. At Milan he was informed of his election as King of the Romans with the right to the imperial crown.

In a consistory of October 14th, 1711, Clement XI., whom Charles had informed of his impending departure on September 12th,⁴ named Cardinal Imperiali his Legate for the purpose of welcoming the monarch on Italian soil. On October 19th Imperiali was given the legatine cross; two days later he left for Milan.⁵ On November 8th, at Milan, the Legate handed Charles a Brief dated October 13th, and a present of a monstrance set with diamonds and containing a particle of the true cross.⁶

If the Pope had hoped that Charles would now restore Comacchio he was destined to be disappointed. After the Emperor's death Clement XI. had based his demand for the restitution of Commachio on the additional circumstance that Joseph I. had occupied the town only as Emperor. That title to ownership had now lapsed. Count Wratislaw

¹ *Ibid.*, 143 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 139.

³ ARNETH, *Eugen*, II., 172; ZIEKURSCH, II.

⁴ G. CHIAPPONI, *Legazione del card. Gius. Renato Imperiali alla S. R. M^{ta} di Carlo III., Re della Spagna l'a, 1711, descritta*, Roma, 1712.

⁵ ZIEKURSCH, 5, 12 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 70 *seqq.*, 92 *seq.*, 97.

declared that this motive was well founded¹; for all that Albani, who had renewed his efforts as soon as the obsequies were over, met with no readiness to yield among the leading personalities of the court of Vienna.² Shortly before Joseph I.'s death Charles also had spoken in favour of the restoration of Comacchio. Subsequently he wished to retain at least the right of garrisoning the town, to which Clement XI. refused to consent; at a still later date he declared that the matter was not a very pressing one.³ When Charles set out for Frankfort viâ Augsburg, Albani went as far as Innsbruck to meet him, but again failed to obtain anything.⁴ The Pope informed the Cardinals of the fact in a consistory of December 18th; at the same time he declared that so long as the papal confirmation of the imperial election was not asked for and granted, neither the service of thanksgiving for the happy issue of the election which he had ordered to be held in the papal chapel, nor any other function of the same kind, must be interpreted as a recognition.⁵ On December 13th, 1711, a Brief of congratulation was sent to Charles,⁶ who was crowned at Frankfort on December 22nd. Recognition of the election by the Pope, for which he had prayed, only came after the great peace treaties,⁷ and after the Electors

¹ LANDAU, 447; ZIEKURSCH, 53.

² Cf. POMETTI, XXI., 426.

³ ZIEKURSCH, 53-7.

⁴ POMETTI, XXI., 427.

⁵ **Acta consist.*, Barb. XXXVI., 48, Vatican Library.

⁶ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1607.

⁷ In the consistory of February 26, 1714, after Prié, the representative of Charles VI., had asked on the 16th for the *confirmatio electionis* for his sovereign (**Acta consist.*, loc. cit.; CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 101; the Bull of Confirmation itself in *Bull*, XXI., 600 seq.). At the same time Charles VI. asked through Prié for the right of the *primae preces* which was granted to him in the accustomed manner on March 10 (*Bull*, XXI., 603 seq.; OTTIERI, III., 589; BUDER, III., 44 seq.). The negotiations on the *primae preces* had been very difficult; when the discussions were already far advanced, fresh difficulties arose in December, 1713. On January 8, 1714, a letter was dispatched to the nuncio in Vienna

of Cologne and Bavaria had been reinstated in the dignities of which Joseph I. had deprived them. The unexpected, almost simultaneous death of Joseph I. and the French Dauphin fundamentally altered the political situation of Europe, and that in favour of the hard pressed King of France. The death of his son was of advantage to Louis XIV. in so far as it removed the danger that Philip V., the Dauphin's son, might comply with the orders of his father in his capacity of King of Spain. But at this same time Archduke Charles, whose elevation to the throne of Spain had been proclaimed an indispensable condition of the preservation of the peace of Europe, secured the whole of the Austrian monarchy as the sole heir of his brother. Already poets were busy singing the return of Charlemagne's imperial power. The impending supremacy of the House of Habsburg appeared like the realization of the spectre of universal domination against which one-half of Europe had waged war. The collapse of the Grand Alliance was sealed. To this was added a change in England. The Tories defeated the Whigs; this meant the victory of the peace-loving landed proprietors over the merchant class. England was resolved not to suffer the amalgamation of the Spanish monarchy with Austria; Louis XV.'s nephew, Philip V., was to remain King of Spain whilst Charles VI. of Austria would have to be satisfied with the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands.¹

which the Pope had himself drawn up (autograph draft in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 171-2, Papal Sec. Archives); it begins thus: “*È gran disgrazia di N. S. che per lo più habbia di codesta corte a riportar doglianze per quelle cose, per le quali dovrebbe ricevere ringraziamenti. Così appunto accade nell'affare delle preci primarie.” Clement XI. was anxious that the quarrel should be settled before the arrival of the new ambassador Gallas; his efforts were successful. Priè left Rome on June 3, 1714 (*Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 354). The *reports of his successor, Count Gallas, to the imperial Grand-Chancellor, Count of Sinzendorff, are in the Reuss Archives at Ernstbrunn, No. 2, *those to the Emperor in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

¹ MENZEL, X., 29.

The peace congress on which England and France had agreed opened on January 29th, 1712, at Utrecht.¹ Though most of the subjects of the negotiations were concerned with secular matters, there were nevertheless a number of important points which directly affected the interests of the Catholic religion and the Holy See. As early as 1708 Clement XI., who clearly realized the situation, had dispatched the learned Domenico Passionei to the Hague, in an unofficial capacity.² During the preliminary discussions Passionei worked with success with a view to the preservation of the rights of the Catholics of Geldern and the Netherlands. He was now ordered to return to Utrecht in the capacity of a simple agent.³ His task was a most difficult one as the decisive rôle in the negotiations lay with the Protestant Powers, above all with England, which was sharply opposed to the Catholic Church. What could be the influence of a papal representative in such circumstances?

One inevitable point in dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants was the Clause of Rijswijk, by the terms of which the Catholic religion was to be maintained in those localities and territories which had been restored by France

¹ OTTOKAR WEBER, *Der Friede von Utrecht*. Verhandlungen zwischen England, Frankreich, dem Kaiser und den Generalstaaten, 1710-1713, Gotha, 1891.

² “ *Senz’ alcun titolo o carattere ” (F. GARAMPI, 94, Papal Sec. Archives. Cf. Paolucci’s letter in POMETTI, XXI., 441.

³ Passionei’s *original correspondence beginning in August, 1708, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI., Paci*, 49 (1712), 50 (1713), 51 (1714), 52 (1715), 53 (1716), 54 (1708-1716), Papal Sec. Archives. On Passionei (born 1682), cf. GALLETI, *Memorie della vita del card. Passionei*, Roma, 1762; LE BEAU, *Éloge*, La Haye, 1763; MORONI, LI., 271 *seqq.*; PFÜLF, in *Kirchenlex.* IX.², 1578 *seqq.*; E. DE BROGLIE, *Les portefeuilles du président Bouchier*, Parigi, 1896, 292 *seqq.*; LENGEFELD in the publication quoted below, p. 107, n. 3. Letters from and to Passionei in Passionei Library, Fossombrone; cf. MAZZATINTI, *Archivi*, III., 238, 253. Passionei received 300 scudi a month (GARAMPI, 94, *loc. cit.*), which was not enough. POMETTI, XXI., 448 *seq.*

in 1697.¹ Passionei was accordingly instructed before all things to prevent the revocation of this clause and to obtain from the congress that which had already been agreed upon in the preliminary negotiations, namely the safeguarding of the Catholics of Upper Geldern when that territory came to be surrendered to the Dutch.²

Besides these interests of a religious kind, the Pope was greatly concerned for the preservation of his suzerain rights over Parma and Piacenza, and even more so over Sicily which had received a new master in the person of the Duke of Savoy. Clement XI.'s unwillingness to abandon any of his rights in this respect was left in no doubt by Passionei.³ The Pope sought to make sure of the support of the courts of Paris and Madrid, but this seemed impossible without concessions on his part. Louis XIV. had asked for the red hat for the Abbé Polignac who, together with Marshal d'Uxelles, represented his interests at Utrecht.⁴ After some hesitation the Pope yielded to this demand by publishing Polignac's nomination which had already been made *in petto* on January 30th, 1730,⁵ though this did not win for him such support from France as the defence of his rights demanded. His efforts for better relations with Philip V. failed altogether as the paramount counsellors in Madrid were definitely hostile to the Church.

In these circumstances Passionei was unable to prevent steps being taken at Utrecht about Sicily regardless of the papal overlord. What importance Rome attached to this matter appears from the fact that Passionei was authorized to ask for the help even of the non-Catholic Powers.⁶ Though Passionei did all he could, he achieved very little. His reports to Rome became more and more depressing. On March 13th

¹ Cf. the present work, XXXIII., 674 *seq.*

² GALLETI, *Passionei*, 46 *seq.*

³ POMETTI, XXI., 432 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 437.

⁵ Cf. below, Chapter VI.

⁶ POMETTI, XXI., 438.

he reported that the German Protestants took advantage of England's preponderant rôle at the Congress in order to press for the complete abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk.¹

A month later the negotiations came to an end. On the afternoon of April 11th, 1713, the French plenipotentiaries signed first the peace with England, then that with Savoy, Portugal, Prussia and lastly, half an hour after midnight, peace with Holland.² The territorial decisions arrived at implied greater changes than even those of the Peace of Westphalia. Not a few clauses were bound to hurt the Pope profoundly. France recognized the Protestant succession in England and undertook to expel from her territory James III., the brother of Queen Anne and the rightful heir to the three British crowns. In no circumstances could Clement XI. sanction such proceedings since he had always stood up for the rights of James III. For the rest this abandonment of the Pretender was not only a humiliation for the Queen who demanded it, but for the King also who agreed to it. It is worth noting that previously to this step Polignac had been ordered to leave Utrecht; only a short time before he had received the purple at the request of James III.

Another blow for Clement XI. lay in the fact that, heedless of the papal protest, Louis XIV. recognized the Margrave of Brandenburg as king and abandoned to that Protestant prince, in the name and by the authority of the King of Spain, the upper part of the Duchy of Geldern which up to that time had been a Spanish possession. It was not long before the rights of Catholics were seriously infringed in that district.³ Nor were Catholic interests safe-guarded when Minorca was ceded to England.⁴ Passionei was able to make better reports

¹ “ *Profittando i protestanti dell’Imperio dell’autorità che ha l’Inghilterra nel presente congresso, continuano tuttavia a insistere presso i ministri di quella corona, acciò abolisca intieramente il quarto articolo della pace di Ryswick.” Report dat. Utrecht, March 10, 1713, *Paci*, 50, Papal Sec. Arch.

² See Passionei’s *reports of April 11 and 12, 1713, *ibid.*

³ Cf. the Briefs of August 11, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1991, 2053.

⁴ GALLETTI, *Passionei*, 51.

about the Dutch ; they promised not to tamper with the Catholic religion in the Dutch towns which were allotted to them.¹

Of all the decisions of Utrecht the one that was bound to hurt the Pope most deeply was that concerning the island of Sicily. In obedience to England's will, and regardless of the papal suzerainty, Philip V. granted the island to the Duke of Savoy as his kingdom ; not one of the Catholic Powers protested against such a settlement. Everybody knew how eagerly Philip V. had sought, during six years, the investiture of Naples and Sicily. If in this instance the Pope's rights to an acknowledged possession of his could be overridden, other territories of his secular dominions might with equal justice be appropriated.² Of course there could be no question of a papal recognition of the new King of Sicily ; on the contrary, violent conflicts were to be expected, and this all the more as soon after news reached Rome that the sovereign privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula* had likewise been expressly granted to the Duke of Savoy,³ a point on which the Holy See had had sharp disputes with the Spanish Government. To all this was added the fact that the Peace of Utrecht created a dangerous uncertainty with regard to the Clause of Rijswijk.

¹ Passionei's *letter, dat. Utrecht, April 19, 1713, *loc. cit.* Articles 4, 5 and 7 of the peace in DUMONT, VIII., 1, 366 *seq.* **Paci*, 50, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. the opinion of BROSCHE (*Kirchenstaat*, II., 47), who is certainly not favourable to the papacy : " The Pope ruled over Bologna, Ferrara, the Marches, Umbria and Rome with no greater or less right than he did over the Kingdom of Naples which was a recognized ecclesiastical fief. If that right was taken from him and its exercise frustrated, other portions of his temporal power might also be wrenched from his hand. The feudal sovereignty of the Church fell victim to European Powers—but who guaranteed their territorial sovereignty ? BROSCHE stultifies these statements a little later (p. 50), when he condemns Clement XI.'s action in not recognizing the decisions of Utrecht as a " policy of sentiment ".

³ POMETTI, XXI., 444.

From the first Clement XI. had deemed it his duty, in the interests of the Catholic religion, to uphold the Rijswijk decisions in any circumstances, however strongly Prussia, Holland and England might urge their suppression. He rejected any compromise in this affair. His representative, Passionei, had at one time been of a different opinion. He felt it might be necessary to agree to a compromise, and when there was a risk of losing everything to choose the lesser of two evils. In the vain hope of restraining the English from supporting the German Protestants in this matter, Passionei was even prepared to drop his demands of relief for the Irish Catholics.¹ Clement XI. scorned such feeble diplomacy ; on no account would he forgo the greatest advantage the Church had gained in Germany since 1648.² Passionei was told that the representatives of the Holy See were bound to strive for the advantage of the Catholic religion with the utmost zeal, in all places, and by every means in their power. To gain one point they could not give up another ; they could not jeopardize in Ireland what had been won in Germany. The Pope's duty is even more emphatically stated in another letter to Passionei. There we read : " Without weighing words, and only heeding the consequences, the Pope will protest aloud in his Briefs, his letters and through his nuncios, in France, in Germany and wherever it may be necessary, lest from complacency, or a yielding disposition, the fourth article should be done away with, and lest the Catholic religion should be tampered with and the cause of God preferred to worldly interests. Thus will the Pope speak, thus will he explain his conduct, without disquieting himself in this world or in the next. And if this is not enough he will commend his cause to God ; failure will have to be ascribed to others, not to His Holiness." ³

On April 9th, 1712, Briefs were dispatched to the Emperor, to the Cardinals of Saxony and Lamberg, to the Catholic

¹ HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 168.

² Opinion of Garampi ; cf. *F. Garampi, 94, Pap. Sec. Arch.

³ HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 169 *seq.*, 209.

princes of the Empire, to Prince Eugene, to Louis XIV., to the Kings of Poland and Portugal, to the Republic of Venice, to the imperial plenipotentiary Sinzendorff and to the French representative, Abbé Polignac. All were exhorted to oppose the Protestant demand energetically and openly and to prevent grave injury from being done to the Catholic religion by the abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk.¹

The Pope assuredly relied more particularly on the support of the King of France since it was chiefly his influence that had secured at Rijswijk the Clause which it was now intended to drop. At that time Louis XIV. had hoped to win over the German Catholics and to create a cleavage between the Protestants and the Emperor. In May, 1712, the Paris Cabinet's main concern was to reach a peaceful settlement with the great Protestant Powers, England and Holland. In order to secure this end Paris was prepared to yield to England's demands, regardless of Catholic interests. A promise was given to negotiate on the Clause of Rijswijk with the German Catholics and not to infringe the Peace of Westphalia within the Empire. This might mean the abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk, and it was soon seen that it was so, though for the moment such a conclusion did not absolutely impose itself.²

Clement XI. continued to hope that the Cabinet of Paris might be induced to stand up for the Clause. On January 7th, 1713, when scarcely recovered from sickness, he addressed an autograph letter to Louis XIV. "The fourth article of Rijswijk," he wrote, "was entirely the work of your hands. At that time the Church was obliged to you for this benefit, and to no one else. To-day she hopes and prays for the maintenance of the article from you and from no one else."³ In his reply the French King pointed to the indifference of the Emperor and the other German princes; he was unable to defend the Clause alone; his kingdom needed peace.⁴ However, at the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1659-1670.

² HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 171 *seqq.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1789.

⁴ HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 177.

with England and Prussia on April 11th, 1713, France prevented the express abolition of the Clause, though she undertook at the same time to see to it that religious questions in Germany were resolved in the spirit of the Peace of Westphalia.¹ This gave rise to a dangerous uncertainty which was bound to incite the Protestants to further efforts for the repeal of the Clause. From the first the Pope had adopted the standpoint that it was self-contradictory to accept the Peace of Westphalia, and to wish to infringe it by maintaining the Clause of Rijswijk.² He accordingly complained bitterly of the decisions of Utrecht³ though he did not give up the hope of upholding the Clause when peace came to be concluded with the Empire and the Emperor. In this expectation he was effectively served by the circumstance that this was in agreement with the particular political aims both of Louis XIV. and of Charles VI.⁴ It is true that under various pretexts both had declined the papal mediation and had been negotiating without the Pope since the end of November, 1713, at the castle of Rastatt. However, the treaty concluded on March 6th, 1714, was based on the Peace of Westphalia and the Treaty of Rijswijk and the much discussed third Clause was expressly embodied in the instrument of peace as Article 3.

The Peace of Rastatt was concluded without the intervention of the Estates. To make it a Peace of Empire a new congress was required and such an assembly opened on June 10th, 1714, at Baden in Switzerland. As the Protestants were sure to strive more than ever to secure the repeal of the Clause, the Pope had appealed to the Emperor and to the King of France on April 7th, 1714, urging them to resist these attempts with all their might.⁵

After prolonged reflection Domenico Passionei was once

¹ DUMONT, VIII., I, 343, 371. Cf. POMETTI, XXI., 447 *seq.*

² HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 174.

³ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1949 *seq.*

again entrusted with the duty of representing the Holy See in the negotiations at Baden.¹ However, it was found impossible to get a papal envoy admitted, hence he was instructed to appear once more as a simple agent or procurator of the Holy See and of the Pope.² In a detailed Instruction, dated June 26th, 1714, in the drafting of which the Pope had taken a personal share,³ the main lines were laid down for his conduct in a mission which was as honourable as it was difficult.⁴ His chief care and attention must be for the integral preservation of the Clause of Rijswijk which had been embodied in the Peace of Rastatt. This Clause must not be weakened by any explanation or alteration.⁵ In addition to this Passionei was instructed to work for the express repeal of the religious recess concluded in 1705 by the Count Palatine John William with Prussia, as that agreement altered the religious conditions in the Palatinate in favour of the Protestants.⁶ On

¹ On June 16, 1714, Count Gallas *reports: "El viage de Msgr. Passionci lo tiene retardato la irresolución del Papa fomentada de sus émulos." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² In the *Brief accrediting Passionei, June 26, 1714, he is called "Noster et eiusdem sedis verus, legitimus et indubitatus procurator, actor ac negotiorum gestor generalis et specialis". *F. Garampi*, 94, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ Cf. the autograph " *Ricordi per chi assisterà al congresso di Bada." *Ibid.*

⁴ " *Istruzione per M. Passionei destinato Nunzio al congresso di Bada," dated June 26, 1714, *ibid.*

⁵ " *E perciò le materie più importanti sono quelle che risguardano la religione cattolica; dovrà perciò egli in primo luogo procurare che a tenore della littera della disposizione del 3° degli articoli preliminari di Radstatt sia mantenuta ed eseguita in tutto e per tutto la disposizione dell'articolo 4 di Ryswich, senza che si ammetta alcuna interpretatione o modcracione che gli eretici tentassero, come pur troppo tenteranno di far dare alla medesima." *Ibid.*

⁶ Cf. the arguments of HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 162 seq.

this point the Pope counted above all on the support of France.¹

Nor does the Instruction lose sight of another constant aim of the Holy See, viz. the repeal of the clauses of the Treaty of Westphalia which were unfavourable to the Catholic religion. Passionei was expressly directed to renew against those agreements which touched religion the protests formerly made by Innocent X. and the delegates of the Holy See, Chigi, D'Elce, Sanfelice, Bevilacqua, Cantelmi and Albani.

Passionei was likewise instructed to bear in mind the manifold restrictions of the Catholic religion in the Empire. He was to urge the abrogation of the agreement which Hanover had forced upon the Cathedral Chapter of Hildesheim² and the suppression of the oath which was demanded of the

¹ The *instruction for Passionei says : " Benchè nel medesimo 3° articolo di Radstatt venga disposto e dichiarato che si ristabilisca generalmente nell'Imperio e sue appartenenze tutto ciò che si per lo spirituale che per il temporale era stato prescritto nel trattato di Ryswich, tanto per conto delle mutazioni e innovazioni fattesi nel corso di questa guerra quanto in riguardo alle cose che non fossero state per anco eseguite, e che in conseguenza resti tacitamente cassato e annullato il recesso, che contro la disposizione del 4° articolo del medesimo trattato di Ryswich fu fatto anni sono tra l'elettore Palatino e il marchese di Brandeburgo in punto di religione, sarà nulladimeno opportuno, anzi necessario che Msgr. Passionei procuri che il recesso medesimo venga per maggiore sicurezza espressamente e nominatamente abrogato e cassato nel trattato di Bada, affinchè non possa mai pretendersi, che per non esserne fatta menzione, resti tuttavia nel suo vigore. Da tal'espressa cassazione dovrà Msgr. Passionei eccitar maggiormente i plenipotenziari Francesi col riflesso che farà far loro all'impegno più preciso, che corre alla gloria del Re il far che il medesimo 4° articolo, che è opera della sua real pietà, venga in ogni luogo intieramente adempito e osservato." Papal Sec. Archives.

² On this matter Clement XI. had already written on January 14, 1713, to the Emperor, to Louis XIV., and to Philip V. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1797 seq.

Catholic missionaries in Hanover.¹ Seeing that the Dutch had introduced Protestant worship at Burtscheid, near Aix-la-Chapelle² and garrisoned the fortresses of Liège and Huy with Protestant troops, he should seek to obtain a ratification of the imperial prohibition of Protestant services at Burtscheid as well as the removal of those garrisons. He was likewise instructed to see to the preservation of the Catholic religion at Hadamar, Rheinfels and Verden.³ Finally he was ordered to present once more the protest against the

¹ Already in 1710, Bussi, the nuncio at Cologne, had greatly exerted himself in this affair (see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIII., 353 seq.), and on August 12, 1713, Clement XI. had appealed to the Emperor (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1879, 1997, 2003). Cf. HAGEN, *Gesch. Aachens*, II., 316 seq.

² See the Briefs of April, 1713, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1827. On the visitation of the monastery of Burtscheid by nuncio Bussi, 1708, see PAULS in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XXXII.

³ With regard to this the *instruction says: "Avrà l'istessa attenzione per l'indennità della chiesa e della religione nell'elettorato di Treviri e particolarmente nel principato di Adamar dependente dal medesimo, nel quale gli eretici hanno introdotto molte perniciose novità e commessi diversi attentati. — Insisterà perchè sia restituita al suo legittimo portione (principe ?) cattolico la fortezza di Rheinfels sul Reno occupata presentemente da un principe eretico con sommo pregiudizio della religione. — Sosterrà gl'interessi o le ragioni del P. Abbate e del monastero di Werden contro le violenze e le pretese del marchese di Brandeburgo, e impedire che a quel principe non sia data l'investitura di alcuna ben minima porzione de' beni spettanti al medesimo monastero, come già ne resta fatta la proibizione all'istesso P. Abbate da N. S., e per maggior sicurezza della sua indennità sarà opportuno di procurare che l'istesso P. Abbate venga nominatamente compreso ne' trattati della pace. E perchè l'Imperatore ha fatti molti decreti in favore dell'accennato P. Abbate, i quali non hanno mai sin'ora avuto l'effetto loro, converrà far comprendere ai ministri imperiali, quanto convenga al decoro di S. M. Ces. di esser puntualmente e con ogni esattezza ubedito." Papal Sec. Archives. Cf. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1829, 1842, 1973.

erection of the ninth Protestant Electorate of Hanover¹ which had recently been put into the hands of the Elector and Chancellor of the Empire, Mayence, at the Diet of Frankfurt. Passionei was also requested to see to the interests of the Swiss Catholics who were grievously threatened by the Peace of Aarau and by the designs of Berne and Zurich on the County of Toggenburg, a possession of the Abbey of St. Gall.²

How much the Pope had at heart the preservation of the Clause of Rijswijk, as well as the interests of the Swiss, appears from some further steps taken by him. On learning that Prussia was making a fresh attempt for the repeal of the Clause, Clement XI., on July 14th, 1714, wrote to the Emperor, to Louis XIV. and the Palatine John William, exhorting them to resist this manœuvre.³ Though ailing he wrote a personal

¹ Cf. the Brief of February 12, 1707, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 383.

² In this respect the *instruction says : " Come che la pace, che i Cantoni protestanti estorsero ultimamente da' cattolici in Arau, non può esser nè più vergognosa nè più pregiudiziale al nome e alla religione cattolica, dovrà perciò Mons. Passionei non solo impedire che essa venga confermata nei trattati di Bada, come verisimilmente ne verrà fatta istanza da' Protestanti, ma insistere perchè venga intieramente rievocata e cassata. Nel congresso tenutosi in Rossach tra i deputati dell'abbate di S. Gallo e de' cantoni di Zurigo e Berna è stato stipulato per le controversie del contado di Toggenburg un'aggiustamento iniquissimo e pregiudizialissimo sì per la religione cattolica che per l'abbate medesimo. E benchè non si dubiti che trattandosi di un feudo dell'Imperio investito negl'abbati pro tempore, l'Imperatore non sia mai per acconsentire alla ratifica ed esecuzione di un aggiustamento che verrebbe a distruggere e annichilare il diritto imperiale, non lascerà tuttavia Mons. Passionei di prendersi di ciò una sollecitudine ben viva prendendo a tal fine tutti i lumi necessari et opportuni dell'informazione di Mons. vescovo di Como, e procuri che si l'abbate e il monastero, che la religione cattolica sieno reintegrati totalmente ne' loro diritti e ne' loro possessi nel predetto contado e in ogni altro luogo, prestando a tal fine tutta la più efficace assistenza al ministro che per parte dell'abbate si troverà a Bada " (*loc. cit.*). Cf. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1670 *seqq.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1981 *seq.*

letter to Passionei on July 28th in which he once more recommended this affair most earnestly to him, whilst he also lamented the fact that the men of Berne and Zurich had organized Protestant services at Baden.¹ On August 4th the Secretary of State once more urged Passionei to attend to the Rijswijk Clause and to the affairs of the Swiss.² In connection with the Swiss question a Brief was dispatched to the King of France on the same day.³

Much earlier than had been expected in Rome, namely on September 7th, 1714, the Peace of Empire was concluded at Baden. It was wholly based on the articles agreed upon at Rastatt. No concession was made in regard to the Clause of Rijswijk; on the contrary, Article 3 expressly states that in all that concerns both religious and secular matters, everything was to remain as agreed upon at Rijswijk.⁴

How gratified the Pope was by the preservation of the much disputed Clause appears from the letters of thanks which he promptly addressed to the Emperor and to the King of France.⁵ He was likewise gratified by the stipulations of the Peace of Baden about the restitution of the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria and the diocese of Hildesheim, as well as the preservation of the Church's rights in those localities of the Netherlands which France had to cede to the Emperor.

Clement XI.'s pleasure was nevertheless considerably dimmed by the circumstance that a number of things which injured Catholicism in the Empire and more particularly in Switzerland, had not been done away with by the Congress

¹ *Ibid.*, 1987 seq.

² **Paci*, 54, p. 512, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. SEGESSER, *Luzern*, IV., 592 seq. On Nuncio Caracciolo, see HÜRBIN, *Handbuch*, II., 410 seq., 420. On August 13, 1712, Lucerne begs to be recalled. Clement XI. complies.

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1989 seq.

⁴ DUMONT, VIII., I, 416.

⁵ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2017 seqq. The *Brief to Louis XIV. is here wrongly dated the same day (September 29) as the one to the Emperor. The correct date of this letter, which was sent first, is: September 25. *Brevia*, Papal Secret Archives.

of Baden.¹ The further papal demands set down in Passionei's Instruction had also failed to receive attention in the peace settlement. In these circumstances Passionei saw himself compelled to make use of the authorization to lodge a protest which he had received as early as June. This he did in due form on September 10th at Baden and on September 20th at Lucerne.²

Not long after Passionei was entrusted with yet another mission to Switzerland. He was charged, with the assistance of the Emperor and of France, to secure the restoration to the Catholic Cantons of their possessions previous to the war of Toggenburg in 1712. There was no lack of zeal or prudence on his part, but the difficulties, created mostly by France, but even in part also by the Swiss Catholics, proved insuperable. All he succeeded in obtaining was that the Catholics in their weakness, in their nothingness, as he puts it, by comparison with the enormous power of the Cantons Zurich and Berne, should at least be guarded from the insults of their enemies. The project of the foundation of a seminary at Solothurn, which was on the verge of realization, failed to be carried out.³

Comparatively late, and evidently only after mature reflection, such as the Holy See never neglects in such cases, the Pope expressed an official opinion on the situation created by the Peace of Baden. He did so at a consistory of January 21st, 1715, after ratification of the treaty by the Powers on October 28th. The Pope gave the Cardinals a clear and detailed account of what had been achieved and not achieved by the three great peace treaties. Among the successes he mentioned in the first place the maintenance of

¹ Paolucci's *letter to Passionei, September 22, 1714, calls special attention to this. *Paci*, 54, Pap. Sec. Arch.

² GALLETTI, Passionei, 61. The protest is also in the Lucerne Archives.

³ See LENGEFELD'S detailed description (*Graf Domenico Passionei, päpstlicher Legat in der Schweiz 1714-16*, Ansbach, 1900), in which, however, as G. MEIER points out in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXII., 206, the documents in the Archives of the monastery of St. Gall were not consulted.

the Clause of Rijswijk. The decision that any alterations made during the war would not touch this Clause, meant the abolition of the religious recess of 1705. In prevision of the fact that the Protestants would nevertheless continue their former efforts at the Diet and elsewhere, he, the Pope, had already taken steps at the courts of Vienna and Paris and obtained reassuring promises from those quarters. He rejoiced at the 15th Article which completely restored the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria and condemned the agreement which Prussia had forced upon the Chapter of Hildesheim ; Article 27 was likewise gratifying because it restored all ecclesiastical rights in the Dutch territories which Louis XIV. had to cede to the Emperor Charles VI. Lastly Clement XI. referred to Article 30 which paved the way for Italian neutrality, a thing which was of the utmost value to him as head of the States of the Church.

The Pope then passed on to the things that had pained him. Here he singles out the confirmation of the Peace of Westphalia, the recognition of a ninth Electorate in favour of Hanover and the Prussian royal title, the assignation of Catholic territories to Protestant princes and lastly the clauses in connection with the restoration of ecclesiastical possessions seized during the war, which meant an evident infringement of ecclesiastical liberty and immunity. A grave injury had been done to the Holy See in the temporal sphere by the overriding of its unquestioned suzerainty over Naples and Sicily. It was not mentioned in the Treaty of Rastatt nor in that of Baden, in fact the Treaty of Utrecht had acted as if the Pope and the Holy See had no rights at all in the matter.

After that Clement XI. ordered Olivieri, the Secretary for Secret Briefs, to be called in for the purpose of reading Passionei's protests. Owing to the circumstance that, contrary to every custom, no intermediary had been present, Passionei had been obliged to make his protests before the local authorities ; but they had been handed to the imperial, the French and the other ambassadors and they were finally renewed before the Council of Lucerne. The Pope further explained the bearing of the protests which were directed not

only against all the restrictions implied in the agreements of Rastatt and Baden, but likewise, and even more so, against the stipulations of Utrecht. The Pope also expressly stated that his comprehensive protest extended to all that had been done against James III. of England, with complete disregard of all laws. Finally he expressly condemned the Treaty of Aargau. The Head of the Church, he added, would not be content with words but would use all his energy in order to repair the injury done to religion and to the Holy See ; of this the Cardinals might feel convinced. The Pope concluded with a significant reference to the peril which threatened from the Turks. Now that peace was restored he called upon the Christian princes to conjure this menace.¹

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 111-18 ; *Report of Cardinal Acquaviva to the Marquis de Villamayor, dat. January 26, 1715. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT XI.'S EFFORTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST THE TURKS—VICTORIES OF PRINCE EUGENE — INTRIGUES OF CARDINAL ALBERONI, HIS DOWNFALL AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

EVEN amid his gravest preoccupations Clement XI. never lost sight ¹ of the glorious mission of the Holy See to act as guardian and protector of Christian civilization against Islam. After the difficult period of the Spanish war of succession it was to be his privilege to exercise it once again effectively. The Porte was very slow in recovering from the losses caused to it by the Peace of Karlowitz (January 26th, 1699), but that which was most grievously resented on the Golden Horn was the possibility for Venice to take the offensive from the Isthmus of Corinth as far as Dalmatia. However, in the sequel the inactivity of the Republic of St. Mark during the war of succession was put down to weakness which invited attack.²

Since the spring of 1714 it was reported that the Turks were making warlike preparations on a large scale. Against whom they were directed was kept a secret for the time being, until all was ready. On December 8th war was declared

¹ In the spring of 1701, Clement XI. tried to bring about an alliance against the Turks between the Emperor and Poland (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 358). On the help given to the Maltese for the defence of the island in the spring of 1708, *cf.* the Briefs in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 494, 501, 535, and POMETTI, XXII., 123 *seqq.* In 1709 Venice was granted an extension of the tenths in order that she might be equipped against an attack of the Turks (*Opera*, Epist., 605). In 1710 exhortations were made to Vienna (POMETTI, XXII., 124 *seq.*), and Venice (*Opera*, Epist., 717).

² HAMMER, IV., 124.

against Venice.¹ When on January 1st, 1715, news of this event reached the City of the Lagoons, there was great consternation. With feverish haste preparations were made for resisting the attack. At the same time help was sought both in Rome and in Vienna.² The magnitude of the peril was recognized in both places, but the Pope alone showed zeal and determination to ward it off.

No sooner had the news of the Turkish preparations reached Clement XI. than his first care was to see to the safety of Malta ; at the same time he urged the Emperor Charles VI. and King Augustus of Poland to take action against the common enemy.³ Besides this the Pope took immediate steps to protect the coast of the Pontifical States by strengthening his fleet, reorganizing the army and at the same time providing the necessary money.⁴ This activity of the Pope (as appears from the latest researches), went hand in hand with the idea of forming a league of all the Christian princes, with a view to counteracting the danger threatening from the East. In this emergency Pius V. served as the Pope's model. Consequently he gave orders to the officials at the head of the Papal Secret Archives to collect all the documents which might furnish information concerning his great predecessor's action against Islam.⁵ In a consistory held on January 21st, 1715, Clement XI. openly stated that he meant to win over the Christian rulers for this undertaking. At this consistory he also gave his appreciation of the great peace treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden.⁶

Already in the late autumn of 1714, Pier Paolo Marcolini, a skilful diplomat, had been charged with a mission to the

¹ POMETTI, XXII., 111 *seq.* ; HAMMER, IV., 124 ; ZINKEISEN, V., 470 *seq.*

² ZINKEISEN, V., 489 *seq.* ; POMETTI, XXII., 130 *seq.*

³ Briefs of November 10 and December 21, 1714, *Opera*, Epist., 2025, 2033 *seq.*

⁴ POMETTI, XXII., 175 *seqq.*

⁵ POMETTI, *Storia della marina italiana*, 67, n. 6.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 107.

Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany.¹ Owing to the political situation, which was anything but satisfactory, Marcolini met with a cool reception.

Opposition between Charles VI. and Philip V. continued undiminished. Charles did not acknowledge Philip of Anjou as King of Spain and therefore maintained his claims to that territory with the same tenacity as Philip maintained his to the former Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. To this was added the traditional slowness and irresolution of the imperial Cabinet, which caused the nuncio at Vienna, Giorgio Spinola to break out into complaints. Charles VI. and his advisers made endless difficulties.² Clement XI. was in no mood to tolerate delay. His letters of exhortation of December 21st, 1714, to the Emperor and the King of Poland show how keenly he realized the peril. On January 10th, 1715, he appealed once more to the Emperor and on the 17th to the Kings of Poland and Portugal.³ Though Charles VI.'s ministers could not be blind to the fact that something must be done, the Emperor's replies to the Pope, dated February 9th and 12th, were very unsatisfactory. The long years of war had exhausted his resources, he pleaded, but he would negotiate with the Porte.⁴

Marcolini saw at once that nothing was to be obtained from Vienna in the near future.⁵ On January 9th, 1715, he left for Germany where he called first upon the Elector of Bavaria, then on the Bishop of Constance, and finally on the

¹ “*Relazione data da Msgr. Marcolini, cameriere d'onore di Clemente XI., della sua spedizione fatta d'ordine di S. Stà e con suoi brevi a varie corti cattoliche di Germania nell'anno 1715,” in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, III, pp. 62-80. Papal Sec. Archives. An *instruction of October 26, 1714 (*ibid.*), commanded Marcolini to go to Germany after he had transacted his business at the imperial court.

² *Relazione data da Msgr. Marcolini, *loc. cit.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2039, 2045 seq., 2047.

⁴ POMETTI, XXII., 136.

⁵ On Marcolini's audience with Charles VI., December 27, 1714, cf. his *Relazione, *loc. cit.*

Electors of Mayence, Cologne and the Palatinate. Assurances were forthcoming from all sides. The dilatory attitude of the court of Vienna met with disapproval in many quarters. Marcolini hoped that the Catholic princes of Germany would remain united; thus they could do much to ward off the Turkish peril, provided they themselves did not indulge in extravagant expenditure.¹

In spite of the favourable attitude of the German Catholic princes, the Emperor Charles VI. declined to take immediate action. What gave additional ground for procrastination on his part was the fact that Sultan Ahmed III. had given assurances in Vienna that Venice alone was the object of his vengeance. It was easy to foresee that once the Venetians were defeated, an attack would be made on Hungary. The King of Poland, who declared his readiness to help Austria, also drew attention to this fact.²

Meanwhile Turkish ships made their appearance in the Adriatic.³ Not a little perturbed the Pope appealed once more (April 25th, 1715) to the Emperor and soon after (May 4th) to Prince Eugene and the Catholic nobles of the Empire.⁴ The Emperor Charles VI. answered in a letter in his own hand dated May 28th. He praised the Pope's zeal on behalf of Christendom, declaring at the same time his inability to render any assistance to the Venetians so long as his Italian possessions were threatened by the Spaniards.

¹ MARCOLINI, in **Relazione*, says of the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement: "Ora che l'età più consistente e le disgrazie lo hanno dai piaceri della prima sua educazione ritirato, è con molto fervore portato all'osservanza dei precetti della sua religione; la sua reintegrazione al collegio elettorale," was therefore to be desired. Marcolini did not visit Trèves as the see was vacant.

² POMETTI, XXII., 137.

³ Cardinal Acquaviva's **report* to the Marques de Villamayor, April 27, 1715; he thinks that the Venetians cannot be trusted: "pues ellos estan acostumbrados a tratar sus pazes en el tempo que solecitan sus amigos hacer la guerra." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

⁴ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2065 seq., 2069 seq., 2071.

The same sentiments were expressed to nuncio Spinola by the imperial ministers in Vienna. An evasive answer was given to a proposed papal mediation between Vienna and Madrid.¹

Though for the moment the fear of a double war in Italy and Hungary proved a decisive factor as far as Austria was concerned, the Pope did not give up the hope, by means of certain guarantees, of winning over the Emperor to his side for the Turkish war. In connection with this the Pope fulfilled an ardent wish of the Emperor, i.e. the proclamation as a Cardinal, of Hugo Schönborn who had been reserved *in petto* in 1713.²

By order of Pope Clement XI. solemn functions were held in Rome at the end of May, to call down the help of heaven on behalf of Christendom.³ In the sequel Venice received financial aid and the Knights of Malta were asked to join their fleet to that of the Venetians.⁴

In the meantime the danger increased considerably. The Turks showed such a superiority both on land and sea, that at Venice one scare followed another. In May, 1715, the Turkish fleet had left the Dardanelles ; owing to the stupidity of the Commander, the rock-fortress of the island of Tinos, which was considered impregnable, fell already in June. Encouraged by this swift success, the Turks directed all their energies both on land and sea, against Morea, the ancient Peloponnesus. In July they took the lofty rock-fortress of Corinth and the strongly fortified capital, Napoli di Romania (Nauplia), where they strangled the Bishop. A rich booty in the shape of money and ammunition also fell into their hands. The Venetian fleet retired as the Turks approached Modon. The town fell without effort as a result of the mutiny

¹ POMETTI, XXII., 138 *seq.*, 140 note ; *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LV., 14.

² GUARNACCI, II., 263.

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 121 ; *Bull.*, XXI., 676 ; BUDER, III., 221 *seqq.*

⁴ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2081 ; Count Gallas' *report of August 12, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. POMETTI, XXII., 142.

of the Greek troops. Patras, Cerigo and Monembasia surrendered without offering any resistance. Thus within a short time the whole of the Peloponnesus was lost.¹

This result had been foreseen in Rome since the middle of August² when preparations were set on foot for the protection of the coasts of the Papal States.³ Since the middle of September, by the Pope's order, processions were held in which the Pope himself took part.⁴

A Congregation of Cardinals deliberated on the measures to be taken against the Turks,⁵ for an attack by them on Italy was feared for the coming year.⁶

Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Louis XIV. The old King had put it beyond a doubt that he would maintain France's traditional friendship with the Porte.⁷ He endeavoured to console the Pope by recommending the Christians of Asia to the Sultan's protection.⁸ If at one moment Clement XI. entertained a hope of a change of France's Eastern policy under Philip of Orleans who acted as regent for the five years old Louis XV., he was soon undeceived by a declaration of the Duke who let it be known in Rome that if the Emperor demanded as a condition of his participation in the war against the Turks, a guarantee of his Italian possessions, he had nothing to fear on this score from France, hence a new guarantee was superfluous; moreover

¹ Cf. ZINKEISEN, V., 491 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXIII., 257 *seqq.*

² Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to the Prince of Chelamar, August 13, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; Count Gallas' *report, August 31, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ POMETTI, XXII., 172 *seq.*

⁴ BUDER, III., 251; Cardinal Acquaviva's *letter to the Marchese di S. Felipe, dat. September 17, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

⁵ Count Gallas' *report, September 14, 1715, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cardinal Acquaviva to the Prince of Chelamar, September 10, 1715, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. Count Gallas' *report, May 4, 1715, *loc. cit.* The Pope's address on the death of Louis XIV. in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 123 *seqq.*; the Briefs of condolence, *ibid.*, Epist., 2087 *seqq.*

⁸ LAFITAU, II., 122.

it would only be forthcoming if the Emperor promised to remain neutral, not merely for the duration of the war, but for all time.¹ Clement XI. had taken identical steps in Madrid and at Versailles to obtain guarantees for the Emperor as Charles was particularly afraid of Spain.

It was a piece of good fortune for the Pope that in the meantime a complete change had taken place in Philip V.'s hostile attitude towards Rome. In Paris Pompeo Aldrovandi was working since May 17th to bring about an understanding between Rome and Paris, but a year later nothing had as yet been achieved. Notwithstanding the important concessions made by the Pope, José Rodrigo Villalpando, Philip's representative, was not satisfied.²

In the first place, Clement insisted on the nuncio's return to Spain, and the re-establishment of his tribunal. As far as the person of the nuncio was concerned (Aldrovandi had been selected for the post), he was willing to take into consideration the wishes of the Spanish Government.³ Pope Clement XI., remained adamant on this point.⁴ Meanwhile Philip, although personally pious, allowed himself to be guided by very bad advisers who, under pretext of safe-guarding the prerogatives of the Crown, sought to induce him to adopt the worst measures. Already then the suppression, on a large scale, of most of the religious Orders had been suggested to the Government.⁵

In spite of Louis XIV.'s urgent and repeated advice to

¹ POMETTI, XXII., 147 note.

² Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, July 23, 1714, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, Papal Sec. Archives.

³ Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, November 11, 1713, *ibid.*, 212.

⁴ Paolucci's *letter in cypher to Aldrovandi, August 28, 1714, *ibid.*, 383.

⁵ " *So che fra l'altre cose che si propongono e consigliano al Re et al Consiglio vi è di supprimere tutte le religioni in Spagna auctoritate regia eccettuati li soli Gesuiti e Benfratelli, appropriando alla Camera regia i loro beni." Aldrovandi's report, dat. Paris, September 10, 1714, *ibid.*, 211.

Madrid, to attend, in its own interest, to the pacification of its territory, new obstacles continually cropped up in the negotiations between Aldrovandi and Villalpando¹: if no rupture of the negotiations was aimed at, a complete standstill was certainly intended.² On his part Clement XI. did all he could in order to create favourable disposition in Philip V. When Elizabeth Farnese, the future wife of the King of Spain, set out on her journey to Madrid, Cardinal Gozzadini was deputed to greet her in his name.³ On October 8th and 13th, 1714, besides other favours, Philip V. was granted the Cruzada.⁴ Aldrovandi was of opinion that these concessions should have been withheld until negotiations were concluded, for now they would drag on indefinitely.⁵

Meanwhile a new conflict had arisen. Cardinal Francesco Giudice, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, was one of Philip V.'s most faithful and most able ministers. In April, 1714, he had been dispatched to Paris in order to compose some differences between Louis XIV. and his nephew.⁶ The Princess Orsini, a clever woman and one addicted to intrigues, who just then dominated King Philip, was jealous of Giudice and sought to obtain his permanent removal from court by sowing discord between the King and the Cardinal.⁷

¹ Aldrovandi's *report, September 24, 1714, *ibid.* Cf. the Brief of thanks to Louis XIV. of October 16, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2023.

² Aldrovandi's *report, October 9, 1714, *loc. cit.*

³ Brief to Gozzadini, September 22, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2017; Aldrovandi's *reports of October 15, and November 26, 1714, *loc. cit.*; ANT. BALDASSARI, *Ragguaglio compendioso dell'Apost. legazione dell'em. card. Ulisse Gozzadini seguita in Parma nelle nozze tra Filippo V. ed Elisabetta Farnese, alla qual regina presentossi la Rosa d'Oro inviatale dal S. P. Clemente XI.*, Venezia, 1723.

⁴ **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 103. Pap. Sec. Archives.

⁵ Cf. Aldrovandi's candid *letter, dat. Paris, October 22, 1714, *loc. cit.*

⁶ BAUDRILLART, I., 579 *seqq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 591 *seqq.* Cf. Combes, *La princesse des Ursins*, Paris, 1858, 483; SAINT RENÉ TAILLANDIER, *La princesse des Ursins*, Paris, 1896; *Madame des Ursins et la succession d'Espagne.*

Giudice, in his capacity as Inquisitor-General, had condemned in an edict as heretical and schismatical, the opinion of the Gallican Denis Talon, which asserted the absolute power of kings in matters ecclesiastical.¹ These opinions coincided with those of Macanaz, though the latter was not mentioned in the edict. The Pope gave his approval to the decree of condemnation of the Grand Inquisitor.² As a sequel to its publication in Madrid, very few voices in the Castilian Council declared themselves in favour of Macanaz' opinions.³ There now happened what the Princess Orsini had had in mind. The King became very angry and determined to take vengeance on all the opponents of Macanaz. Louis Curiel, the author of a book against him and a Dominican who had given it his approval, were banished. The Inquisition received orders to withdraw its edict and Giudice to present himself at once in Madrid. With a view to making it impossible for him to justify himself before the King, Princess Orsini, by her intrigues, obtained an order from Philip V. forbidding Giudice to set foot on Spanish soil until he should have revoked his edict.⁴

In Paris Philip's attitude called forth strong disapproval, since in spite of all the concessions made by the Pope, an understanding, for which Giudice had likewise laboured, was now made more difficult than ever.⁵ Minister Torcy remarked angrily that he could not see what more the Spanish court could demand than had already been granted; everything seemed to tend towards the complete overthrow of

Fragments de correspondance publiés par L. DE LA TRÉMOILLE, Paris, 1907; *Biografia di Constance Hill*, in German, by FRIDA ARNOLDS, Heidelberg, 1902.

¹ Giudice foresaw the effect this would have on the Court of Madrid; however, he was not to be deterred from doing his duty; see Aldrovandi's *report, September 10, 1714, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Paolucci's *Cifra to Aldrovandi, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 383, Pap. Sec. Archives.

³ Cf. above, p. 76.

⁴ BAUDRILLART, I., 596 *seqq.*

⁵ Cf. Aldrovandi's *report, April 23, 1714, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

ecclesiastical conditions.¹ Aldrovandi was of opinion that in spite of the King's personal piety, so long as he allowed himself to be deceived by anti-clerical advisers in the hope of securing advantages for the crown, the worst fears for ecclesiastical immunity as well as the Inquisition would be justified.²

But just then a complete change was unexpectedly brought about. The new Queen, a highly gifted woman but at the same time ambitious and of a domineering disposition, came into conflict at her very first meeting with Princess Orsini. With prompt decision she had her rival taken across the Spanish frontier (September, 1714).³ Philip V., always weak, though deprecating such a course of action, yielded, not wishing to give offence to his new consort.⁴ With Princess Orsini

¹ According to Aldrovandi's *report, November 19, 1714, *loc. cit.*, Torcy's words were : Non so che cosa possa pretendere la corte di Spagna di più di quello le è stato accordato, quanto non si miri da essa a sconvolgere tutti gli usi e pratiche osservate per tanto tempo, il che non è in conto alcuno giusto nè decoroso.

² Aldrovandi's *report, November 23, 1714, *loc. cit.*

³ BAUDRILLART, I., 599 *seqq.*, 607, 610 *seqq.*, 614 *seqq.*, who proves convincingly, against the hitherto prevailing opinion, that the Orsini were not the victims of Louis XIV., and still less of Giudice and the Inquisition. The description of the fall of the Orsini by Combes is rightly described by Baudrillart as inexact and uncritical. The important report of Alberoni of December 31, 1714, is printed in PROFESSIONE, G. Alberoni dal 1708 al 1714, Verona, 1890, 75 *seqq.*

⁴ BAUDRILLART, I., 615. As to so many other persons of rank, Rome also gave hospitality to the Princess Orsini. Clement XI. refused at first to allow the intriguing woman to return to Rome, as already several times before she had given trouble to the papal Government ; but in the end he granted the permission. The princess arrived in Rome in the last week of October, 1720 (see *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 275, 277). She attached herself to the Stuarts and, though without formal appointment, became Mistress of the household of M. Clementine Sobieski, wife of James III., Pretender to the English throne. She died in December, 1722, at the age of 80, and was buried in the Orsini Chapel of the Lateran (FORCELLA, VIII., 75).

all her adherents also fell, amongst them Orry and Macanaz, who lost their positions and were obliged to go into exile in France.¹ On the other hand Cardinal Giudice, though up till then in complete disgrace, was allowed to return to Madrid, February, 1715. He was reappointed Grand Inquisitor, first Minister and tutor to the Prince of Asturias.² By these measures, as well as by a decree of February 10, and a circular of March 11, addressed to the Bishops, the King let it be known that he was reconsidering his Church policy.³ Aldrovandi now hoped that Giudice would be able to remove all the other preventions entertained by the King.⁴

Clement thanked Philip V. for yielding as regards the Inquisition (May 14th, 1715), and at the same time exhorted him to abolish the remaining anti-clerical decrees.⁵ On July 6th the Spanish king ordered all Bulls relating to benefices, which had been banned since 1709, to be received.⁶ The Pope realized that he had at last obtained what he had been striving for in the first instance. In July, 1715, Aldrovandi set out for Madrid as nuncio. On his arrival there, on August 5th, he met with a most gracious reception from the King. He attributed this success, for which Rome

¹ Cf. Aldrovandi's *reports of February 18 and March 11, 1715. Macanaz was not allowed to remain in Paris; Aldrovandi *writes on April 15, 1715, that he is to be feared, not for his learning, but for his "ciarla e intrigo" with the Parliaments. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 214, *loc. cit.*

² *Aldrovandi, February 25 and April 1, 1715 (on his reinstatement as Grand Inquisitor on March 28), *ibid.* Cf. BAUDRILLART, I., 629 *seqq.*

³ *Aldrovandi, April 23, 1715, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.* Cf. PROFESSIONE, *Ministero*, 16.

⁴ *Aldrovandi, April 29, 1715, *loc. cit.*

⁵ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2075. Cf. *ibid.*, Orat., 119.

⁶ On the great satisfaction in Rome with this measure, see *report of Cardinal Acquaviva to P. Daubenton, August 13, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. If the Dataria, we read, often grants benefices to unworthy candidates, it is not the fault of Rome but that of the Spanish Bishops who are not careful enough.

had waited so long,¹ chiefly to Giudice's influence, as well as to the Abbé Giulio Alberoni, who was rapidly becoming an outstanding personality.²

Alberoni, the son of a gardener, was born in 1664 near Piacenza. He belonged to that class of men to whom nature has denied all physical advantages, in order to endow them all the more lavishly with gifts of the mind. Small of stature, he possessed an extraordinarily large head, and an unusually broad and ugly face.³ Hidden behind this grotesque exterior there lay great mental endowments. The cause of his promotion must be attributed to his extraordinary talent for languages. During the Spanish war of succession the young ecclesiastic, whilst acting as interpreter to the Bishop of Piacenza, came in contact with the Duke of Vendôme, who took him into his service, greatly pleased with the young Abbé's acumen as well as his wit. In 1711 in his capacity as Vendôme's secretary, Alberoni went to Spain and there became a favourite at court. After the death of his patron, he was named ambassador of the Duke of Parma in Madrid. In this capacity he negotiated the second marriage of Philip V. with Elizabeth Farnese, niece and heiress of his sovereign. When the interests of the Bourbons and the Farnese had been thus closely linked together, Alberoni began to play an important political rôle. His prestige with the new queen soon became very considerable, but Elizabeth, as ambitious as she was bold, completely dominated her weak neurasthenic husband, hence she became the leading spirit of Spain's politics. Alberoni made an unscrupulous use of the confidence which Elizabeth placed in him; Cardinal Giudice, to whose rehabilitation Philip had given a reluctant

¹ Cf. Count Gallas' *report, dat. Rome, August 31, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² *Aldrovandi, June 10, July 1 and 2, August 5 and 13, 1715, *loc. cit.*

³ Contemporary portrait in ARATA, *Il processo del card. Alberoni*, Piacenza, 1923. Literature on him, see below, p. 173, n. 3. E. BOURGEOIS, *Lettres intimes de J. M. Alberoni au comte Rocca*, Paris, 1893.

consent, lost all influence.¹ Now this son of a Piacenza gardener was able to rule alone with the queen.² In order to win the Pope's favour also, Alberoni endeavoured, with the help of the King's confessor, the Jesuit Daubenton, not only to compose the ecclesiastical differences with Rome,³ but to get Spain to give the Emperor the desired guarantee for his Italian possessions for the duration of the Turkish war. This was done in a letter of Philip to the Pope, November 25th, 1715.⁴

Clement XI. believed that now his wishes were fulfilled,⁵ for there was no longer any reason for Charles VI. to hesitate to unfurl the standard of the Cross against the Turks. On January 4th, 1716, urgent exhortations were addressed to him, as well as to Prince Eugene, and soon afterwards to all the Christian princes on behalf of the Turkish war.⁶ Charles VI., distrusting the promises of Spain and France, continued to hesitate. In Rome he demanded the concession of a tenth from the clergy of his territories,⁷ help with ready money and the Pope's guarantee of his Italian possessions. Clement XI. refused to grant a tenth but was willing to contribute a sum of 500,000 florins from Church lands in the hereditary States. In January, 1716, he granted the Venetians 100,000 gold florins, by which the Emperor

¹ Cf. BAUDRILLART, I., 630 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, II., 244.

³ A decree of Philip V., dat. Buen Retiro, September 28, 1715, revoked the ordinances of September 7, 1710, and April 24, 1711, regarding the incomes of vacant bishoprics, etc., *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 97, p. 144, Papal Sec. Archives.

⁴ POMETTI, XXII., 148. The Pope's request to Philip V. that he should give the guarantee demanded by the Emperor, is dated October 8, 1715. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2093.

⁵ According to Count Gallas' report of November 2, 1715, already then a rumour circulated in Rome that the Emperor had declared war on the Turks. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁶ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2107 *seqq.*, 2123 *seqq.*

⁷ This demand was made already in the summer of 1715; see Count Gallas' reports of June 1 and July 31, 1715, *loc. cit.*

would profit indirectly. As for the guarantee demanded, he declared that he held himself bound to do all in his power to prevent any hostile attack on the Emperor's Italian possessions. However, even this did not satisfy Vienna. The negotiations came to a standstill and were only resumed when, in March, the Pope offered further financial help if Corfu was able to hold out.¹

The Emperor also made demands on the Republic of Venice. It took a long time before an agreement was reached with regard to support by Venice in the event of an attack on Naples, as well as the guarantee demanded by the Emperor for his Italian possessions and the passage of Austrian troops through Venetian territory. In her extremity the Republic of St. Mark yielded to all these demands, as a result of which an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Emperor and Venice on April 13th, 1716, by the terms of which war was to be declared against the Turks in the spring and vigorously prosecuted. The King of Poland, the Tsar of Russia, as well as the other Christian princes, were to be invited to join in this league. In the event of the Turks attacking Naples, Venice was obliged to come to the assistance of the Emperor with a force of 6,000 foot soldiers and eight men-of-war. On his part, Charles VI. promised an auxiliary corps of 12,000 men, as soon as any part of the Venetian territory was menaced by an enemy.²

Meanwhile nuncio Spinola had made every effort in Vienna to induce the Emperor to acknowledge the promise of neutrality which had been obtained both in Paris and Madrid. But on this point he met with obstinate resistance on the part of the imperial ministers. By this means the latter obtained from the Pope the concession of a tenth for the space of three years throughout the imperial territories on

¹ POMETTI, XXII., 157 *seqq.* Brief of February 16, 1716, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2131 *seq.*

² KATONA, *Hist. Hung.*, XXXVIII., 256 *seq.*, 261, 267; ZINKEISEN, V., 510 *seqq.*; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen App.*, 350 *seqq.* An express courier brought the news of the alliance to Rome on April 21, 1716; *cf.* BUDER, III., 426.

the other side of the Alps as well as the Netherlands, though these had always been exempt from such taxation, together with a promise that on the declaration of war, he would contribute at once 200,000 florins and the concession of various heavy personal demands of Charles VI.¹ The Pope experienced great difficulty in raising the money for the Turkish war; the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's, as well as contributions from the Cardinals, had to be drawn upon. Apart from this a grant of a tenth of all ecclesiastical lands in Italy was made, for a period of six years.²

The extensive preparations of the Turks were matched by those of the Emperor, to whom the Pope granted a further subsidy of 100,000 florins.³ The supreme command was entrusted to the fifty-three years old Prince Eugene who, as president of the supreme war council, had been engaged during the whole winter in putting the imperial army on a war footing.⁴ Owing to the severity of the late winter and the tardy grant of help from the Empire the campaign in Hungary only opened during the summer of 1716.

On July 1st Prince Eugene left Vienna, on the 9th he was at Futak near the fortress of Peterwardein where George Freiherr van Löffelsholz was in supreme command. The imperial forces numbered 65,000 men, a third of whom consisted of cavalry. Prince Eugene estimated the Turkish army at more than 200,000 men. From the direction of Belgrade it had crossed the Save and invaded Sirmia and at the beginning of August it had pitched its tents in a very advantageous position on an eminence, not far from Peterwardein. However, before the Turks were able to begin the siege of Peterwardein, Prince Eugene, with bold determination,

¹ BUDER, III., 386 *seqq.*, 389 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXII., 159 *seq.* On the pretensions of the imperial ambassador, Gallas, here mentioned, see his *report to the Emperor, February 25, 1716, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn (Lower Austria).

² BUDER, III., 387; CLEMENTIS XI, *Opera*, Orat., 131 *seq.*; NOVAES, XII., 220.

³ POMETTI, XXII., 267.

⁴ ARNETH, *Prinz Eugen*, II., 384.

offered battle to an army far superior to his own, on the morning of August 5th, feast of Our Lady of the Snow. It ended at noon with a splendid victory for the imperial troops. The whole camp, with the magnificent tent of the Grand Vizier, who had been mortally wounded in the conflict, fell into the hands of the victors together with 156 standards, 5 horse-tails, 172 pieces of artillery and an enormous store of ammunition. The losses of the Turks amounted to 6,000 dead, but the victorious army also had to bewail the loss of 3,000 dead and 2,000 wounded.¹ In spite of this it was a glorious victory and the whole of Christendom was filled with joy at the news. With the exception of Vienna, nowhere was there so much rejoicing as in Rome. At this time the printer Cracas started a special newspaper, *Diario di Ungheria*, giving the reports from the eastern battlefield. The paper was called after its editor and for more than a century it served as the semi-official papal weekly newspaper.²

Clement XI. received the joyful news through an imperial autograph letter and a letter of Prince Eugene written in the tent of the Grand Vizier and describing the course of the battle. On September 2nd, 1716, the same day on which thirty years before Ofen had been captured, the Pope communicated to the Cardinals in consistory, what had taken place in Hungary. How high his hopes were appears from the fact that he not merely spoke of saving the island of Corfu, but of the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. A blest sword together with a hat studded with pearls was dispatched to the victorious commander-in-chief. Since the battle had taken place on the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, the Pope attributed the victory to the intercession of her whose help he had so often

¹ HAMMER, IV., 149 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 533 *seq.*; ARNETH, II., 396 *seqq.* (with plan of the battle).

² On this source for the cultural history of Rome, *cf.* MORONI, XX., 13 *seqq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 59; NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 31, 354; F. SABATINI, *Il Cracas in Roma*, in *Nuova Antologia*, III., Series VIII. (1887), n. 46. A complete copy of *Cracas* in Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

invoked. Most appropriately he ordered the thanksgiving celebrations to take place in the basilica of St. Mary Major, which according to legend owes its foundation to a miraculous fall of snow and also its name of S. Maria and Nives. The feast of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, September 6th, was set apart for the celebration.¹ The Pope himself celebrated the High Mass. Afterwards Cardinal Schrattenbach presented the trophies sent by the Emperor, viz. two Turkish banners and two horse-tail standards. "These trophies," the Cardinal observed, "which have been snatched from the cruel hereditary enemy of the Christian name, could not be claimed by any man with better justification than by your Holiness, who by your indefatigable efforts, the granting of indulgences and constant prayers, even at the very hour when the battle was fought, have been instrumental in winning a splendid victory for the Catholic world." In his reply the Pope announced that, as an outcome of the victory near Peterwardein, he had been informed by a courier from Naples of the miraculous relief of Corfu; consequently he hoped for further victories over the enemy of Christendom. The celebrations concluded with the *Te Deum*. From the castle of St. Angelo, salvoes of artillery were fired in token of joy. All the bells of Rome were rung and in the evening the city was illuminated. The Pope presented two standards to the sanctuary of our Lady of Loreto; the other trophies remained in the basilica of St. Mary Major.² As a mark of honour Prince Eugene was given a sword, four feet long, adorned with the papal arms, with a heavy silver hilt, in a scabbard of red velvet. The sword was blessed by the Pope on September 8th in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, together with a purple hat trimmed with ermine, the front showing the figure of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove artistically carried out in pearls. Orazio Rasponi was the bearer of this gift, together with a letter of congratulation to the commander-in-chief in which the latter

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 133.

² BUDER, III., 461 *seqq.* Cf. Brief to the Emperor in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2163 *seq.*

was compared to Julius Cæsar. Rasponi was likewise the bearer of blest medals for the Generals and Officers, and for the Emperor of a bill of exchange for 200,000 florins.¹ Pieter van Bloemen, the Flemish artist, glorified Prince Eugene's victories with so much skill in the Ottoboni Palace at Fiano, as to contribute not a little towards the raising of German prestige in Rome.² If in his address Clement XI. linked the victory of Peterwardein with the relief of Corfu, he was fully justified in doing so because the effect of the Turkish defeat in Hungary helped to save that island.

Fully aware as he was of the importance of preserving this last bulwark of Italy, Clement XI. had made great efforts to assist the Venetian fleet. In the previous year he had strengthened his own fleet whose task it was not only to protect the coastline of the Papal States, but also to assist the Venetians.³ The Pope displayed great zeal in his endeavours to induce other States to help Venice to maintain her sea power. Papal diplomacy left nothing undone in this respect. In France these attempts miscarried for the Duke of Orleans was unwilling to break off the long-standing good relations with the Porte.⁴ On the other hand not only Portugal but Spain also promised the Pope support for the Venetians. On the advice of Alberoni and Aldrovandi, Philip V. contributed six men-of-war, four galleys and 8,000 men. The latter Clement XI. was obliged to decline owing to the Emperor's

¹ BUDER, III., 465 *seqq.*; ARNETH, II, 402; ORLANDINI, *Lo stocco e il berrettone donato da Clemente XI. al Pr. Eugenio in Riv. araldica*, 1913, 619 *seqq.* The hat, at one time kept in the armoury of Vienna, has been stolen (LEBER, *Wiens Kaiserliches Zeughaus*, Leipzig, 1846, 77, 171); the sword has also disappeared (*Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XII., 144).

² NOACK, *loc. cit.*, 27, 31 *seqq.*

³ GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti* (1884), 48 *seqq.*; MANFRONI in *Archivio d. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, XIV., 308 *seqq.*, 314 *seqq.*, 323 *seqq.* (also particulars on the defence of the coast); POMETTI, XXII., 175 *seqq.*; XXIII., 244 *seqq.*

⁴ POMETTI, XXII, 164 *seq.*

misgivings as to Spain's intentions. King John of Portugal contributed five men-of-war, two frigates and one fireship with their crews. Tuscany furnished four and Genoa two triremes.¹ It had been expected that all these fighting forces would assemble at the end of May, near Corfu. But in spite of all the pressure on the Pope's part, that hope was not fulfilled. It was only on June 16th that the auxiliary fleet, consisting of Spanish, Papal, Genoese and Tuscan ships, assembled at Civitavecchia.² The Venetian fleet, which was lying off Zante, did not venture to attempt anything as the Turkish ships, under the command of Kapudan Pasha, were approaching with a very strong siege force on board.

The Turks were therefore able to effect a landing on Corfu without hindrance. A gallant German General, Matthias von Schulenburg, Count of Empire, who a year before had given his services to the Venetians,³ had put the fortifications in a state of defence and was resolved to hold out at all cost. This he did successfully. Every assault which the Turks undertook from August 1st onwards was beaten off.⁴ Meanwhile the Spanish, Papal, Tuscan, and Genoese ships were at last about to join the Venetians and Maltese. With a force of a hundred sail an attack was planned,⁵ but nothing came of it. Whilst the Christians hesitated, a storm blew up from the south on August 20th, which scattered the fleet. The appalling weather also caused great confusion in the Turkish camp; during the night of August 21st–22nd, the whole naval fighting force, with the army destined for the siege, vanished, leaving its artillery behind.⁶ The report of Eugene's victory in Hungary and the arrival of the Christian fleet had decided the Turks to save at least their battle fleet.

¹ *Ibid.*, 166 seqq., 172.

² *Ibid.*, XXIII., 429 seq., 255 seq., 270 seqq.; MANFRONI, *loc. cit.*, 320 seqq.

³ *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXII., 667 seqq.

⁴ ZINKEISEN, V., 526 seqq.

⁵ POMETTI, XXIII., 271 seq. The plan of the battle in *Archivio d. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, XIV., 342 seqq.

⁶ POMETTI, XXIII., 271 seq.

When Pisani set out in pursuit of the enemy it was too late. He then endeavoured to reconquer Modon, but the plan miscarried. An expedition against the coastal fortifications of Prevesa and Bonizza, situated in the Gulf of Arta, also proved futile and disastrous. In September Schulenburg succeeded in capturing Butrinto and in November he re-occupied the island of Santa Maura.¹

In spite of these trifling gains the result of the expedition was nevertheless considered a success, because it had at least prevented the loss of Corfu. That island was looked upon as the last bulwark of Christendom in the Mediterranean against the power of the Moslems and its loss would have had incomparable consequences for Italy.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that, however much he regretted the escape of the Turkish fleet,² Clement XI., on September 12th, ordered a thanksgiving service to be held at S. Maria in Vallicella, at which he himself celebrated High Mass. He also commanded that the relics of St. Spiridion, the Patron Saint of Corfu, should be exposed to public veneration.

On the 15th a *Te Deum* was sung at the Anima at which the College of Cardinals assisted. In the afternoon the Pope himself repaired to the German national church. On the following day he celebrated a Requiem Mass for the fallen.³ In remembrance of the liberation of Corfu a commemorative medal was struck, the reverse side of which shows Our Lady, Help of Christians, holding a rosary over the Christian fleet.⁴

Prince Eugene was not the man to rest on his laurels.

¹ ZINKEISEN, V., 528 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXIII., 272 *seqq.*

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2173. Cf. POMETTI, XXIII., 274. What hopes were attached to the naval expedition of 1716 appears from the letter of G. B. Conventati, Archbishop of Ragusa, to Paolucci, July 24, 1716: "Clement XI. will do things as great as Pius V.; see G. GENTILIZZA, *Lettere dell' arcivescovo di Ragusa G. B. Conventati*, Roma, 1906, 8.

³ BUDER, III., 479 *seqq.*

⁴ VENUTI, 338; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti*, 58 *seq.*

Hardly had he gained the victory of Peterwardein than he resolved to turn his attention to Temesvár, the fortified capital of the Banat, whose defence had been entrusted to Mustafa Pasha, one of the ablest of the Sultan's generals. The fortress, situated in a marshy district, was surrounded in the last days of August, 1716, and the bombardment opened at the beginning of September. An attack by a Turkish relief force was beaten off on September 23rd. On the other hand, the garrison consisting of 18,000 picked men put up a most determined defence. However, on October 1st one of the suburbs was stormed; on the 13th the garrison surrendered on condition of being allowed to withdraw unmolested. With the fall of Temesvár the conquest of the Banat was practically completed. Within a short time the Austrians changed what up till then had been so much waste land into a smiling garden—"The Paradise of Hungary."¹

Prince Eugene was still encamped at Temesvár, when he was informed of the high distinction which the Pope had conferred on him. As it was thought fitting that the honours should be bestowed in a solemn manner, the ceremony was only carried out on November 8th at Raab,² whilst Alessandro Albani, the Pope's nephew, also celebrated the victory at Castel Gandolfo.³ Count Ferdinand of Lamberg, who had taken part in the conquest of Temesvár, imparted to the Pope the details of the siege. On January 4th Clement XI. addressed the Cardinals in consistory; he ascribed the victory to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour he extended the feast of the Holy Rosary to the whole world. To obtain further victories over the Turks he ordered new prayers to be said on the feast of the Epiphany, in the basilica of St. Mary Major. He expressed his confidence that a celebration on the feast of the Magi would be a fitting

¹ ARNETH, *Prinz Eugen*, II., 402 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 534 *seqq.*

² ARNETH, II., 409 *seqq.*; O. RASPONI, *Solenne cerimonia d. conferimento d. stocco e pileo benedetti inviati da P. Clemente XI. al Pr. Eugenio*, Bologna, 1896.

³ BUDER, III., 489.

occasion for pleading with God for the return to the faith of the East.¹

As a result of Prince Eugene's victories and their own failure in their attack on Corfu, the Turks were greatly dispirited. A profound impression was created in Constantinople when, as a sequel to the Turkish defeats, a movement was set on foot and made itself felt amongst the Christian population of the Lower Danube and even in Albania, where the Archbishop of Ochrida, together with other Bishops, petitioned Prince Eugene to free them from the Turkish yoke.² How far the Porte's inclination towards peace was sincere must remain undecided. In any case, Charles VI. and Prince Eugene did not, for the time being, enter into peace negotiations, just as they rejected the eagerly proffered mediation of England and Holland.³ Vienna was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. In the new year, Belgrade was to be reconquered. To this end every resource was pressed into service. Prince Eugene hoped to raise his army, including the auxiliary troops, to a total of at least 140,000 men. Prince Maximilian of Hesse contributed the first contingent. He was followed by 6,000 Bavarians with whom the two eldest sons of the Elector Max Emmanuel served as volunteers. Numerous princes and nobles flocked to the standards, in order to share in so glorious a struggle, and amongst these there were even Frenchmen, so that the French Government felt compelled to apologize to the Porte for their zeal. Prince Eugene ordered a flotilla of ten ships to be fitted out on the Danube in support of the army.⁴

Immediately after the victory of Peterwardein Clement XI. eagerly took up the question of the prosecution of the war against the Turks. On September 28th, 1716, a meeting was

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 139. Cf. *ibid.*, Epist., 2203. Brief of January 16, 1717, to Charles VI. Also the *reports of Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 5, 12 and 19, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

² ZINKEISEN, V., 537.

³ *Ibid.*, 542 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 546 *seqq.*

held at which Cardinals Paolucci, Tanara, Spinola, Casini, Patrizi, Imperiali, Origo and many other prelates and officials were present. The Pope submitted five questions for their consideration.

1. What should be done at sea in the following year?
2. What measures should be adopted for the protection of the coastline of the Adriatic and that of the States of the Church?
3. What support should be granted to the Emperor?
4. What attitude should be adopted towards Venice?
5. How to act towards Spain and Portugal and the other States which had promised help against the Turks?¹

The Congregation decided to set aside four galleys to reinforce the Venetian fleet. Two others were to remain at Civitavecchia for the protection of the coast. Four galleons should be kept in readiness for the safety of the Adriatic coast. Since the Emperor had been granted a tenth of all his possessions beyond the Alps, as well as a sum of 400,000 florins, for the campaign of 1716, the commission was of opinion that further financial aid was unnecessary; it nevertheless extended the contribution of the tenth to Naples and Milan and also granted to the Republic of Venice the right of imposing, during the coming year, a tax of 100,000 gold scudi on all ecclesiastical property within her dominions. The Spanish auxiliary fleet should hibernate in a Genoese harbour, since Charles VI. had refused to grant the port of Naples for that purpose, owing to his misgivings as to the intentions of the Cabinet of Madrid. The Portuguese ships were left free either to anchor in an Italian harbour or to return to their home ports for the duration of the winter season.²

These decisions clearly show how high hopes for new successes for the Christian arms had risen in Rome. For all that the Pope never missed an opportunity of insisting in Vienna, Venice and Madrid on the need of constancy in so stern a struggle, in which every care should be taken to avoid

¹ POMETTI, XXIII., 449 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*

the mistakes made on previous occasions. For this reason the nunciatures urged that the attack should begin in Hungary, before the enemy was in a position, with the return of more favourable weather, to muster fresh troops. With regard to the naval forces, their early assembly was urged at the entrance to the Dardanelles, so as to prevent the Turkish fleet from putting to sea.¹

The reports sent by nuncio Spinola from Vienna fully justified Rome's most sanguine hopes for the campaign of the coming year. Prince Eugene's military preparations were as thorough as they were comprehensive, hence it could be confidently expected that the blow would be struck earlier than in 1716. This induced Clement XI. to relegate all other differences with the Cabinet of Vienna into the background, even those with regard to Comacchio which had not yet been surrendered. The crushing of the Turks seemed to him to be the most important task of the Holy See for the moment. In his efforts to secure help he went beyond the resolutions of the Sacred Congregation. A tax was imposed on the clergy of Naples, Milan and Mantua destined to realize, within the next five years, the sum of 500,000 scudi; 160,000 scudi were sent to Prince Eugene.²

Clement XI. did not show the same confidence towards the Republic of Venice as he did to Charles VI. The Republic's unreliability had been proved over and over again during the former Turkish wars.³ The Pope's misgivings as to the designs of the Signoria are revealed by the fact that the Secretary of State, Paolucci, put himself in direct communication with Count von Schulenburg in spite of the circumstance that the latter was a Protestant.⁴ The Venetians nevertheless received in 1717 the same subsidy of 100,000 scudi as had been granted to them the year before. Portugal, Genoa and Tuscany were also urgently pressed by the Pope to lend assistance to the

¹ *Ibid.*, 453.

² *Ibid.*, 459 *seqq.* Cf. BUDER, III., 564.

³ Cf. the present work, vols. XI., 270 *seqq.*; XIX., 332 *seq.*

⁴ POMETTI, XXIII., 454 *seqq.*, where some of Schulenburg's letters are given.

Venetian fleet.¹ The Pope was no less active to this end in Madrid where prospects seemed favourable enough.

Already in 1716 Alberoni had transmitted to nuncio Aldrovandi the most gratifying reports concerning Spain's share in the naval campaign of the following year. Philip V. confirmed all this on January 15th, 1717, in his reply to a papal Brief.² The fulfilment of these promises depended chiefly on Alberoni who, together with the queen, had the feeble monarch completely under his control ever since July, 1716, when he had succeeded in getting Cardinal Giudice removed from court.³

Alberoni's position was a most peculiar one; in name he was no more than the representative of the Duke of Parma, but together with the queen, he, a foreigner, was the real ruler of Spain. However, he himself did not feel secure, because in the country he had to reckon with those who were hostile to his political reforms, and beyond the frontiers with the opposition of the Duke of Orleans.⁴ Accordingly the ambitious upstart aspired after the cardinalate, in order thereby to raise himself, as Richelieu had done, to a position at once commanding and not easily assailable. He knew quite well that the realization of his ambition would not be easy with a Pope like Clement XI. He nevertheless hoped to attain his goal, provided he furthered the plan which, at that time, was of paramount importance in the mind of the Head of the Church, i.e. the war against the Turks.⁵ It was of the

¹ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2191, 2207, 2219.

² POMETTI, XXIII., 565 *seq.*

³ For the post of Inquisitor-General held by Giudice, Philip V. had designated the aged J. Molines. Clement XI. was at first unwilling to approve the appointment (see Paolucci's *letter to the Spanish nuncio, dat. November 3, 1716, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives); after some time, however, he gave his consent by Brief of December 24, 1716 (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2195). After the departure of Molines the representation of Spain at Rome was taken over by Cardinal Acquaviva.

⁴ BOURGEOIS, 168 *seqq.*, 197 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, *Ministero*, 67.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 110.

greatest importance that Alberoni succeeded so completely in winning over to his side nuncio Aldrovandi. In August, 1716, the latter went to Rome, ostensibly for the sole purpose of discussing the Turkish war. Clement XI., amazed that the nuncio should have come to Rome when he had not been sent for, refused at first to receive him in audience ; however, he ended by doing so because he was afraid that the zeal of the Spanish Government for the Turkish war might slacken, or that a rupture with Madrid might follow. Aldrovandi nevertheless failed to persuade the Pope to raise Alberoni to the cardinalate. The only thing he obtained, on January 16th, 1717, was the permission for the Spanish Government to raise considerable sums from the clergy for the prosecution of the Turkish war. When Aldrovandi was about to rejoin his post with these results to his credit, Philip V. made difficulties about his return, so that he was forced to remain at Perpignan until May 20th.¹

Alberoni affected surprise at the King's action, but since it was a question of his own person, he said he could do nothing without putting himself in the wrong. However, this much he knew, viz. that the nuncio ought only to be allowed to return after His Majesty's wish had been granted.² At the same time Alberoni submitted once more another matter for discussion, which seemed to him most likely to overcome the Pope's opposition to his nomination. Quarrels were still pending between Madrid and Rome, chiefly about the tribunal of the nunciature and the bestowal of benefices on aliens. Since there appeared a prospect of a happy solution of these quarrels, he brought to bear renewed and strong pressure on Rome. Daubenton, King Philip V.'s confessor, as well as the Duke of Parma, spoke highly of Alberoni's devotion and zeal for the interests of the Holy See. All reports from Spain uniformly stated that the settlement of the relations between Church and State, as well as an expedition of the auxiliary fleet against the Turks, would only come about if Alberoni

¹ PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 89 ; POMETTI, 471 *seq.*

² POMETTI, XXIII., 472. *Cf.* AREZIO, 262 *seq.*

received the red hat.¹ Thus it came about that Clement XI. was prevailed upon to drop his objections to Alberoni, but two conditions were laid down for his elevation.² Before all else the Pope insisted on the restoration of the tribunal of the nunciature and the complete abrogation of all encroachments on the ecclesiastical as well as the papal authority in Spain.³ In addition to this he demanded the fulfilment of the promise regarding the Spanish auxiliary fleet against the Turks. On April 3rd, 1717, Acquaviva wrote that the fleet would certainly put to sea against the Turks and the Duke of Parma assured the Pope that this was the work of Alberoni, who had displayed the greatest keenness in pushing forward

¹ PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 96; POMETTI, XXIII 473 *seq.*; AREZIO, 263.

² Cf. *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, March 14, 1717, and *Lettera di proprio pugno dal card. Paolucci al P. Daubanton Confess. di Filippo V., April 24, 1717: If Alberoni was not promoted, it was not out of antipathy, etc. You know "le misure, che deve in ogni tempo, e specialmente in queste infelicissime contingenze guardare N. S., ad effetto di non moltiplicarsi i disastri e di non dare occasione a nuove rotture". On an extra sheet: "Mi comanda N. S., che col presente mio foglietto a parte ricordi a V. P., che ne fu testimonio oculare, quanto la S. S. negli anni addietro habbia sofferto per il Re Catt^{co}, anzi quanto anco tuttavia continui a soffrire, affinchè ella occorrendo possa darne memoria a chi se ne fosse scordato." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. the passage from the same letter of Paolucci, April 24, 1717, in PROFESSIONE, 95-6. On June 12, 1717, Paolucci again assured Aldrovandi that Alberoni's promotion would certainly take place, but with greater glory for Spain and the candidate, "ove N. S. nell' istesso consistorio, nel quale farà la promozione, possa dire, che il Tribunale della Nunziatura di Spagna è stato ristabilito con tutte le sue antiche prerogative; che il nuovo Nunzio si trova già in possesso della sua carica; che tutte le innovazioni pregiudiziali alla autorità della Chiesa e della giurisdizione apostolica sono state intieramente abolite; e che ministro della Pietà del Re per il maneggio o felice successo di questo grand' affare è stato il S. conte Alberoni." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.* Cf. also *Bollet. stor. Piacent.* II. (1907), 264.

the equipment of the fleet.¹ Owing to Acquaviva's and Parma's influence, Aldrovandi was enabled to return to Spain from Perpignan on May 20th. When he arrived at the Escorial on June 9th, he learned the good news that the fleet was ready.² In the course of the next few days he discussed with Alberoni and Daubenton a compromise between Church and State. On June 16th a draft for a new concordat was drawn up ; it was signed the next day by Alberoni and Aldrovandi.

On the most important points of this agreement, which took into consideration all the differences, King Philip promised the Pope the suspension of those decrees to which the Pontiff objected, and the restoration of the tribunal of the nunciature as it had existed at the time of Charles II. The Pope, on his side, promised to allow the King to raise from the Spanish clergy an annual subsidy of 150,000 ducats for a period of four years.

When the draft of this concordat reached Rome, at the beginning of July, the Pope was by no means pleased with what had been secured. In the first place, he objected to the form of the agreement, because in article 17 the restoration of the nunciature and of papal authority was represented as if it had to be bought at the price of the preceding article. He objected to the tenor of the first two articles on papal indulgences with regard to the raising of money from the Spanish clergy ; he insisted that the mention of these must be linked with the promise of assistance in the Turkish war.³ Thereupon Aldrovandi forwarded another draft to Rome. Meanwhile

¹ Cf. the important letter of Paolucci to Acquaviva, September 30, 1719, in which the Brief of suspension is justified and a summary given of the whole conflict. *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

² POMETTI, XXIII., 475 ; AREZIO, 264.

³ According to the account given in " *Istruzione in forma di lettera a Msgr. Aldrovandi in Genova, September 21, 1720 (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*), where a good summary is given of the negotiations for the Concordat. AREZIO (265) is mistaken when he supposes that Clement XI. was not satisfied with the form of the Concordat. Cf. Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, July 13, 1717 : " Non senza un estremo stupore ha N. S.

the naval campaign had begun and the dispatch of the Spanish auxiliary fleet was more urgently demanded than ever. After receiving from Aldrovandi, on July 4th, the most promising reports on the attitude of the Spanish Government¹ the Pope, trusting in the solemn assurance of Acquaviva of April 3rd and those of the Duke of Parma of April 16th, 1717, decided to proceed to Alberoni's elevation to the cardinalate on July 12th of the same year. He based his action on the latter's meritorious contribution to the settlement of the ecclesiastico-political conflict and the dispatch of Spanish auxiliary fleets against the Turks both in the past year and in the current one, since the promised sixteen men-of-war had already sailed from Cadiz.² At the same time the Madrid

riconosciuto dall'ultimo dispaccio di V. S. I. de' 18 del caduto, quanto poco nel negoziato a lei commesso siasi ella uniformata a gli ordini strettamente impostile dalla S. S. . . . Ond'è, che la notizia del seguito invece di apportare consolazione a S. B., l'ha ripiena all'incontro d'un incredibile rammarico. Nel foglio A annesso, vedrà ella i motivi, per i quali rispetto alli primi 16 capitoli del Concordato non è punto piaciuto ciò che si è fatto; siccome neppure è piaciuto rispetto all'ultimo capitolo, in cui non rivo-candosi gli editti e decreti contrarii, non si toglie la radice del male, bense ne medichino gli effetti; e in conseguenza le soddisfazioni dovute alla Chiesa et alla S. Sede restano imperfette e manchevoli. Il Papa non può accettare delle convenzioni prima che il re non abbia firmato un decreto che condanni i fogli ingiuriosi alla s. persona del Vicario di Cristo sparsi in Spagna nel 1700." (*Cf. Studi e docum.*, I., 101 seq.) — Di pugno di S. Em.: "Faccia V. S. I. ogni sforzo, affinchè nel decreto da farsi da S. M. Catt^{ca} per necessaria base, corona e sostegno dell'aggiustamento, sia incluso il § toccante li consaputi fogli condannati; nè creda, che la S. S., ancorchè sia condescesa in caso disperato a sacrificare per l'aggiustamento questa sua tanto giusta e tanto dovuta soddisfazione, possa esserne mai veramente contenta, quando il sudetto § non vi sia incluso. . . . Ella creda, che il passo fatto hier mattina da S. S. in concistoro le costa e costerà assai, e più di quel ch'ella possa mai pensare; onde merita la S. S. d'esser consolata." *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

¹ Cf. BUDER, III., 594.

² CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Orat., 143-6. According to the *reports which Gallas sent to Vienna, Giudice declared that he

nuncio was instructed to insist with determination on the two articles of the concordat being altered.¹ Whatever the issue of the negotiations might be, the Pope felt convinced that he had secured at least this one thing, viz. support for Venice by the Spanish fleet. This assistance seemed all the more necessary as until then the operations at sea had not achieved any success. The papal galleys had sailed from Civitavecchia on April 27th, 1717; on May 1st they took in provisions at Pozzuoli and reached Corfu on the 18th. It was only on June 12th that the rest of the auxiliaries arrived, viz. seven Portuguese warships and three smaller vessels, and two Tuscan and three Maltese galleys. In order to avoid the quarrels of the last year the Pope appointed as commander-in-chief of the auxiliary fleet Bali de Bellefontaine, a knight of Malta.²

Meanwhile the greater and heavier section of the Venetian fleet, under the command of Ludovico Flangini and consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, three corvettes, four galleons and eight transport vessels, set out in the direction of the Archipelago, in order to prevent the Turkish fleet from leaving the Dardanelles. But it was too late. On June 12th the Venetians came upon the hostile armada of forty-six ships of the line between Lemnos and Jombros. These vessels were under the command of the recently appointed Kapudan Pasha Ibrahim of Aleppo. In an engagement which was resumed on June 13th and 16th, the Venetians fought with

could not consent to the nomination of Alberoni. Adda, Barberini, Colonna, Borromeo and Marini abstained from voting. Schrattenbach and Trémoille absented themselves as they demanded a compensation for their respective courts. Acciaiuoli is alleged to have said: "Optima electio, sed ego virum non cognosco" (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunnen). Alberoni received the news of his nomination on July 25; see AREZIO, 276, who is, however, mistaken in supposing that the Pope's address in the consistory has not been published.

¹ Cf. Paolucci's letter of July 13, 1717, quoted above.

² MANFRONI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIV., 352 seq.; POMETTI, XXIII., 491.

the greatest bravery, in spite of an unfavourable wind. However, no permanent gain was obtained. After the engagement the Captain, General Pisani, resolved, towards the end of June, 1717, to attack Ibrahim of Aleppo with the lighter portion of the Venetian fleet, viz. fifteen galleys, two galliots, three corvettes and four galleons, together with the auxiliary fleet. A very severe naval engagement took place on July 19th between Cape Matapan and the island of Cerigo ending in the retreat of the Turks. But that action too was indecisive since the enemy succeeded in getting his fleet safely away.¹ Further engagements led to no material change in the situation until the reports of Prince Eugene's victories induced Ibrahim Pasha to beat a hasty retreat in the direction of the Dardanelles.

The conqueror of Peterwardein had taken leave of the Emperor on May 14th, 1717, shortly after the birth of an heiress to the Empire, Maria Teresa. On this occasion Charles VI. presented his commander-in-chief with a crucifix richly adorned with diamonds, to the end that, armed with this emblem, he might carry on the holy war against the hereditary enemy of the Christian name. Eugene had at his disposal more than 100,000 men. Since the enemy was still at a distance, he was able to cross the Danube on June 15th and 16th without hindrance. After a thorough reconnaissance of the country, Eugene took up his position before Belgrade, on a spot which had also been occupied by Max Emmanuel of Bavaria in 1688. He secured his camp on the side facing the fortress, but he also guarded his rear against attack by a relieving force.² The strength of Belgrade lay not so much in its fortifications as in its favourable position between the Danube and the Save. What value the Sultan attached to the retention of this place, is shown by the fact that he appointed Mustafa Pasha, one of his bravest captains, commandant of the garrison of 30,000 men, the pick of the

¹ DIEDO, 140 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 553 *seqq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 60 *seqq.*; MANFRONI, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXIII., 491 *seqq.*

² ARNETH, II., 422 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 547 *seqq.*

Janissaries. As soon as the siege-works, which the Turks had vainly tried to interrupt by sorties, were completed, the bombardment of the fortress began on July 16th. It caused great havoc and only the hope of relief kept up the courage of the besieged. Great was their joy when they beheld the vanguard of the relieving force, 200,000 strong and commanded by the Grand Vizier Chalil Pasha, which entrenched itself on the high ground facing the imperial camp. From this position the Turks opened a murderous fire on August 1st. Prince Eugene extricated himself from his perilous position by a bold resolution worthy of his genius: whilst continuing the bombardment of the fortress, he attacked the Turkish camp in the early hours of August 16th. By nine o'clock victory ended this bitter struggle. The Turks left on the battlefield 13,000 dead, 186 guns and other war material, 51 standards and 9 horse-tails. The destruction of the army of relief sealed the fate of Belgrade. The garrison surrendered on condition of freedom to depart. In the town the imperialists captured over 600 pieces of cannon besides enormous quantities of ammunition. The Turkish Danube fleet of fifteen galleys, and a great number of armed boats also fell into the hands of the victor.¹

After this extraordinary success, which called forth the utmost enthusiasm all over Europe,² the brightest prospects for a further repression of the Turks opened before the Emperor and Christendom. But at that very moment Alberoni destroyed all these hopes. Charles VI. saw his position in Italy threatened as the result of King Philip V.'s attack on Sicily. The reason by which the attack was justified was that the imperial Governor of Milan had arrested the Grand Inquisitor on his journey to Spain; as a matter of fact this had actually happened in May. Francis Farnese, Duke of

¹ HAMMER, IV., 153 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 548; ARNETH, II., 431 *seqq.*; MATUSCHKA in *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XXII.

² The victory was everywhere extolled by means of pamphlets, poems, engravings, and commemorative medals; *cf.* *Beiträge zur Geschichte Oesterreichs*, Vienna, 1908, 16 *seqq.*, 66 *seq.*

Parma, in a confidential communication to Alberoni, had at once pointed out that now they had a motive for revenging themselves on the Emperor, with the aid of the auxiliary fleet which was to have destroyed the Turks.¹ Alberoni, who at that time was waiting for his Cardinal's hat, thought the venture premature since the preparations were incomplete. Eventually, however, he became reconciled to the project, but in order to guard himself against the reproaches of the Catholics and the Pope, he put off the execution of the plan ; whatever happened he would be able to prove that he had done all that was possible to delay the expedition. Besides, he did not agree with the violence of the war party, which was bent on immediate action. These fanatics favoured an attack on Naples, but Alberoni successfully maintained his point of view, viz. that Sardinia should be their first objective.² If this succeeded, the war could be continued later on until the imperialists were driven out of Italy, when the House of Farnese could secure for itself a dominant position.³ This was the dream of that paramount personality in Spain, Queen Elizabeth. Owing to the fact that there were two sons, Ludovico and Fernando, from the first marriage of Philip V. with Marie Louise Gabrielle, daughter of Duke Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy, Elizabeth's own sons, Carlos and Philip, had no prospect of ascending the Spanish throne. However, in order to make splendid provision for them, they were to receive Parma and Piacenza, where the ruling dynasties were about to die out.

At the beginning of July Alberoni took all the necessary measures for the expedition.⁴ The Spanish fleet was at anchor at Barcelona.⁵ However, the command was slow in coming. A rumour, which had been circulating for some time, now took

¹ See the passage in the important *letter of the Duke of Parma to Alberoni, May 27, 1717, in AREZIO, 269, Archives, Naples.

² AREZIO, 271 *seq.*, 276.

³ *Ibid.*, 285, 301.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁵ POMETTI, XXIII., 483.

more definite shape ; it was to the effect that the fleet which had been equipped with the financial aid of the Pope for the purpose of assisting Venice, was not going to put to sea against the Turks, but would make a sudden attack on the imperial possessions in Italy, Naples, Sicily or Sardinia. Nuncio Aldrovandi and Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, whom the matter concerned most, mentioned these rumours to Alberoni, who told them that they should give no credence to such false alarms since the fleet, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope and those of Venice, was meant to fight against the Turks. At the banquet which Alberoni gave to the diplomatists on July 5th, he renewed the same assurances.¹ Aldrovandi tried in vain, through Daubenton, the King's confessor, to obtain an explanation ; he was told that His Majesty could not be interviewed nor, in the end, even Alberoni himself. When the nuncio demanded a clear statement from Alberoni, he received vague assurances that he need not be uneasy.²

On July 25th Alberoni received news of his elevation to the cardinalate.³ The Spanish fleet, with 8,000 well equipped men on board, raised anchor, but contrary winds obliged it to make a halt near the island of Mallorca ; on August 22nd it dropped anchor before Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, and landed the troops.⁴ The siege began at once ; the place soon fell, in spite of a brave defence. In the sequel the whole island was lost to the Emperor.⁵

Amazement and indignation filled the whole of Christendom when these events became known. The Pope's disappointment was indescribable. When rumours concerning Philip V.'s plans had first reached Rome, he had refused to

¹ PROFESSIONE, 106 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, III *seq.*

³ Cf. above, p. 138, n. 2. An express courier had made the journey in thirteen days. AREZIO, 267.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 287, 307. Cf. MANNO, *Storia di Sardegna*, IV., Torino, 1827, 61 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XVIII., 20 *seqq.*, 357 *seq.*, and especially M. PACIA-PATRIARCA, *La spedizione in Sardegna del 1717 ed il card. G. Alberoni*, Teramo, 1921.

believe them. He could not understand, as the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote on August 1st, 1717, how the Spanish king could thus stain his reputation and conscience ; how, under the pious pretence of rendering speedy assistance in the struggle against the Turks, he could kindle the flames of war amongst Christians and for that purpose make use of a fleet the equipment of which had only been made possible through the contributions of a tenth from Church property, a tenth only granted under the express condition that it was to be used for the prosecution of the Turkish war.¹ However, the rumours became more and more concrete. In a letter of August 5th, Acquaviva still sought to calm the Pope, but the very next day was to dispel all doubts. The seemingly impossible had become a fact ; the Pope experienced the greatest disappointment of his whole pontificate.² Spain had eased the Turkish position and at the same time inflicted a most grievous injury on Christendom and on hapless Italy. Assistance, as far as the maritime war was concerned, had become objectless ; the Emperor's victorious advance was arrested for Charles III. now needed his troops in order to protect his Italian possessions.³ Philip V.'s solemn promises

¹ Paolucci's *letter to Alberoni, August 1, 1717, says *inter alia* : " Qual macchia finalmente contrarrebbe la gloria e la coscienza istessa di S. M. Catt^{ca}, se sotto la bella e religiosa apparenza di mandare in Levante un valido soccorso potesse dirsi, ch'ella avesse nascosto il disegno di turbar la quiete della cristianità, e si fosse valsuta di quegli stessi sussidi et aiuti accordatile unicamente dalla S. S. in difesa della causa comune, per avanzare i suoi particolari interessi non solo alieni dal fine sudetto, ma totalmente contrarii. Onde potrebbe N. S. patire il rimprovero d'haver profuse grazie sì singolari a chi dovesse poi sì malamente abusarsene e rivolgerle contro il fine istesso, che la santissima mente di S. B. s'era unicamente prescritto nel concederle." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, Papal Sec. Arch.

² See *Paolucci's letter to Acquaviva of September 30, 1719, referred to above, p. 157, n. 1, which narrates the whole conflict in retrospect.

³ On receipt of the first report of the landing in Sardinia, which the imperial ambassador learnt through a courier from

and Alberoni's elevation to the cardinalate had received an answer which appalled the Secretary of State. The Pope was also very angry with Aldrovandi. "All the hopes expressed in your reports in code, dated July 12th and 19th, have proved a delusion," Paolucci wrote to him on August 17th, 1717.¹

Naples, Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi on August 17, 1717: "News has come of the landing in Sardinia. "si può V. S. I. imaginare, fin'a qual segno habbia ciò ferito il cuore di N. S., il quale non può comprendere, come dopo una promessa sì solenne, e dopo la promotione del S. card. Alberoni (calcolandosi, che la nuova di questa fosse giunta a Madrid più giorni prima di quel che sarpassero le sudette navi e convoglio da Barcelona) venga ora corrisposto in una guisa, che fa orrore: non potendo nessun pretesto colorire qualunque diversione, che faccia la squadra dal suo dritto camino in Levante, si perchè ognun vede, che per il ritardo si renderebbe, sicome già si è resa, inutile in quelle parti, si ancora perchè obbligherebbe, sicome pur troppo obbligherà l'Imperatore a troncare il corso alle sue vittorie contro il comune nemico per richiamare le truppe alla difesa de' suoi stati. Sia però V. S. I. ben persuasa, che S. S. prenderà quelle risoluzioni, che saranno più proprie: per riparare la gravissima ed inaudita offesa, che se le fa contro ogni diritto di giustizia e di gratitudine. Intanto vuole N. S., che V. S. I. sospenda di dare alcuna sorte d'esecuzione ai tre Brevi de' Sussidii che ha nelle mani." On August 29, Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi with his own hand: "The Pope is infinitely distressed by the dispatch of the fleet, etc. E qual ragione può mai allegarsi per iscusare una sì manifesta e orribile mancanza fatta non solo a S. S., ma alla Chiesa, alla christianità tutta, alla religione, a Dio? Mache dissi mancanza? Mancanza dovrebbe dirsi, quando S. M. non havesse fatto altro che non mandare li vascelli in Levante, come havea promesso; ma havendoli mandati dove si dice, è assai più, che haverli mandati in aiuta de' Turchi, mentre da questa missione ne risulteranno conseguenze tanto giovevoli a' medesimi Turchi e tanto pregiudiziali alla christianità e specialmente alla povera Italia." For Molines' arrest, regard should have been had for the *Garanti del trattato*. Alberoni writes that he would show himself grateful; he has now a splendid opportunity to do so by restraining the King, even out of gratitude to the King." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

¹ *Ibid.*

It was tragic that almost at the same time news of the surrender of Belgrade reached Rome on August 26th, 1717. The Pope, who at the time was assisting at a session of the Inquisition, fell upon his knees when the message was brought in, thanking God together with the Cardinals present. He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in his chapel and, in spite of pouring rain, he went in the afternoon to St. Mary Major for a thanksgiving service.¹ Yet this event which should have overjoyed him, was almost turned to bitterness since it was certain that the great victory could not be followed up.

It was to be foreseen from the first that the Pope would not be spared the bitterest reproaches on the part of the Emperor.² That prevision proved correct. Clement XI. was hopelessly compromised in the eyes of the Emperor. He had assumed a moral guarantee for the security of the Italian possessions. At present he could be accused with apparent justification, of having been over-confident towards Philip V. and allowed himself to be shamefully deceived by him. What made matters worse was the fact that an accusation of a secret understanding with the Spanish King was made and this calumny found credence with most of the Cabinets.³ At Vienna especially this conviction was general.⁴ Indescrib-

¹ Cf. besides BUDER, III., 641 *seq.*, the **Avviso* of August 28, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, and Cardinal Acquaviva's **letter* to Grimaldi, dated August 31, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

² **Non è però, che vedendosi ormai resa infruttuosa una tale spedizione in Levante, i maligni non prendano quindi pretesto di deridere la buona fede del Papa, ed i Tedeschi non s'allarmino fuor di modo, fin'a fare tutte le disposizioni ed avanzare querele e minacce alla S. S., come se fossero certi che il vero disegno di cotesta squadra sia l'invasione della Sardegna, e che la S. S. medesima possa esserne consapevole.* Yet Spain had given a sure promise for the Levant. Paolucci to Aldrovandi, August 6, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

³ WEBER, *Quadrupelallianz*, 40 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, 130 *seq.*

⁴ *"*Più di ogn'altro motivo potrebbe per avventura esser' efficace l'estrema confusione, in cui si trova S. S. d'haver appoggiata nel publico concistoro la grazia fatta al Re nel promuovere il*

able anger prevailed and the bitterest reproaches were heaped upon the Pope. Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, refused to believe the Pope when he protested that he was the one who had been deceived. For him these protestations were but empty words¹; he even went so far as to say that he was convinced of the existence of a secret understanding between the Pope and Spain.² At the same time, by order of

sig. card. Alberoni alle tante volte promessa, e per quanto diceva il sig. card. Acquaviva, già cominciata ad effettuarsi spedizione in Levante. Sà V. S. I., quanto sia costato e quanto sia per costare a N. S. un tal passo. Nè la S. S. ci si è indotta senza credere di giustificarlo col merito della sudetta spedizione. Or se adesso manca al Papa questa giustificazione: qual campo si darà al mondo, o d'accusare il Re, che habbia voluto bruttamente ingannare il Papa, o di condannare all'incontro il Papa stesso d'haver troppo facilmente creduto alla regia parola, benchè confermatagli in tante guise. Ma il peggio si è, che non parendo verisimile nè l'uno nè l'altro, s'arriva a dire, che il Re operi di concerto col Papa, e che a questo fine fosse unicamente diretto l'inopinato viaggio fatto da V. S. I. l'anno passato fin a Roma, e tutti li suoi negoziati conclusi in questa corte. Nè questo è un discorso di pochi, ma ormai comune e fin divulgato ne' pubblici avvisi, come potrà riconoscere da quelli ultimamente venuti da Napoli, de' quali se ne le manda copia. Se tali sospetti nascono nella gente non interessata, quali saranno quelli della corte di Vienna? Sono in fatti gravissimi. E la maniera, con cui tanto quei ministri si sono espressi con mons. Nunzio, quanto questo sig. ambasciatore cesareo s'esprime lunedì con N. S., fa temerci anco contro di noi qualunque più strana risoluzione da quella parte: quasi che il Papa fosse stato capace di nascondere sotto l'apparenza d'eccitare i principi cattolici contro il Turco un sì nero concerto, e che per farlo riuscire, n'havesse somministrati i mezzi al Re di Spagna ne' sussidii accordatigli" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212), Papal Sec. Archives. Already in his *report of August 14, 1717, Gallas expressed the suspicion of an understanding between Clement XI. and Alberoni. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

¹ See Count Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, August 31, 1717 (all that the Pope is writing to Spain and Vienna is "un beau verbiage"), *ibid.*

² See Count Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, September 17, 1717, *ibid.*

the Emperor, Gallas categorically demanded that Cardinal Emmerich Czacki, Bishop of Kolocsa and candidate of the Emperor, who had been reserved *in petto* on July 12th, 1717, should be proclaimed, and that the next vacancy in the Sacred College of Cardinals should be reserved for another candidate of the Emperor, otherwise the nuncios and collectors would be expelled from Naples, Milan and the Netherlands, and the ecclesiastical revenues sequestrated. The Pope opposed Gallas' demands on the score that France and Portugal would raise similar ones ; it looked as if they wanted to force the Pope to fill the Sacred College with foreigners and to deprive him of his freedom to raise deserving prelates to the purple. After that all he would have to do was to resign the supreme pontificate which for him was a crown of thorns. The Emperor should be satisfied if his candidate was reserved *in petto* ; in that case neither France nor Portugal could make any fresh demands. Gallas replied that Portugal had no legitimate claims, seeing that her support of Venice had already been rewarded ; moreover her king had not the same standing as the other three great Powers, and as for France, Christendom was under no obligation to her. The Pope begged for time to think matters over. However, Gallas declared that he had orders to wait only four days. He importuned the Pope to such an extent that he was finally told that Czacki's nomination would take place at the next consistory, when the victory of Belgrade would also be solemnly proclaimed.¹ Gallas also asked for further grants of money towards the Turkish war,² whilst continuing to press for a complete rupture between the Pope and Spain.³ The steps which had hitherto been taken in Rome against Philip V. he declared to be quite inadequate.⁴

¹ See the detailed *report of Count Gallas to the Emperor, August 31, 1717, *ibid.*

² In his *report to Sinzendorff, September 9, 1717, Gallas says that he was certain he would receive further subsidies. *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Count Gallas' *reports to Sinzendorff, August 22, and September 4, 1717, *ibid.*

⁴ *Gallas to Sinzendorff, September 13, 1717, *ibid.*

Clement XI. had given orders to Aldrovandi as early as August 17th, that is as soon as the first rumours reached him, to suspend the Briefs on the tribute to be levied from the Spanish clergy and to strike out the articles relative to it from the draft of the concordat.¹ All the same the Pope could not entertain the idea of a complete break with Madrid, seeing that a settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain seemed imminent. On the contrary it was his duty, even in the altered circumstances, to make at least an attempt to save the concordat. He accordingly yielded on all the other points in dispute and on August 26th dispatched to Madrid the Brief of ratification of the concordat which had been retrodated to July 10th. The only point he insisted on was the annulment of the article concerning the taxation of the Spanish clergy, since its retention would have rendered him suspect of having had an understanding on the subject of the attempt against Sardinia.² The Pope was determined not to

¹ Cf. Paolucci's *letter of August 17, 1717 (Pap. Sec. Arch.), quoted above, p. 144, n. 3.

² *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, August 26, 1717: "Giachè S. M. Catt^{ca} non ha voluto condescendere a stabilire la reintegrazione della Chiesa e della Sede Apost. a loro diritti per mezo di un decreto regio, ma insiste, che tutto si termini per mezo di un Concordato, S. B., per incontrare il compiacimento della M. S., lascia di maggiormente premere per il sudetto decreto, e camminando secondo la nuova minuta trasmessa da V. S. I. per la formazione del Concordato, ha approvato, che in esso sia stato posto per primo capitolo quello, che nel Concordato sottoscritto era stato messo per l'ultimo, come ha anco approvato le nuove aggiuntevi, contentandosi di quelle in vece del decreto desiderato." Since the condition of articles 2 and 3 (subsidies of a million and a half in the Indies and a tenth of half a million in Spain for the expedition to the Levant this year) is unrealizable, and the Pope would fall under the suspicion of connivance, these articles must be struck out from the concordat. The other articles the Pope confirms, and "per avanzar tempo, e senza aspettar altra risposta, ha ordinato, che si spedisca il Breve di ratificazione per parte della S. S. dell'istesso Concordato, con l'intiera inserzione del medesimo. —P. S. (di pugno di S. Em.): Replico a V. S. I., che N. S. per

yield on this point, even if it meant the wrecking of the concordat. As a matter of fact Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, an ambassador of his King rather than a Cardinal, had threatened that if the Pope refused the Indults there would be an end to the concordat.¹

procedere con buona fede, non ha voluto, che si faccia più minuto esame di alcune piccole diversità, che appariscono tra alcuni capitoli del Concordato, e le risposte, che dalla S. S. furono date alli 19 articoli proposti in Roma da V. S. I., ma sorpassando ogni difficoltà, ha tutto approvato; il che tanto più volentieri ha fatto quanto che ella ha scritto, essersi costì creduto, che li capitoli concordati non siano differenti, nè punto nè poco nella sostanza e nell'essenziale da tutto ciò, che fu qui risoluto; e appunto per tale ragione e con tale supposto io ho scritto, confidarsi da S. S. che potendo nascere col tempo qualche difficoltà nell'esecuzione sia questa per conformarsi alla mente di S. B." (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives). The text of this concordat, about which there was considerable obscurity for a long time (see HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht.*, X. [1863], 187 seq., who, following SENTIS [154], denied its ratification by the Pope), besides the Briefs of ratification, is in MERCATI, *Concordati*, 282 seqq. The hitherto unknown retrodating is expressly mentioned in the *Instruction to Alessandro Aldobrandini of September 21, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, loc. cit.

¹ See Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, August 29, 1717, which says of Acquaviva's menaces: "che rivotandosi detti indulti, anderà altresì in aria il Concordato e resterà senza effetto tutto ciò, che per parte del Re è stato promesso in ordine alla reintegrazione della Nunziatura e dell'autorità apostolica. . . . L'avverto si bene, esser così determinata la S. S. nella risoluzione di voler esclusi dal Concordato detti due capitoli, stante l'evidente e incontrastabile inesequibilità degli istessi indulti nello stato, in cui ci troviamo, che anche a costo*di rimanere ineffettuato il Concordato rispetto alla reintegrazione della Nunziatura e dell'autorità apostolica, non cambierà mai sentimento; mentre altro non mancherebbe per far credere non solo a' Tedeschi, ma al mondo tutto, che la causa espressa negli indulti fosse stata un semplice e vano pretesto per colorire il vero oggetto de' medesimi indulti. Troppo importa la riputazione del Papa e della S. Sede, e perciò deve preferirsi a qualunque altra considerazione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secret Archives.

Meanwhile Clement persisted in his condemnation of the attack on Sardinia, nor did he allow himself to be deflected from his purpose even when Philip V. at last condemned the libels on the person of the Head of the Church which had been broadcast throughout Spain in 1709.¹ The King's assertion that the Emperor had forced a war on him, because he had had the newly-appointed Grand Inquisitor Molines arrested at Milan, Clement rejected as devoid of foundation.² He declared that he must insist on what he had demanded in his Brief of August 25th, when the first rumours came to his ears, that Philip V. should desist from further attacks against the Emperor and restore all his conquests.³

In order to exercise pressure on the Spanish King an autograph letter had been dispatched on August 31st to Francesco Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, whose intervention just then had induced the Spanish Government to withdraw the libellous pamphlets.⁴ The Pope cherished the hope that a relative would have a better chance of making himself heard. The Duke was to point out to what dangers Spain was exposing herself, since all the Powers that had signed the Peace of Utrecht would never submit to its violation.⁵ The Pope does not mention Alberoni's name in this communication, the Brief only refers in general terms to the influence of evil counsellors. Clement XI. may well have had Alberoni in mind, but he never suspected that the first suggestion of breaking the peace had come from the Duke of Parma. Francesco Farnese knew so well how to cover his tracks that the Pope never suspected him.⁶ Alberoni stood loyally by the

¹ This *decree (*Nunziat. di Spagna, loc.cit.*), was obtained with the help of the Duke of Parma; see *Studi e docum.*, I., 100 seq.

² *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, dat. August 29, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2249.

⁴ Cf. note 1.

⁵ See *studi e docum.*, I., 93 seqq.

⁶ AREZIO, 298 seqq., 294, n. 4, where the comedy played by Fr. Farnese is revealed for the first time from documents in the Farnese Archives (now at Naples).

side of the Duke, for as the Spanish Queen's representative, he could not but be anxious that not even the slightest suspicion should fall on her uncle. Whilst fiercely defending the Duke's innocence, he endeavoured to shift the responsibility from Philip V.'s shoulders to those of the Pope who, he alleged, had done nothing to appease the justly outraged feelings of the King on the occasion of Molines' arrest. He even had the impudence to assert that out of consideration for Clement XI. no further action had been taken against the Emperor, although the means to do so were at hand.¹ He succeeded so well in winning over the nuncio to his side² that the latter hesitated to deliver the papal Brief of August 25th, in fact such was his credulity that he handed over the Briefs of the Indults.

What a position for the Pope ! seeing that on September 4th he had communicated to all the nuncios the Brief of August 25th, forbidding a further demand of a tenth from the Spanish clergy since there was no longer any reason for it.³ Acquaviva did all he could to pacify the Pope, but he deceived himself if he imagined he had succeeded.⁴ On September 16th Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi ordering him to recall the Indults ; if this proved impossible, the Pope himself would revoke them and communicate the fact to all the Spanish Bishops. This must be done, even if as a result, the nunciature was closed and all the former hostilities revived.⁵

In other ways also Aldrovandi's attitude met with strong

¹ AREZIO, 291 *seq.*

² Cf. PROFESSIONE, *Ministero*, 114.

³ See *Istoria del card. Alberoni*, 54.

⁴ Cf. Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, September 12, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

⁵ This was done, says Paolucci, " non già per dar gusto a' Tedeschi, come costì malamente crederanno, ma per sodisfare alla sua estimazione ed alla sua coscienza, per la qual ragione appunto, anche a costo che la Nunziatura avesse di nuovo a chiudersi ed avesse a tornarsi in tutti li passati disordini, la S. S. è e sarà sempre costantissima in questa risoluzione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives.

disapproval in Rome. In a second communication from the Secretary of State, dated September 16th, it was said that the Pope was greatly surprised that Spain, as if she intended to insult him, alleged in her defence nothing but so-called breaches of neutrality on the part of the Emperor ; and that he was even more amazed at the fact that the Holy See was expected to content itself with the rôle of a mediator without any other satisfaction. In spite of all that had happened the Pope would consider the guarantee of abstaining from further attacks and of restoring what had been gained by force of arms as a sufficient satisfaction, but without that much he could not take another step, as otherwise Austria's suspicion would only be confirmed and strengthened.

As for Alberoni's opposition to the Sardinian enterprise, of which Aldrovandi had written with such conviction, the Pope was willing to believe the nuncio, seeing that had it been otherwise, the Cardinal would have acted against the true interests both of his King and the Duke of Parma. The whole world, however, was of a different opinion. The general opinion seemed to be that whatever happened in Madrid, whether good or bad, could be traced back to Alberoni. In the interest, therefore, of his own honour, the Cardinal should make his influence felt in a good direction, and this soon, as the least delay would have the worst consequences.¹ Unfortunately Alberoni gave not the slightest hint that he was making his influence felt in this sense ; on the contrary, the Government of Madrid complained of the Pope's attitude.

¹ “ *Quanto al sig. card. Alberoni. N. S. si dichiara di credere quel ch'ella si asseverantemente ne scrive, ch'egli sia stato contrariissimo alla mossa contro la Sardegna, mentre stimandolo S. S. uomo d'onore e di giudizio, tale certamente non sarebbe, ove avesse approvata l'istessa mossa tanto opposta a' veri interessi di cotesta corona, e tanto rovinosa per quelli del sig. Duca di Parma. Il male però è, ch'ogn'altro giudica diversamente, mentre tutti credono, che il medesimo sig. cardinale sia l'autore di tutto ciò, che o di bene o di male si fa da cotesta corte. Procuri perciò egli per suo onore, che si faccia bene e presto, ma presto assai, potendo esser letale qualunque ancor che minima dilazione.” *Ibid.*

Cardinal Paolucci, in a sharply worded note of October 5th, asked whether Madrid was under the impression that the Pope was under obligation to Spain in return for the greatest mortification he had received in the course of his whole pontificate. In the hope of Philip V. making satisfaction to him, the Pope had given up the idea he had entertained at first of having the Brief of August 25th read at the consistory, and in spite of the fact that the College of Cardinals expected a firmer tone, he, the Pope, in his allocution of October 1st on the subject of the Turkish war, had exercised the greatest restraint.¹

Clement XI. was firmly resolved not to give way on the question of raising money from the Spanish clergy. On October 5th he ordered the Briefs, which were no longer valid, to be withdrawn, even if their execution had already begun. Should the Spanish ministers refuse to comply with this order, Aldrovandi was to inform the Bishops that the Pope did not wish to lay an obligation on them in this matter.²

As a matter of fact the execution of these Briefs had started³; and not only that, but by the end of October it was known in Rome that the secular power in Spain was resuming its old policy of violating ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁴

¹ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, October 5, 1717, *ibid.*

² Paolucci's two *letters of October 5, 1717, *ibid.*

³ Paolucci's two *letters of October 19, 1717, *ibid.*

⁴ On October 26, 1717, Paolucci *wrote to Aldrovandi: The Pope hears that instead of restitution "continui la potestà secolare ad ingerirsi francamente nelle materie spettanti alla Chiesa, in quella guisa appunto, che, con tanto scandalo del mondo cattolico, ha praticata per otto e più anni, anco a privare i vescovi dell'autorità. . . . Nè credano costà di gettarci la polvere sugl'occhi, con facilitare alla Camera Apostolica l'esigenza de' suoi proventi: quasi che questo solo basti: perchè Roma non è tanto interessata, che sia mai per chiamarsene appagata, quando insieme non venga pienamente reintegrata la potestà ecclesiastica nel libero servizio della sua giurisdizione, giacchè in ciò, come più importante ed essenziale, consistono principalmente le precise obbligazioni del Re, le riparazioni da lui dovute alla Chiesa ed alla S. Sede et le maggiori premure di N. S." *Ibid.*

Aldrovandi showed his incompetence as a representative of the Holy See by seeking to keep these events from the knowledge of the Pope. His optimistic reports made an all the more disagreeable impression in Rome as the attacks against the Pope were becoming more and more violent in consequence of Spain's breach of the peace.¹

On October 1st, 1717, Clement XI. fulfilled the Emperor's wish by the publication of the imperial Cardinal Emmerich Czacki. After an eloquent address on the victory of Prince Eugene at Belgrade, he declared that he would endeavour to remove the obstacles which prevented the prosecution of the Turkish war.² Count Gallas was very dissatisfied because the Pope had not said more.³ On the other hand Acquaviva

¹ Paolucci to Aldrovandi on November 9, 1717: "Non si maravigli V. S. I., se i miei dispacci sono da qualche tempo in qua pieni d'amarezza. Si rende ogni giorno più grave al Papa il gran colpo sofferto da cotesta corte, e cominciano a vedersene pur troppo i perniciosi effetti, fra quali non sono i peggiori i rimproveri e le orrende calunnie divulgate per tutta l'Europa contro la leale ed irreprensibile condotta di S. S., onde non può N. S. contenere l'interno suo rammarico, sicchè non apparisca il di lui animo esacerbato anco contro V. S. I., le cui pressanti insinuazioni e sicurezze avendo indotto principalmente la S. S. a tutti i passi fatti sin'ora, hanno dato occasione, benchè innocente, a' presenti gravissimi disturbi. Non è dunque, che alcuno abbia creduto V. S. I. capace di mancare al debito della sua fedeltà, ma si è creduto, che con tali eccitamenti, entrando V. S. I. più vivamente ne' sentimenti del Papa, dovesse muoversi a detestare, quanto da Noi si detesta, l'enorme mancanza fattaci da cotesta corte, ed a procurarne con forza maggiore le dovute riparazioni." The nuncio should not have handed over the two Briefs before receiving the news. *Ibid.*

² CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat. 145. We gather from Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, October 6, 1717, that Czacki declined the red hat and that the Emperor wanted it now for Althan; however, Gallas also saw that this was no longer practicable. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ Gallas' *report to the imperial Chancellery, October 2, 1717, *ibid.*

demanded that the Pope should represent Philip V.'s action against Sardinia as justified by the attacks of the Emperor.¹ In view of such contradictory requests the best course was to touch on so ticklish a matter in general terms, as the Pope had done.²

On October 10th Gallas arranged for a service of thanksgiving for the conquest of Belgrade, in the church of the Anima. It was the first time in thirty-one years that such a celebration was held in the German national church, with the consequence that innumerable questions of ceremonial cropped up. The Pope put off his afternoon visit to the following day, when he also offered up prayers in thanksgiving for the conversion of the Elector of Saxony. Gallas, who on more than one occasion had come in conflict with the Governor of Rome, quarrelled with him this time also over a question of precedence, hence he requested Cardinal Schrattenbach to receive the Pope. Clement XI., however, invited the Cardinal to ride in the pontifical carriage so that, to his surprise, there was no one to welcome him.³ On October 18th Gallas, followed by a pompous cortège, presented the trophies captured at Belgrade, which the Pope assigned to various churches in Rome.⁴

Previously to the consistory of October 1, the imperial

¹ Acquaviva's *Letter to the Pope, September 8, 1717, copy, *ibid.*

² In an autograph *letter to the Pope (*Acta consist.*, Barb. 2915, p. 596 *seqq.*, Vatican Library) Acquaviva had declared that should the Pope's discourse be prejudicial to his sovereign he would ask to be allowed to make a reply, or else that he be ordered to stay away from the consistory. This letter was made public, to the Pope's very great annoyance; he only calmed down when he received an assurance that Acquaviva was not responsible for the publication. *Ibid.*

³ SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 595 *seq.* On the conversion of the Elector, Frederick Augustus, *cf.* B. DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit.*, CXI. (1926), 104 *seqq.*

⁴ *Brief to Charles VI., October 22, 1717; CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2271. *Cf.* BUDER, III., 649, and the detailed *report of Gallas, dat. October 23, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

ambassador had reiterated his demands with regard to the vacant Cardinal's hat ; he was highly indignant when he failed to obtain what he wanted.¹ As time went on his relations with the Pope became more and more strained. When eccentric Lord Peterborough came under suspicion of engineering an attempt on the life of the English Pretender, James III., the Cardinal Legate of Bologna ordered his immediate arrest.² Gallas took up the case of the prisoner. He also demanded that a troop of 8,000 men destined for Naples should be allowed a passage through the States of the Church. Whilst a Congregation deliberated on the matter, the Pope learnt that a considerable number of these men had already passed in disguise through his territory. Soon after Gallas demanded that Alberoni should be cited to appear in Rome, to render an account of his conduct. Everything was set in motion to induce the Pope to sever relations with Spain. Ecclesiastico-political demands were also made which had a bearing on former quarrels in Naples. The Pope was asked to bind himself to grant ecclesiastical preferments in the kingdom of Naples only to natives and to replace nuncio Vicentini by a man of a more accommodating disposition. When at the end of November Clement XI. refused to comply with these demands, Vicentini was expelled from Naples. The tribunal of the nunciature was closed and the papal collectors were dismissed. The expulsion of the nuncio in Vienna and the internuncio of Brussels was already threatened. All these proceedings were justified by the plea, that by granting ecclesiastical subsidies to Philip V. the Pope had enabled the latter to attack the Emperor.³ This was not

¹ *Gallas to the imperial chancellery, October 2, 1717, *ibid.*

² Cf. BUDER, III., 665 *seqq.* Although Peterborough was very soon set at liberty, as being innocent, the English nevertheless threatened to bombard Civitavecchia. Clement XI. had to apologize for the incident through the Viennese court ; see *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLVI., 261.

³ BUDER, III., 668 *seqq.*, 670 *seqq.* Cf. the protesting Brief to Charles VI., December 21, 1717, CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2277.

true, because over and over again and lastly on November 23rd, 1717, the Pope had given orders to Aldrovandi not only not to permit the execution of the respective Indults, but to demand their surrender.¹

The Spanish Government, which by its unscrupulous conduct had got the Pope into so equivocal a position,² and had been the cause of his oppression by the imperialists, had the audacity to ask for a reward for Alberoni! Clement XI. realized full well that owing to Alberoni's all-powerful influence, a new breach with Spain could only be avoided by means of concessions. Accordingly, when Philip V. named the Cardinal to the bishopric of Malaga, he ratified the nomination, December 6th, 1717, but refused to grant a dispensation from the duty of residence.³ Meanwhile, on November 17th, the death took place of Manuel Arias, Archbishop of Seville, and Alberoni was nominated by the King to that See. The King asked the Pope's confirmation. This time Clement XI. hesitated. He pleaded that by the nomination to the bishopric of Malaga he had already incurred the hostility of the opposition; this would only get worse seeing that the imperialists threatened to march into the territory of Ferrara. All the return Spain had made for the nomination of Alberoni was to frustrate the enterprise against the Turks; now they were putting off the ratification of the concordat whilst at the same time violent encroachments in the

¹ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, November 23, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secr. Archives. Cf. PROFESSIONE, 182 seq.

² On the occasion of the expulsion of the nuncio from Naples Paolucci *wrote to Aldrovandi, December 7, 1717: "Può ella ben comprendere da se stessa, quale ne sia stato il cordoglio di N. Signore. Solo le dico, che se gli è molto accresciuto dal riflettere, ch'è uno de' tanti perniciosi effetti dell'enorme mancanza di cotesta corte." Il re è responsabile di tutto. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, loc. cit.

³ Paolucci gave the reasons for the refusal in a second *letter to Aldrovandi, December 7, 1717: "non volendo S. Bne aggravare la propria coscienza oltre i tanti e tanti disastri che pur troppo ha sofferti e soffre tuttavia sempre maggiori per la promozione di S. E." *Ibid.*

ecclesiastical sphere were taking place. By this he meant the sequestration of the revenues of the bishoprics of Vich and Tarragona. Nuncio Aldrovandi of Madrid, who was entirely under Alberoni's domination, had made no mention of these incidents, so that the Pope only heard of them from other sources. This extraordinary nuncio, in order to prevent a rupture, would not protest against such encroachments. At Naples also Clement XI. saw the rights of the Holy See trampled under foot because the imperialists were convinced that the Pope had approved of Spain's breach of the peace.¹ Whilst these calumnies were being broadcast,² the Spanish

¹ Cf. Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, December 28, 1717, which says: "La pronta spedizione fatta al sig. card. Alberoni del vescovato di Malaga ha accresciuti li sospetti, dicendosi che si fanno grazie a chi meriterebbe gastighi. Molto più saranno accresciuti tali sospetti dalla traslazione, che si farà dell'istesso card. Alberoni all'arcivescovato di Siviglia, quando verrà il processo formato a dovere per la detta traslazione. Non si lascia di temere anche l'invasione delle truppe alemanne nel Ferrarese, secondo moltissimi rincontri, che se ne hanno. Ecco il frutto dell'aggiustamento di Spagna, della promozione del card. Alberoni e della mancanza di cotesta corte. Con tutte queste amarezze, che proviamo, ed altre, che ne temiamo, non vediamo ancora compito l'aggiustamento con cotesta corte: mentre non habbiamo ancora la ratifica del Concordato, che doveva farsi dal Re coll'inserzione di quell'istesso Concordato, ch'è incluso nel Breve di ratifica di S. S. Non habbiamo documento alcuno dell'assoluzione presa da S. M. e da' suoi ministri. Non sappiamo, se e come sia stata fatta la transazione sopra i frutti delle vacanti presi dal Re. In somma siamo maltrattati da tutte le parti. E poi ella vorrebbe, che nè pur ci dolessimo."—Paolucci's *letters to Aldrovandi of November 23 and December 14, 1717, January 11 and 18, 1718, contain reprimands for his not reporting encroachments of the Spanish government. The former says: "È in sostanza ridotto il Papa a sapere solo dalle pubbliche gazzette o da particolari quelle notizie, che si strettamente riguardano il ministerio del Nunzio apost." *Ibid.*

² Cf. Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, January 18, 1718, which says: "Crescono a N. S. i travagli nell'udire, che prende sempre maggior vigore l'orrenda calunnia, che il Vicario di Cristo sia stato complice della funesta mancanza." *Ibid.*

Government continued on the course it had adopted. Great preparations were in progress, which could only have one object, namely the continuation of the war against the Emperor. The Pope, who was still intent on the prosecution of the Turkish war, did all in his power to prevent these preparations on the part of Spain. He showed himself ready to yield, even in the matter of Alberoni's nomination to the archiepiscopal see of Seville, provided the Spanish Government showed itself ready to amend its ways.¹ Unfortunately the prospects of such a change became gloomier day by day.

Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, adopted an attitude which was bound to lead, not to a settlement, but to a fresh rupture. Whilst he demanded the archbishopric of Seville for Alberoni, accompanying his demand with threats, he handed in a memorandum in February, 1718, which was bound to embitter the Pope, since it sought to justify every one of Philip V.'s interferences in the ecclesiastical domain,² and all this because the concession of a favour (Alberoni's translation to Seville) had been, not indeed refused, but merely postponed.³ In the last days of March Acquaviva also demanded that if the imperialists were allowed to pass through the States of the Church, the Pope should likewise allow the Spanish fleet to assemble in the

¹ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, January 25, 1718, *ibid.* Cf. PROFESSIONE, 175.

² Cf. *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, dat. February 8, 1718; he says: "So bene, che quantunque sia ormai abituato N. S. in 18 anni di spinosissimo pontificato a veder per lo più rivoltati contro questa S. Sede quegli stessi, che da lei sono stati più distintamente beneficati, non può tuttavia immaginarsi mai, che il sig. card. Alberoni, la cui promozione costa tanto a N. S., voglia sequirne l'esempio, con sostenere l'impegno preso, senza alcun colore, e non debba più tosto procurare colla sua autorità e prudenza di toglier di mezzo quegli ostacoli, che unicamente gli ritardano il conseguimento della desiderata traslazione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

³ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, February 15, 1718, *ibid.*

ports of Civitavecchia and Ancona.¹ Such a request Clement XI. could not grant.

Violent altercations between the Pope and Acquaviva ensued. The latter's temper had already been roused by a quarrel with Falconieri, the Governor of Rome.²

As the reports of the Spanish preparations became more threatening the Pope, who found himself exposed to increasingly violent attacks on account of his self-restraint in the face of Philip V.'s breach of the peace,³ announced that if instead of fighting the Turks, the King should put obstacles in the way of the Emperor in his war against the infidels, he would feel obliged to withdraw from the Spanish Government all indults for taxing Church property, since their sole and only purpose was the prosecution of the Turkish war. He declared that one who, in his capacity as head of the Spanish Government, had instigated the attack against Sardinia, and who was even suspected of having a secret understanding with the infidels, could not be appointed Archbishop of Seville. Alberoni must first clear himself of the latter suspicion. As regards the bishoprics of Vich and Tarragona, the Pope demanded the restoration of the *status quo*. Clement XI. was determined to maintain his point of view even though Acquaviva threatened with a complete rupture.⁴

¹ Acquaviva to Alberoni March 22 and April 4, 1718, in *PROFESSIONE*, 177, and in *Arch. stor. Piacent.*, III., 170.

² *PROFESSIONE*, 178 *seqq.*

³ The Pope, *Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi on February 15, 1718, sees that his prestige with the other nations is declining, "dalle troppo cautelate e circospette misure guardate unicamente per non dispiacere al Re Cattolico circa la divulgazione dell' orrenda mancanza." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See the three *letters of Paolucci to Aldrovandi dated April 2, 1718. The second says: "Certo è, che senza di ciò non potrà mai indursi S. S. a far nuove grazie a un soggetto, che, per stare alla testa degli affari di cotesta monarchia, è considerato per autore di tutto il presente sconvolgimento e de' danni, che ne derivano alla cristianità et alla publica quiete." *Ibid.*

In connection with these decisions of the first days of April, Aldrovandi was ordered on April 2nd, 1718, to hand at once to Philip V. an autograph letter of the Pope, and to demand that he should desist from his warlike preparations against the Emperor, and that he should, on the contrary, direct them against the Turks. Should he fail the Pope would feel obliged to adopt such measures as his office demanded from him.¹ Paolucci, the Secretary of State, sent at the time a last warning to the King's confessor Daubenton and to Alberoni himself.² However, all was in vain. The Spanish Government went on with its preparations with redoubled energy and sought to raise enemies for the Emperor everywhere. Measure after measure was taken against the Pope, and all this, as Paolucci observed, because the Pope refused to yield blindly in the matter of the appointment to the See of Toledo.³ The Brief addressed to Philip V. was

¹ See Paolucci's fourth *letter to Aldrovandi, April 2, 1718. After a lengthy explanation of the Pope's forbearance there follows the message to Philip V. : " Gli faccia comprendere due cose : la prima, che, prescindendosi ancora da qualunque verificaione delle cose cotenute nella stampa, è la M. S. per onore e per coscienza costretta a provvedere, ma con mezzi efficaci e convenienti, alla sua fama si enormemente attaccata : nè altro ve n'è che il desistere dall'ostilità contro l'imperatore e rivoltare a danni degli infedeli quegli apparati, che per la diversione, che sono per fare a' progressi dell'armi cristiane in Ungheria, sembrano destinati a loro vantaggi. L'altra, che il Papa, quando ciò non segua, non potrebbe dispensarsi dal prendere quelle risoluzioni, che gli fossero in un caso sì grave suggerite dal debito del proprio ministero." *Ibid.*

² Paolucci's *letters to Daubenton and Alberoni, also dated April 2, *ibid.* The latter, from which PROFESSIONE (203 *seq.*) quotes a passage, says : " Crede N. S., che l'E. V. come cardinale non possa non esser'accesa dallo stesso zelo, e come sua creatura non debba non compatirlo e non esser a parte della sua grave afflizione nel vedere sì enormemente lacerata la sua riputazione."

³ See Paolucci's long *letter to Aldrovandi, May 31, 1718, which defends the conduct of the Pope in great detail. *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

not accepted and even Aldrovandi, though all too devoted to the Spanish Government, was no longer allowed to see the King.

New threats were not wanting. On May 15th a courier arrived in Rome from Madrid with a command of Philip V. for Acquaviva to demand once again the See of Seville for Alberoni; in the event of a refusal, he was to proclaim the rupture of relations between Spain and Rome.¹ The Cardinal had a long audience with the Pope on the morning of May 20th, when he was allowed to state the reasons of the King's demand on behalf of Alberoni. He declared that since the decision of this matter had dragged on since November it was not only detrimental to so large a diocese but likewise prejudicial to the "rights" of his Sovereign. Clement XI. declared that the delay had been caused by the interference of the Spanish Government in the administration of the dioceses of Vich and Tarragona; there could be no question of any encroachment on royal prerogatives since there was question of a translation from one See to another. The Pope was ready to yield if the King, on his part, revoked the above-mentioned encroachments. A long discussion ensued, at the end of which the Pope referred Acquaviva to Cardinal Albani.² The conversations with the latter yielded no result. Before all else Albani asked that an end be put to interference in the dioceses of Vich and Tarragona. To this Acquaviva replied that he was not a plenipotentiary and in the event of the Pope proving unyielding in this matter, a complete rupture with Rome had been decided upon. He motivated the threat by saying that Philip V., according to his theologians and jurists, was justified in taking such a step, and that by so doing he only followed the example of his predecessors who had earned for themselves the glorious title of "Catholic Kings"! Albani proposed fresh negotiations; Acquaviva

¹ Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi of June 1, 1718, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Ibid.* in *Reales ordines* the *Philip V.'s command.

² The audience is described in all its details in Acquaviva's letter quoted in n. 1.

had to decline the offer, for by the terms of his instructions he had to break off relations if by June 1st the archbishopric of Seville had not been bestowed on Alberoni.¹ As this did not happen, Acquaviva ordered all Spaniards in Rome to leave the city, under pain of the royal displeasure, and not to have recourse to the Dataria in future in all questions of the bestowal of benefices.²

Clement XI. who, on May 31st, had announced through a courier the Brief by which he suspended all Indults for Spain,³ ordered its immediate publication on June 9th, inasmuch as Spain persisted in an attitude which was harmful to the whole of Christendom.⁴ Aldrovandi, who up to now had sided far more with the Spanish Government than with his own master, obeyed at last.⁵ On his part Philip V. sequestered

¹ Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, June 1, 1718 (*loc. cit.*), at the end of which the Cardinal puts a few questions regarding the 3,000 Spaniards living in Rome, of whom he knew only 900 by name, as the rest occupied lowly positions. He asks for further instructions, whether affairs that had been begun, among them the Canonization processes, should be carried on or discontinued.

² Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi June, 7, 1718, according to which 618 Spaniards demanded their passports. According to Acquaviva's *letter to Morales, August 15, he ordered also the Spanish religious to leave Rome, but the Pope's prohibition (see *letter to Alberoni, September 6, 1718) induced some to remain, as Acquaviva *reports to L. Rodrigo on April 11, 1719. All these letters are in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. Cf. also Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, June 9, 1718, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secr. Archives.

³ Paolucci's third *letter to Aldrovandi, May 31, 1718, which says: "Il ministero che il Papa sostiene e l'impegno da lei contratto coll'Imperatore per eccitarlo alla guerra contro il Turco, rendono ciò indispensabile alla S. S., la quale è pronta a soffrir tutto." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, June 9, 1718 (*ibid.*). The Brief is dated June 4, 1718.

⁵ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, July 12, 1718 (*ibid.*), where reference is made to Aldrovandi's report of June 27 on the execution of the order. Aldrovandi had won great favour with

the revenues of the bishoprics of Seville and Malaga and threatened to attack the States of the Church.¹ By this means he hoped to bring about Alberoni's promotion to the archbishopric of Seville. However, Clement XI. remained firm. Paolucci wrote on June 21st that Cardinal Alberoni should bear in mind that the conquest of Seville was a very different matter from that of Sardinia.²

To revenge itself on the Pope, the Spanish Government ordered the tribunal of the nunciature to be closed.³ Alberoni, in a letter to his friend Count Rocca, dated August 18th, 1718, asserted at this time that he no longer gave a thought to his own affairs; if the Pope refused him the Bull of confirmation for Seville, that would not prevent him from enjoying the revenues of that bishopric as well as those of Malaga. If people in Rome thought they would receive as much as a single *bajocco* from the vacant bishoprics and other benefices in Spain, they were under a delusion. A compromise was impossible without a previous yielding in the matter of Seville. So long as the present Pope lived nothing good could be hoped for. His nephews were mercenaries of the House of Austria and Clement XI. himself was so weak that he yielded to all the demands of the court of Vienna. Rome was threatened with a great punishment and before this confusion came to an end it was quite possible that they might witness another sack of the city, similar to that of 1527.⁴

the Spanish Government as appears from the fact that the latter worked for his nomination to the cardinalate since the summer of 1720; see **Reales ordines*, May, July and October, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

¹ *Paolucci to Aldrovandi dat. June 21, 1717, *ibid.*

² " *Ma doveva pure considerare il sig. card. Alberoni, che la conquista della chiesa di Siviglia è assai diversa dalla conquista della Sardegna, e che quei mezzi, che sono stati opportuni per la seconda, sono esecrabili per la prima." *Ibid.*

³ Acquaviva heard of this through a letter of Miguel Duran, July 4, 1718; see the cardinal's *letter to M. Duran, *ibid.*

⁴ BOURGEOIS, *Lettres intimes*, 604.

When the Cardinal wrote these lines, the situation had undergone a change which was to bring about his own downfall. Now, as in the previous year, the strictest silence was observed concerning the destination of the Spanish fleet, which sailed from the port of Barcelona with a contingent of 30,000 men at the end of June, 1718. Even the commander-in-chief did not know where the blow would fall as he was only allowed to open his instructions when on the high seas.

The objective was the fair isle of Sicily, which the peace of Utrecht had assigned to the Duke of Savoy. But the Piedmontese had failed to gain the sympathies of the Sicilians. Palermo received the Spaniards with enthusiasm; Catania fell whilst siege was laid to Messina.¹

Fortune seemed to smile on Alberoni. However, his plan for the recovery for the Spanish monarchy of its lost Italian possessions encountered the opposition of nearly all the Powers that had been parties to the recent peace treaties. On August 2nd, 1718, England, France and the Emperor joined in a league which, after the accession of Holland, received the name of the Quadruple Alliance. With the coalition of the four great Powers thus constituted, Italy was once more to be parcelled out to the advantage of foreign countries. Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany, whose reigning Houses were on the point of extinction, were to be considered as fiefs of the Empire and only under these conditions could they be bestowed on Don Carlos, the five years old son of the Spanish Queen. Spain was to be forced to surrender both Sicily and Sardinia. Sicily would fall to the Emperor, who would renounce his claims to Spain, whilst the Duke of

¹ IS. LA LUMIA, *La Sicilia sotto Vittorio Amadeo di Savoia*², Livorno, 1877, cap. 7; DOM. CARUTTI, *Storia del regno di Vittorio Amadeo II*, Firenze, 1863; idem., *Storia della diplomazia della corte di Savoia*, III., Torino 1875; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XVIII., 35-230, 367-379; PROFESSIONE, 205 seqq.; G. REITANO, *Il card. Giulio Alberoni e la guerra del 1718-1720 in Sicilia*, Catania, 1891.

Savoy would be compensated by the acquisition of Sardinia.¹

Alberoni rejected these proposals. When Byng, the English Admiral, told him that his sovereign had charged him to see to the preservation of the Peace of Utrecht and the neutrality of Italy which had been guaranteed there, Alberoni answered with the utmost arrogance that the Admiral was welcome to carry out the behests of his master. Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet at Cape Passero on August 11th.²

When Alberoni was informed of this event he burst into tears,³ but not for a moment did he think of giving up his daring gamble; on the contrary, he was ready for extreme measures. He ordered the English Consuls to quit Spain, carried on intrigues wherever he could—as in Sweden against England, and in France, where he was at the bottom of the conspiracy of his envoy Cellamare against the Duke of Orleans. The result was that on January 7th, 1719, the Regent of France declared war against Spain, a step in which England had preceded him.⁴ Even now Alberoni did not lose heart: he had recourse to other devices but all ended in failure. James III.'s attempted landing in Scotland also miscarried,⁵ as did the attempt to set Sweden and Russia in motion.⁶ The Cardinal experienced a further disappointment, when he attempted to foment a revolution in France with the help of some insurgents in Brittany.⁷ Only then did Madrid think of suing for peace. However, England and France made Alberoni's dismissal a necessary preliminary to any negotiations⁸: this dismissal took place on December 5th, 1719.

¹ WEBER, *Quadrupelallianz*, Prag, 1887. On the accession of the Duke of Savoy Vittorio Amedeo II., on October, 1718, cf. L. LA ROCCA, *La quadruplice alleanza dell'anno 1718* in *Riv. Abruzzese*, XIV.—XX. (1901–1905).

² WEBER, 72.

³ PROFESSIONE, 216.

⁴ Cf. BAUDRILLART, II., 318 seqq., 321 seqq., 326 seqq., 349 seqq.; PROFESSIONE, 223 seqq.; 226 seqq.

⁵ MICHAEL, *Englische Geschichte*, 9. ⁶ BAUDRILLART, II., 367.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 371 seqq.; PROFESSIONE, 266 seqq.

⁸ COXE, II., 471; BAUDRILLART, II., 395 seqq.

Only the previous evening Alberoni had had his usual conference with the King, in whose attitude towards him the Cardinal noted no change. The next morning he received a communication which deprived him of all his offices and strictly enjoined him to be out of Madrid within eight days and out of Spanish territory within twenty-one days. Neither the King nor the Queen would grant him another audience.¹

England and France informed Madrid that the mere dismissal of Alberoni would not satisfy them. Philip V. hesitated about six weeks longer but at last, on January 26th, he joined the Quadruple Alliance.² Thus Spain's attempt to reconquer its Italian possessions ended in the strengthening of Charles VI.'s power. He received Sicily as his award, whilst Vittorio Amadeo became King of Sardinia. However, this triumph of the Quadruple Alliance was to prove highly prejudicial to the interests of the Pope, since the succession in Parma-Piacenza was granted to Don Carlos, regardless of the feudal rights of the Holy See. This suzerainty had existed for two centuries; the princes had received these territories as fiefs and had paid tribute. All this was now brushed aside.³

At the beginning of 1720, with a view to safe-guarding the rights of the Church, Clement XI. dispatched his nephew Alessandro Albani,⁴ to the Emperor with whom he had been on better terms since the preceding year.⁵ Albani was also

¹ Cf. the report of the Marquis Scotti to Abbot Landi, December 8, 1719, in LEMONTEY, *Hist. de la Régence*, II., Paris, 1832, 278; BOURGEOIS, 337.

² WEBER, 101; BAUDRILLART, II., 401.

³ Cf. *" Ragguaglio del trattato della Quadruplice Alleanza (1718) e delle sue conseguenze riguardanti alla successione di Parma e Piacenza," *F. Garampi*, 94, Pap. Secr. Archives.

⁴ See the autograph letter of February 6, 1720 (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 3329) in which the Pope refers to the favourable reply given by Charles VI. to his letter of February 21, 1719 (*ibid.*, 2335).

⁵ In February, 1719, Clement XI. had allowed the imperial troops, on their way to Naples, to march through the Papal States (BUDER, III., 839 seq.). In April nuncio Vicentini was able

instructed to work for an understanding in the situation in Sicily where there were still many difficulties in connection with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Albani achieved nothing; neither did he succeed in getting a papal representative admitted to the Congress at Cambrai, called to carry out the peace terms which had been imposed by the Quadruple Alliance but which had only been settled in broad outlines. Both the Emperor and England were opposed to the participation of the Pope in this Congress. Thereupon Clement XI. addressed himself to the Abbé Dubois, the all-powerful minister of France, and sent Albani to Paris. Dubois, who was ambitious for the cardinalate, succeeded in securing for Albani a place at the Congress as representative of the Pope.¹ The Pope did not live to see the opening of the assembly, nor the outcome of the proceedings against Alberoni.

After his expulsion from Spain, Alberoni made his way through the south of France, and finally fled to Sestri Levante, in the territory of the Republic of Genoa.² Even before he reached that destination, Philip V. had requested the Pope, through Daubenton, for the sake of the peace of Christendom, to take into custody the person of this disturber of tranquillity. As soon as this was done the King would furnish the Pontiff with the proofs of his former minister's misdeeds.³ As Clement XI. was highly incensed against the Cardinal, he was quite willing to agree to this. On Alberoni he put all the blame of his own shameful betrayal and his having been put in a false and humiliating position, as well as the impossibility of exploiting to the full the victories of Prince Eugene over

to return to Naples and in November the tribunal of the nunciature was reopened (*ibid.*, 870, 919). In Sicily the Austrian Government showed itself friendly to the clergy; see MARTINI, *La Sicilia*, 109 *seqq.* The Pope granted to Charles VI. that the Sicilian Inquisition should no longer be dependent on the General Inquisition of Spain, but on a council sitting in Vienna under the direction of Cardinal Kollonitsch (*Riv. Stor.*, 1886, 481).

¹ SENTIS, 158; PROFESSIONE, 249 *seqq.*, 256 *seq.*

² PROFESSIONE, 261 *seqq.*

³ ARATA, 17.

the Turks.¹ In February, 1720, he demanded from Genoa the extradition of the fugitive.² The same demand was made by Philip V., the Emperor and the Duke of Parma. However, all their efforts met with determined opposition on the part of the Republic which steadfastly refused extradition.³

Whilst these negotiations were still in progress, Clement XI. ordered the opening of the process against Alberoni of whose guilt he was fully convinced in advance. With a view to determining the procedure against a member of the Sacred College, he gave orders for the putting together of all information concerning prosecutions against Cardinals as found in the Secret Archives.⁴ He then convened a Congregation of Cardinals, which began its sessions in the Quirinal on March 19th, 1720. The following were present: Astalli, Tanara, Paolucci, Barberini, Corsini, Paracciani, Fabroni, Vallemani, Conti, Zondadari, Tolomei, Corradini, Scotti, Bentivoglio and Annibale Albani. The Pope enjoined the assembled Cardinals to examine whether proceedings should be taken against Alberoni. Three reasons were in favour of such a course: 1. Alberoni had deceived him regarding the auxiliary army

¹ How much more could have been obtained from the Turks had Alberoni not disturbed the peace is shown by the important concessions which the Porte nevertheless made by the peace of Passarovitz concluded with the Emperor and Venice, July 21, 1718 (ZINKEISEN, V., 569 *seqq.*). In the Brief to Venice, of August 12, 1718 (CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Epist. 2301). Clement says explicitly: "Non aliud profecto Nos antiquius in votis habebamus, quam ut susceptum cum immanissimo christiani nominis hoste bellum strenue continuaretur...; quoniam vero hominum peccata et Nostra potissimum fecisse credimus, ut alia consilia publicae causae certe perniciosa inita fuerint, gravissimum, quem inde suscepimus moerorem, etc."

² PROFESSIONE, 265 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 267 *seqq.* Cf. R. QUAZZA, *La cattura del card. G. Alberoni e la Repubblica di Genova*, Genova, 1913; Idem, *La lotta diplomatica tra Genova e la Spagna dopo la fuga dell'Alberoni dalla Liguria*, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, LXXVII. (1920), 215-236.

⁴ ARATA, 55.

against the Turks. 2. Philip V. held the Cardinal responsible for the hostile measures in matters ecclesiastical in the diocese of Tarragona. 3. Alberoni had never said Mass and had not even received Holy Communion at Easter. The answer of the Cardinals, dated March 22nd, was in favour of starting proceedings against him. As it was a question of a Cardinal, it was not enough to entrust the management of affairs to an ordinary judge, viz. the auditor of the Camera Apostolica. The Pope accordingly set up a special judicial commission, consisting of Cardinals Astalli, Scotti, Tolomei, Imperiali and Corsini, who later on were joined by Cardinals Casoni and Francesco Barberini.¹ The commission sent a citation to Alberoni which, however, could not be handed to him as since March 22nd he had been in hiding in an unknown place.² This did not prevent Alberoni from defending himself by means of cleverly drawn up manifestoes against the alleged accusations.³

For the purpose of gathering evidence, proceedings were started at Piacenza and in Spain. Like the Duke of Parma, Philip V. furthered the prosecution against his one time favourite with the greatest keenness; he promised special assistance to the Pope in a letter of April 18th, 1720. Soon after that, a memorandum arrived from Spain, accusing Alberoni of the greatest enormities. He was accused of having deceived both the Pope and the King, of having neglected his duties as a Christian and given scandal by his utterances and outbursts of temper; he was even accused of having given cause for suspicion about his moral conduct.⁴

The proceedings in Piacenza, though carried on with the greatest energy, did not yield any solid evidence against Alberoni's private life. The proceedings in Spain, which were based on Philip V.'s accusations, dragged on indefinitely. High ecclesiastics as well as secular dignitaries, even the King's Secretary-General, and persons of inferior rank such as

¹ ARATA, 54 *seqq.*, 58.

² PROFESSIONE, 275; ARATA, 61.

³ ARATA, 87 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 *seq.*, 31 *seqq.*

couriers, chamberlains and other officials, were questioned. The statements of the witnesses filled a volume of over seven hundred pages. It was necessary first to translate the Spanish text into Italian.¹ The slow progress of the proceedings irritated both the Duke of Parma and the King of Spain who were impatient for the destruction of their former tool. In spite of the pressure of the Duke of Parma, in view of the Pope's uncertain state of health, the document had not yet arrived in Rome at the time of the death of Clement, who had shown the greatest interest in the matter up to the very last.² The conclave took Alberoni to Rome, where the new Pope, Innocent XIII., allowed him to remain as a private individual. A crowd of sightseers flocked together to witness the arrival of the famous Cardinal. They had expected to see an imposing figure and were accordingly greatly disappointed when they saw a small and insignificant little man alight from his carriage. Alberoni conducted himself cautiously in Rome, a circumstance that greatly benefited his cause.

The second phase of the proceedings began with the raising of the commission of Cardinals from seven to nine members. Domenico Fiorelli, as the representative of the auditor of the Camera Apostolica for criminal prosecutions, was instructed to draw up a summary of the Spanish process. All Philip V.'s former accusations were repeated in this extract, except those that referred to immoral conduct which had been dropped.³ In the sequel the proceedings assumed increasingly a purely political character, but the very men on whom fell a grievous responsibility, namely the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma, were left out of the process. Alberoni's position at court had been so peculiar that his responsibility could not be judicially defined, and the Cardinal had taken care to secure for himself the most important documents.⁴ All this helped his cause ; of the twelve accusations four had to be dropped as not proven. With regard to the most serious one of them all, that of having deceived the Pope with a promise of help

¹ *Ibid.*, 67 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 75 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.*

⁴ PROFESSIONE, 114.

against the Turks, and of having engineered the breach with Rome, it was found impossible to establish judicially that on this point Alberoni was really responsible.¹ After the negotiations had dragged on for nearly four years, Innocent XIII., on September 1st, 1723, put the following question to the commission: whether the result of their investigations justified Alberoni's deprivation of the cardinalate? The question was answered in the negative and with regard to all the other matters, Alberoni was recommended to the mercy of His Holiness. Accordingly, by a carefully worded Brief of December 18th, 1723, Innocent XIII. put an end to the proceedings and ordered Alberoni's reinstatement in his honours and dignities.²

In spite of the acquittal, the verdict of historians was long unfavourable to Alberoni and only in recent times have attempts been made to rehabilitate the memory of the Cardinal.³

¹ ARATA, II3 *seqq.*, II9 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 157 *seqq.*, 239 *seqq.*

³ In 1834 the celebrated jurist Romagnosi, a friend of Silvio Pellico, took up the cudgels on behalf of Alberoni. Local patriots such as Pozziali and Scarabelli followed suit. Their attempts at a rehabilitation were surpassed by the very uncritical Abbate Bersani (*Storia del card. G. Alberoni*, Piacenza, 1861; *Aggiunte*, *ibid.*, 1862). V. PAPA'S *L'Alberoni*, Torino, 1876, is another apologia. According to ARMSTRONG (*Scottish Review*, 1897, Jan.) the chief aim of Alberoni's policy was the liberation of Italy from German domination. In his splendid work (1897) PROFESSIONE arrives at some very unfavourable conclusions, but these are qualified on one important point by Arezio (1906), namely that of responsibility for the enterprise against Sardinia. PARISSET'S monograph is of no value; *cf.* *Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, I. [1906], 44; II. [1907], 234. The *Lettres Intimes d'Alberoni* published by E. BOURGEOIS (Paris, 1892) show the Cardinal in a much more favourable light than Saint-Simon's portrait of him, but they make it perfectly clear that Alberoni was unworthy of his high position (*Rev. des deux mondes*, February, 1893). For some of Alberoni's speculations for the solution of the great European problems see MICHAEL, *Englische Geschichte*, II., 2, 233.

In the present state of historical research, which is by no means complete,¹ it is possible to say that Alberoni was an accomplice in the disturbances of the peace and the breach with Rome, but the men who promoted his trial with so much energy, that is Philip V. and the Duke of Parma, were equally guilty. Nor must we overlook, in the whole of this affair, Aldrovandi's optimism and his very unsatisfactory reports. Whether the Cardinal was the chief culprit, as Clement XI. was convinced he was, only further documentary research can bring to light. Whatever may be the final verdict, one thing seems certain: it is not possible to excuse Alberoni's attitude towards the Pope, to whom he owed the purple. The one threatening letter of August 18th, 1718, sufficiently shows his character²: by this document Alberoni has undoubtedly pronounced his own condemnation. There are also other letters which clearly prove that the Cardinal had grievously offended against the reverence due to the Head of the Church, since he said that Clement XI. was only fit to be a Roman parish priest and that he should confine himself to saying Mass, delivering homilies and visiting the churches. His violence caused him so far to forget himself as to threaten that he himself would help to banish the Pope to the isle of Ponza.³ If these documents, recently brought to light, had been placed in the hands of the commission, the verdict would have been a very different one.

Though Clement XI. did not live to see the end of the Alberoni affair, it was granted him to establish better relations with Spain. In July, 1720, the Pope had appointed a new nuncio for Spain in the person of Alessandro Aldobrandini, who had represented the Holy See in Venice since 1713. Aldobrandini went first to Piacenza for an interview with Duke Francesco Farnese⁴ and only then to Madrid where,

¹ AREZIO (308) admits this also.

² Cf. above, p. 165, n. 4.

³ BOURGEOIS, *Lettres intimes*, 51 seq., 593, 612.

⁴ Cf. Paolucci's letter to "Pietro Donnino de Pretis (see MORONI, II., 285), cameriere d'onore di N. S. a Madrid," dat.

to the astonishment of Clement XI., difficulties were put in his way. He was refused admission and presented with a demand that before the nunciature was reopened, all disputes would first have to be settled, and that Aldobrandini must be furnished with the same Indults as Aldrovandi.

The Pope allowed Aldobrandini to remain at court in an unofficial capacity, until these obstacles were removed. As for the Indults, he renewed the two earlier ones and allowed the raising of a sum not exceeding 150,000 scudi annually for the next five years. He promised to revoke the suspension of the Indults and the Brief relating to it as soon as Sardinia was evacuated.¹ When this was done he dispatched the Brief, together with the repeal of the suspension on September 21st ; no motive for this step was mentioned in that document as the Pope was anxious to commit to oblivion all that had happened before. With regard to the concordat, Clement XI. stated he had carried out its clauses to their utmost extent, hence he expected that the Spanish Government would do its share by allowing the nunciature to be re-opened. This was the main thing, he declared, everything else could be put off until a more opportune occasion, but, if possible, Aldobrandini should demand the restitution of the *spolia*, which had been sequestered since the departure of Aldrovandi in July, 1718. The Brief relating to the repeal of the suspensions was not to be handed over before the opening of the nunciature.²

Before the end of the year the Pope had the consolation of learning that an order had been issued for the restoration of the sequestered *spolia*, that Sardinia had been surrendered

July 23, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212. Papal Secr. Archives. On the journey of Pietro Donnino de Pretis who brought Cardinal Belluga the biretta, *cf.* **Viaggio fatto in Spagna da Msgr. P. D. de Pretis in the Communal Archives, Urbino, III., V., 104.*

¹ *Istruzione per Msgr. Aldobrandini arcivescovo di Rodi, Nunzio in Venezia, in occasione di passare alla corte di Parma, dated July 7, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

² *Istruzione in forma di lettera a Msgr. Aldobrandini in Genova, dat. September 21, 1718, *ibid.*; also in Cod. 31, D. 6, Corsini Library, Rome.

to the Emperor and that the prohibition of relations with Rome was about to be repealed.¹ Aldobrandini received orders to do his best that this promise was carried into effect.² The reconciliation between Clement XI. and Philip V. was greatly furthered by the victories of the Spaniards over the Moors near Ceuta in Africa, in the autumn of 1720. On December 16th, 1720, the Pope spoke of these successes to the Cardinals in consistory. On February 3rd he was able to announce a new victory. Prayers were ordered, to implore the help of God for a happy continuation of these auspicious beginnings.³ Negotiations in Rome with Acquaviva soon led to a complete agreement on all politico-ecclesiastical questions. On March 11th, 1721, Aldobrandini was empowered to sign a treaty by which all differences between Rome and Madrid were to be settled.⁴

¹ *Paolucci to Aldobrandini, dat. December 22, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.* Of the same day: *Istruzione a Msgr. Aldobrandini circa la norma nel dar esecuzione al sussidio e l'escusado, *ibid.*

² *Paolucci to Aldobrandini, dat. January 7, 1721, *ibid.*

³ CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 177 seq. Philip V. sent the Pope one of the captured standards; see **Reales ordines*, November, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

⁴ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, dat. March 11, 1721, Simancas Archives. *Ibid.*, Acquaviva's, *reports of February 11 and 25, 1721, on the previous negotiations.

CHAPTER V.

REVIVAL OF JANSENISM—THE BULLS *VINEAM DOMINI* AND *UNIGENITUS*—THE APPELLANTS—BELGIAN-DUTCH JANSENISM.

(1.)

ONLY a few years before Clement XI.'s election Harlay de Champvallon, the utterly unworthy Archbishop of Paris, had died suddenly. He was succeeded, on Madame de Maintenon's recommendation,¹ by Louis Antoine de Noailles, hitherto Bishop of Châlons.²

Louis XIV.'s genuinely pious consort hoped by this choice to render service to the Church and to cause the scandalous life of the late Archbishop to fall into oblivion. Noailles' moral conduct had been irreproachable and the simplicity of his life and his avoidance of Court life, had won for him the esteem of the masses.³ For all that his elevation to the first see of the realm was a grievous calamity for the French Church. In the storms which were to break out so soon, his position as Archbishop of Paris destined him to be a leader ; but for a leader's rôle Noailles lacked clear principles, breadth of outlook and strength of character. In the opinion of contemporaries—and history bears them out—he was self-opinionated, unwilling to be taught, keen on punctilio and

¹ LE ROY, 49.

² E. DE BARTHÉLEMY, *Le card. de Noailles d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, 1886. On his administration of the archdiocese of Paris ; FOSSEYEUX in *Rev. hist.*, CXIV. (1913), 261 *seqq.*, CXV. (1914), 34 *seqq.* On Noailles' correspondence with Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *cf.* A. SALOMON in *Rev. d'hist. et de philos. rel.*, VIII., 430-466.

³ LE ROY, 11.

incapable of sacrificing petty resentments to a great cause.¹ He involved himself and the Church of France in the worst complications, but had not the energy to make a clear decision which could have solved the imbroglio. For years he hesitated between insolence and concessions, only to end by taking, without either profit or honour, a step which for the sake of honour he had avoided for years.

It is impossible to say whether the promotion of the new Archbishop came as an encouragement to the Jansenists,²

¹ Fénelon wrote of him : " Il a l'esprit court et confus. Nulle opinion précise n'est arrêtée dans son esprit. Son cœur est faible et mou. Si on le presse, on lui fera dire, en l'intimidant, tout ce qu'on voudra contre l'erreur, etc." (to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *Œuvres*, VII., 220). Bossuet wrote on the Quietist question : " MM. de Paris et de Chartres sont faibles et n'agiront qu'autant qu'ils seront poussés " (to his nephew, June 10, 1697, *Correspondance*, VIII., 267). Nuncio Bentivoglio says : " *L'esteriore del cardinale ha saputo ingannare i popoli, l'aspetto sempre composto, il collo piegato su una spalla e i capelli canuti con una certa ilarità di viso che affetta candidezza di coscienza, et una pomposa apparenza di devotione e di zelo gli anno in questi ultimi tempi acquistata opinion di profeta. Non sempre s'e pensato così di lui. L'artificio a tutti noto con cui eluse i creditori del fratello nel tempo stesso, che ne godevano egli e i nipoti l'eredità, non fecero pensare così vantaggiosamente il publico della sua integrità e pietà, come ne pensano adesso, e tante satire uscirono in quel tempo contro di lui, quanti oggi i Giansenisti gli danno elogi. L'affettata ritiratezza in cui vive dal commercio delle donne, gli ha fatto universalmente acquistare una opinione di illibatezza di costumi, quasi che l'astenersi da un sol vizio serva agli altri di passaporto. L'ostinazione, indocilità, amor proprio, ambitione, orgoglio... La sua parola sempre incerta e infidele, il suo talento mediocre, etc." (Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, Cod. 189, f. 10 *seqq.*) Cf. LA PIANA in *Riv. stor. delle scienze teologiche*, V. (1909), 284 *seq.* LA PIANA himself says : " Era uno di quegli ambiziosi in cui la passione è impari alle forze."

² D'Aguesseau is of this opinion (*Œuvres*, VIII., 191). SCHILL, 37, n. 2.

at any rate they felt the time had come for using a trifling incident as a pretext for aggression.

The Superior of the Sulpicians of Clermont, Gay, had refused absolution to a parish priest of the name of Fréhel, for habitually hearing the confession of Canon Périer, a nephew of Pascal, who nevertheless remained an obstinate Jansenist. When questioned more closely Périer declared that he condemned the five propositions in every sense in which the Church condemned them, even in the Jansenists' sense; but with regard to the question whether the propositions were actually to be found in Jansenius, he was content with a respectful silence.¹ Could a penitent thus disposed be given absolution? This question constituted the kernel of the so-called "Case of Conscience" which soon obtained considerable notoriety. Together with eight other points of less significance,² Fréhel submitted the question to the Sorbonne when forty Doctors decided that the confessor need not further disquiet his penitent.

In July and September, 1702, the press got hold both of the "Case of Conscience" and of the decision³ and "innumerable" copies were forthwith put in circulation.⁴ One bookseller of Douai sold 600 copies. Amid the applause

¹ BERTRAND, III., 122 *seq.* According to the documents quoted, the "Case of Conscience" was not a pure invention. Others explain the actual facts underlying the "Case of Conscience" in a different way (*ibid.*). On the *Cas de conscience* cf. LE ROY, 69-116; SCHILL, 30-66; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 692; BAUSSET, *Leben Bossuets*, translated by M. FEDER, IV., SULZBACH, 1821, 217 *seqq.*; Étienne de Champflour, évêque de la Rochelle, avant son épiscopat, 1646-1703, in *Mélanges de biographie et d'histoire*, by ANT. DE LANTENAY, Bordeaux, 1875, 136-181. Documents in ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 413, *seqq.*, and FLEURY, LXVI., 609 *seqq.*

² DUPIN, IV., 406 (with the signatures); FLEURY, LXVI., 611 *seqq.*; REUSCH, 692. A first draft of the "cas de conscience" had only twenty-three signatures. *Causa Quesnelliana*, 403; LE ROY, 98.

³ *Lettre de M... chanoine de B., à Mr. T. D. A.*

⁴ See p. 180, n. 2.

of the audience, though against the will of the Faculty, the case was publicly defended in one of the Colleges of the University. Already many ecclesiastics felt that the triumph of Jansenism was at last at hand.¹ As a matter of fact the opinion of the forty Doctors met with approval, Jansenism was indeed risen to a new life in spite of all papal decisions and prohibitions.² Accordingly, as soon as the Sulpicians of Clermont heard of the "Case of Conscience", rightly appraising the peril, they informed both the King's confessor, La Chaize, and Bossuet of the occurrence.

Bossuet took a grave view of the matter. Among others he consulted Noailles and the Bishop of Tours and once more made a thorough study of the Jansenist writings. The forty Doctors he judged severely. From his conversations with some of their number he gained the impression that the party still commanded a strong following; he felt that it was necessary to publish a special work in order to enlighten the public.³

Meanwhile, besides Bossuet, the Bishops of Chartres and

¹ FLEURY, LXVI., 648.

² On February 4, 1703, the General of the Carthusians wrote to La Chaize that up till then he had done his utmost by means of books, innumerable letters and the living word, to root out Jansenism from among his subjects; against two or three "tenaciores" he had proceeded juridically. But now comes the "Cas" and "suscitat de novo omnes errores condemnatos, suscitatur per artificium, quod simul probat malignitatem et impudentiam. Certus sum, consultationem non esse nisi fictitiam, fabricatam per eosmet, qui consultationis sunt approbatores... Sparserunt et seminaverunt isti in nostris claustris infinita exemplaria." He regrets that N. Alexandre is implicated. The first signatory, Pctitpied, aimed at "ad infectanda monasteria monialium" ever since the rise of Jansenism "libri proiciebantur ultra muros et clausuram monialium, ut eos ipsae puellae colligerent". He wished the King would intervene. (Bibl. Vall-celliana, Rome, P. 175, f. 287-290). La Chaize *replied by referring to Noailles' pastoral letter and to the Roman censure (*ibid.*, f. 293).

³ INGOLD, *Bossuet*, 19, 34 *seqq.*

Auch had also pronounced against the Case of Conscience, whereas Le Tellier of Rheims had approved it.¹ Most important was the circumstance that the affair had been at once brought to the notice of Rome. Clement XI. had it examined by a special commission of Cardinals; on February 12th, 1703, he condemned the pamphlet which published the "Case of Conscience" and prohibited it under pain of excommunication.² Two covering letters to the King and to Noailles³ contain some sharp words about the Jansenists, "against whom there was need not of new laws but of punishments."

Noailles is suspected of not having been wholly innocent of the drafting of the "Case of Conscience".⁴ However, as soon as he learnt that Rome was dealing with the matter, he changed his attitude. In the first instance, in conjunction with Bossuet, he secretly sought to induce the forty Doctors to recant individually, so as to render sterner measures unnecessary. His first success was with the Church historian, Noël Alexandre, a Dominican, who had subscribed to the "Case of Conscience".⁵ After a preliminary step on January 8th, 1703, and subsequently to the banishment to Quimper of one of the signatories, Alexandre and ten other Doctors declared that by a respectful silence they had understood an internal submission.⁶ With only one exception all the other Doctors who were still alive, followed this example⁷; even the Jansenist historian of theological literature, Ellies Dupin, ended by submitting, though only after Louis XIV. had sent

¹ FLEURY, LXVI., 615.

² *Ibid.*, 616 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XXI., 80.

³ FLEURY, 617 *seqq.*; 621 *seqq.*

⁴ LE ROY, 98. "Dans le cas de conscience," wrote Bishop Soanen, "après avoir travaillé, il a poussé les ouvriers." *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵ R. COULON in *Rev. des sciences philos. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 59-65. A letter of January 8, 1703, to Noailles, defending his position, in DUPIN, IV., 418. A memorial from twenty-four out of the forty; *ibid.*, 426 *seqq.*

⁶ COULON, *loc. cit.*, 61; SCHILL, 38 *seq.*

⁷ FLEURY, LXVI., 674 *seq.*; *cf.* 635, 637.

him into banishment. Clement XI. congratulated the King on this step.¹

For Noailles, who had as yet taken no public measure against the "Case of Conscience", the early arrival of the papal condemnation of February 12th came as a surprise and an embarrassment. He let two days go by without opening the Brief and only published it on March 4th, together with his own condemnation of the "Case of Conscience",² which he dated from February 22nd, so that on March 6th and 12th both he and De Torcy, the Minister for War, were able to express to the Pope their satisfaction with the fact that His Holiness only confirmed the judgment of the Archbishop.³ The Council of State⁴ ordered the Brief to be dispatched to all the Bishops of France whilst it renewed at the same time the ordinance of October 23rd, 1668. The Pope was, of course, annoyed by the fact that silence on the controverted points was imposed on Catholics and heretics alike, and he complained to the King about it.⁵

Soon the Universities also stated their view of the affair, beginning with Louvain, which passed judgment on all the points raised in the "Case of Conscience".⁶ Douai followed

¹ April 10, 1703, *ibid.*, 625. The Brief says of Dupin: "nequioris doctrinae hominem, temerataeque pluries Apostolicae Sedis dignitatis reum." N. Alexandre, letter of March 23, 1703, in order to escape banishment in LE ROY, 113; COULON, *loc. cit.*, 63.

² FLEURY, LXVI., 627 *seqq.* Compiled by Pirot and Bossuet. Ingold, 38.

³ LE ROY, 112.

⁴ Of March 3, dispatched March 24 (ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 420). The orders for publication of the Bishops of Clermont, Poitiers, Apt and Sarlat were prohibited by the Parliaments because they had been issued before the registration of the Brief. DUPIN, IV., 464-482.

⁵ Brief of April 10. FLEURY, 625; DUPIN, IV., 440 *seq.*

⁶ March 10, 1703 (FLEURY, 662-675). The "Iudicium" gave little satisfaction in Rome and was prohibited by the Inquisition. REUSCH, II., 697.

suit with a detailed memorandum on the Church's infallibility in dogmatic facts¹; finally the Sorbonne, basing itself on its earlier decrees against Arnauld, also published its sentence of condemnation.²

If by throwing to the public the decision of the forty Doctors, the Jansenists had hoped to forward their cause, they were grievously mistaken. The Pope, the King and eighteen Bishops of France besides Noailles, definitely condemned this attempt to rekindle the flame of old controversies. The situation of the Jansenists was worse than before and they gained very little by representing, in violent publications, the recantation of the forty as an act of cowardice, by complaining of a breach of the Clementine Peace and by attacking Noailles.³

They were about to be dealt an even severer blow. Recent events had convinced Louis XIV. that Jansenism was far from annihilated in his kingdom. Just as he had dealt a blow to Protestantism by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, so did he now apparently deem it a point of honour to put an end to the latest enemy of religious unity by a display of the royal authority. Rome was informed⁴ that if the Pope, jointly with himself, was willing to discuss questions in which the purity of the faith was engaged, he would support the Holy See with all his might, provided the ancient customs of the realm remained untouched. Clement XI. expressed his willingness,⁵ with the result that towards the end of August, 1703, the royal suggestions for a new Bull began to

¹ April 10, 1704, FLEURY, 648-661 (extract); ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 424 (French text).

² September 1, 1704, FLEURY, 636-647.

³ FLEURY, 675 *seqq.* [Quesnel], *Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque*, cf. below p. 195, n. 1; [FOUILLON], *Défense des théologiens* (1706). Cf. [PATOUILLET], I., 374; II., 485. *Histoire de Cas de conscience*, 8 vols. in 120 (1705-1711), where we read (II., 209) that Noailles permitted some of the Doctors to subscribe to the "Cas", on condition that he himself was not compromised.

⁴ To Cardinal Forbin Janson, May 7, 1703, in LEROY, 166.

⁵ To the same, June 18, 1703, *ibid.*, 167.

take tangible form. It was desired that the earlier papal decisions should be confirmed and "respectful silence", the Jansenists' chief means of evasion, expressly condemned. The Constitution should state that it was published at the King's request, whilst the expression *Motu proprio* and all mention of condemnation of books was avoided; for the rest, the most solemn formulas should be employed.¹

Clement XI. acceded to most of these requests. But now a demand came that the draft of the Bull should be forwarded to Paris, for examination, lest some expressions should be found in it that might offend French susceptibilities.² For a long time Clement XI. refused to comply with so unheard of a demand and only when in January, 1705, the danger became apparent that the Assembly of the Clergy might act independently of the Pope, the draft of the Bull was dispatched to Paris on March 31st, where it was examined by Noailles, the first President Harlay and by D'Aguesseau, the Attorney-General. Two points in the draft raised difficulties: reference was made in it to the French Bishops' duty of obedience to the Holy See—that was too much for the Gallicans—and the Bull only spoke of the prayers of the French Bishops, but not of the King's request for a papal decision. Clement XI. refused to alter either point and the King ended by giving way. The Pope's only concession was to allow the Assembly of the Clergy to say that it had accepted the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII.³

Thus, after two years' negotiations, at the request also of the King of Spain, the Bull *Vineam Domini* appeared on July 15th, 1705.⁴ It begins with a statement of the reasons which had necessitated a fresh papal intervention—these were certain misrepresentations by the Jansenists who, the Bull states, spoke as if the decisions of Clement IX. and

¹ To Forbin Janson, together with the letter of August 29, 1703, *ibid.*, 168.

² LE ROY, 175.

³ *Ibid.*, 177, 179 *seq.*

⁴ Printed in FLEURY, LXVII., 245 *seqq.*, and in *Bull.* XXI., 233.

Innocent XII. were in their favour, whilst the Clementine Peace was interpreted by them as if it were a restriction by the Pope of the decrees of his predecessors. According to them Innocent XII. had indeed condemned the five propositions extracted from Jansenius' book in the natural meaning of their wording, but this natural sense, which is condemned, differs from that borne by the propositions in Jansenius' book. Moreover they persist in asserting that obedience to papal decrees did not demand an internal rejection of the five propositions as heretical, but that respectful silence sufficed. Some even declared that the formulary might be subscribed to without an internal conviction that Jansenius' book contained heretical teachings. Under the cloak of such distinctions the old heresies continued to be held without hesitation. In order, then, to remove all uncertainty as to the sense and meaning of the Holy See, Clement XI. confirms first of all the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., the text of which is inserted, and rejects "respectful silence" as inadequate.

Clement XI. had published his Bull "in order to remove completely for the time to come every occasion of error". However, Jansenist astuteness found means to evade also the latest decision. The kernel of the Bull lay in the words by which the Pope declared that "the obedience due to earlier papal Constitutions was not adequately rendered by respectful silence, on the contrary, the sense of Jansenius' book, which was condemned in those five propositions, must be rejected as heretical by all the faithful with heart and mouth".¹ This seemed to state clearly enough, at least so it appeared to the Pope, that the five propositions contained the substance of Jansenius' book, that previous Popes had condemned them in Jansenius' sense, and that this sense and

¹ "Obedientiae, quae praeinsertis Apostolicis Constitutionibus debetur, obsequioso illo silentio minime satisfieri, sed damnatum in quinque praefatis propositionibus Ianseniani libri sensum, quem illarum verba prae se ferunt, ut praefertur, ab omnibus Christi fidelibus ut haereticum non ore solum, sed et corde reiici ac damnari debere... auctoritate apostolica decernimus..."

the sense of the whole of Jansenius' book was heretical. The Jansenists, however, objected that the Pope had indeed decided all this, but had not defined it as an article of faith, so that they were free as before. Moreover the Pope said that "respectful silence" was not enough in regard to papal Constitutions. Now that was precisely their view too, for those Constitutions likewise included declarations on *matters of faith*, and in regard to these mere silence was indeed not enough.¹ That Louis XIV. was mistaken when he imagined that he could dispose of the Jansenists by means of a papal decision, was made plain enough by these distinctions. Besides the Jansenists, the Gallicans also could be expected to object to the Bull. It almost looked as if the Pope's many concessions in connection with the issue of the Bull, had merely added fresh fuel to the French pretensions. The Assembly of the Clergy based its conduct entirely on the decisions of 1682. By a rescript of August 2nd, 1705,² Louis XIV. forwarded the Bull to that body: it had been issued at his request, the King assured the clergy; the Pope had begged him³ to use his royal authority to guarantee its promulgation and execution; he desired, whilst maintaining the Gallican forms, to give peace to the Kingdom; let the Assembly deliberate on acceptance of the Bull.

In effect a committee of six Bishops and seven Abbots deliberated on the subject, but when the Archbishop of Rouen communicated to the Assembly the result of the deliberations, on August 21st, he prefaced his statement with the following three propositions: authority to judge on points of the Church's teaching belongs by divine ordinance to the Bishops; papal decisions are binding on the universal Church if they are accepted by the Bishops; this acceptance is a function of the juridical power of the Bishops. One new feature of

¹ FLEURY, LXVII., 254; SCHILL, 4I, n. 2.

² FLEURY, 257.

³ The Pope's letter of July 17, 1705, *ibid.*, 255. In reality it only says: "Minime dubitamus, quin Maiestas tua . . . episcopis . . . pro integra eiusdem Nostrae Constitutionis observantia favorem omnem et patrocinium sit adhibitura."

this Gallican confession is the reference not only to the Bishops of France, but to all Bishops generally, and the attempt to deduct the Gallican pretensions not from a right created by custom, as had been the practice hitherto, but from a divine institution. On the basis of these preliminaries the deputation then proposed that thanks be expressed to the Pope and to the King, that the papal Constitution be accepted with respect and submission, that a circular be sent to the Bishops of the realm bidding them to publish it without addition or subtraction and that the King be asked to give orders for its registration and promulgation.¹ Louis XIV. complied with this request by a rescript of August 31st, 1705 ; on the same day he commanded the Sorbonne to accept the papal decision.²

In the Bishops' letter to the Pope³ the Gallican sentiments of the Assembly of the Clergy had been somewhat disguised ; they were much more marked in their circular to their fellow Bishops.⁴ However, the acts of the Assembly were printed, hence they could not fail to come to the Pope's knowledge. On January 15th, 1706, Clement XI. addressed a Brief to the French Bishops⁵ which, in spite of its studied moderation, nevertheless contains some sharp remarks. Certain writings, we read, appear to have for their only aim an attack on the supreme authority of the Holy See, as if there were no worthier object for episcopal zeal than to diminish the See of Peter and its power, though the episcopal office and all its authority are derived from it. Yet the Bishops themselves had prayed for the Pope's intervention, thereby acknowledging that their own authority was inadequate. One could divine the influence

¹ FLEURY, 258 *seqq.* ; DUPIN, IV., 495-504.

² FLEURY, 260 *seq.*, 269 *seq.* Acceptance by the Sorbonne took place on September 1, 1705, registration by Parliament on September 4, DUPIN, IV., 518. Speech of the Advocate-General, *ibid.*, 519 *seq.* ; *Lettres patentes*, August 31, 1705, *ibid.*, 529 *seqq.*

³ FLEURY, 262.

⁴ September 14, *ibid.*, 266.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 390 *seqq.*

of the Jansenists who regard the Holy See as their most powerful opponent. But "who has constituted you our judges? Does it become inferiors to take decisions concerning the authority of their superiors and to subject his judgments to examination? Be it said without offence, it is intolerable that a handful of Bishops, Bishops of churches whose honours and prerogatives derive exclusively from the favour and kindness of the Apostolic See, should raise their heads against the author of their dignity and honour and attack the rights of the first See which rest not on a human but on a divine authority. Question your predecessors and they will tell you that it does not become particular superiors to examine the ordinances of the Holy See, but to carry them into effect". The reason why he spoke so sternly lay in the situation of France, where the Apostolic authority was attacked day by day. "But since, in the words of St. Leo the Great, no building can endure unless it rest on the rock of which the Lord made the foundation, see whether this is not the explanation why, after the lapse of so many years, true peace never prevailed in your churches and never can prevail, unless the prestige of the Roman See be raised in order to overthrow error."

Here the Pope clearly reveals the ultimate reason why Louis XIV.'s efforts against Jansenism remained barren: it lay in the Gallicanism of King and Bishops which crossed every papal measure.

It does not seem that this letter made any impression on the Gallican Bishops. Accordingly, through the nuncios and by a letter of August 31st, 1706,¹ the Pope appealed to the King himself. All papal Constitutions, he wrote, and with them religion itself, would be overthrown if the Bishops' attitude towards the latest Bull were approved. Louis XIV. listened to the Pope's representatives and at a meeting of six Archbishops and five Bishops Noailles was forced to declare his readiness to subscribe to a letter to the Pope drafted by Cardinal Fabroni.² But it took a long time before Noailles

¹ *Ibid.*, 364 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 377.

subscribed. He began by dispatching a document to Rome which differed substantially from Fabroni's draft, so that Clement XI. indignantly observed that the only thing to do was to ascertain who it was that deceived the King, the Pope or the Archbishop. In the end Noailles was made to sign Fabroni's draft; whether he did so sincerely or not is questionable.¹

On the whole the French Bishops received the new Bull against "respectful silence" without opposition. The only exception was Percin de Montgaillard, Bishop of Saint-Pons; he defended his resistance in a epistolary controversy with Fénelon against which both the Index and the Pope himself eventually took action.²

The King was not even satisfied with these measures; he wanted a special Bull against the Bishop of Saint-Pons, but Rome was unwilling to repeat the unpleasant experience which it had recently had of the Gallican tendencies of the Assembly of Clergy.

Among the remaining Bishops, Noailles displayed an excess of zeal even after the Bull had been accepted by the French Church. After the general submission to the Holy See there remained only one Jansenist stronghold in France—Port-Royal. Since 1679 the convent was indeed doomed to extinction since it was forbidden to receive any novices,³ but Noailles, whose appointment had raised the nuns' hopes, nevertheless felt moved to demand from the citadel of Jansenism ⁴ what had never been asked of any other convent—

¹ *Ibid.*, 370-381.

² Brief of January 18, 1710, *Bull.* XXI., 365; REUSCH, II., 701 *seqq.*; J. SAHUC, *Un ami de Port-Royal, Pierre Jean François de Percin de Montgaillard, évêque de Saint-Pons, 1633-1713*, Paris, 1909.

³ A description of 1678, full of admiration for the Abbey, was published by E. GRISELLE in *Rev. de l'hist. de France*, I. (1910), 174 *seqq.*, 300 *seqq.*

⁴ March 18, 1706. Cf. on the destruction F. MOURRET, *Hist. gén. de l'Église, L'ancien Régime*, 455 *seqq.*; SCHILL, 42, n. 9; FLEURY, 432 *seqq.*; LE ROY, 235-294; GAZIER, I., 225-233;

viz. an attestation by the confessor that the Bull had been read to the nuns and had been received by them with due reverence. What might have been expected from Port-Royal now happened: the nuns asked for time for reflection, consulted their friends and, on their advice, expressed their willingness to submit, but under reservation of the concessions granted to them by the Clementine Peace. This sealed the fate of the convent. If Noailles agreed to the acceptance of the Bull with such a reservation in this one instance, the concession would have to be general, with the result that the Bull would be robbed of its value. On April 27th, 1706, the prohibition to receive novices was renewed,¹ for up till then it had not been strictly enforced.² This step was followed by the repeal of the decree of 1669, which had put both Port-Royals, the one in Paris and that in the country, on an equal footing as autonomous Abbeys: Port-Royal-des-Champs was subjected to the Paris Abbey which had long ago broken with Jansenism. The protests of the rebellious nuns became louder and louder, till Noailles finally put them under an interdict in November, 1707; in consequence of further protests he laid the matter before the Pope. Clement XI.'s decision was that the rebels at the country Abbey should not be further disturbed, but should be allowed to die out quietly, but as this did not satisfy the King, he granted permission, in March, 1709, for the nuns to be transferred to other convents.³ On October 29th, 1709, the famous Abbey ceased

Correspondance administrative du règne de Louis XIV., ed. Depping, IV., 267-269. Subscription was also demanded from the nuns of Gif. LE ROY, 244.

¹ It is probable that Noailles gave in owing to pressure on the part of Nuncio Cusani, to whom his predecessor Gualtieri had said in an *Istruzione (Cod. Ottob. 3144, p. 169-173, Vatican Library): "Preme sommamente a N. S., che resti punita una tal contumacia" (Port Royal's); he should proceed jointly with the Archbishop (*ibid.*, 171).

² Fénelon to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *Œuvres*, VII., 220, n. 2.

³ Briefs of March 29, 1708. For the instruction of the nuns Noailles published a letter in 1709 which Bossuet had composed

to exist. Royal officials, accompanied by armed men, had the grilles opened and the remaining fifteen choir nuns and seven lay sisters forcibly removed. The unnecessary harshness with which even aged and ailing sisters were treated, could not fail to rouse public indignation: Fénelon, that keen opponent of Jansenism, was one of those who expressed his disapproval.¹ After its suppression Port-Royal became a favourite place of pilgrimage for all the friends of Jansenism, even in spite of the fact that the conventual buildings were demolished in 1710 and the church itself in 1712, whilst the bodies in the cemetery were given a new resting-place elsewhere.² Pilgrimages to the spot where Port-Royal once stood continue to this day.³

Clement XI. had dispatched his Bull not only to France but to Flanders also, namely to Louvain.⁴ There it met with willing submission although it was precisely the Netherlands that had constituted a centre and a bulwark of Jansenist literary activity about the turn of the seventeenth century.

(2.)

At the time of its destruction Port-Royal was far from enjoying its former prestige, for the party's centre of gravity

in July, 1665, for Port Royal but had not dispatched. BOSSUET, *Correspondance*, published by Urbain and Levesque, III., 34 *seqq.*

¹ "Un tel coup d'autorité ne peut qu'exciter la compassion pour ces filles et l'indignation contre leurs persécuteurs" (to the Duke of Chevreuse, November 24, 1709, *Œuvres*, XII., 294). On March 19, 1706, the Prioress wrote: "Si vous voyiez notre communauté, elle vous ferait pitié. Elle n'est composée que de vieilles, d'infirmes et d'impotentes" (in LE ROY, 240, note).

² The mortal remains of Pascal, Boileau, Racine, etc., were removed to the church of Saint-Étienne Du Mont, those of Saint-Cyran to Saint-Jaques du Haut-Pas, etc. L. SÉCHÉ, *Les derniers Jansénistes*, Paris, 1891, 30.

³ Plan of the former convent in SÉCHÉ, 265. A. HALLAYS, *Pèlerinage de Port-Royal*, Paris, 1909; GAZIER, *Port-Royal-des-Champs. Notice hist.*⁴, Paris, 1905, etc.

⁴ December 12, 1705; DUPIN, IV., 535.

had long since shifted to the Netherlands. There lived the leader who since Arnauld's death in 1694 had steered the party into new tracks; there also he completed the third work round which the Jansenists were able to rally as they had rallied round the *Augustinus* and the book on *Frequent Communion*.

Pasquier Quesnel,¹ was born in Paris in 1634. He was the son of a bookseller whose family originated from Scotland. After completing his studies with the Jesuits and at the Sorbonne he entered Berulle's Oratory in 1657 where he was employed in the training of the junior members of the Congregation. One of the first of his learned studies was a new edition of the works of St. Leo the Great, published in 1675. As a valuable critical edition the work was received with applause,² but the outspoken Gallicanisms of the explanatory dissertations led to its being put on the Index of prohibited books within a year.³ Quesnel was an adherent not only of Gallicanism, but of Jansenism also, though in company with his colleagues in religion he had signed the formulary three or four times.⁴ On account of his Jansenism he left the Oratory in 1685,⁵ but continued nevertheless to describe himself as a "Priest of the Oratory". He escaped to Flanders where he shared Arnauld's hiding-place up to the

¹ See BATTEREL, IV., 424-493. A selection of his letters by Madame A. LE ROY: *Un Janséniste en exil*, Paris, 1900. Many fragments of letters in *Causa Quesnelliana*.

² Opinion of the Ballerini in the Leonine edition, "praefatio," MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, LIV., 13, 22. Cf. BATTEREL, 430 *seqq.*; THUILLIER, 5 *seq.*

³ Quesnel wrote some very sharp comments on the decree of the Index, printed in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 332-334.

⁴ BATTEREL, 426 *seq.*

⁵ The proximate cause of his exit: *Ibid.*, 26-9, 436 *seqq.*; THUILLIER, 10 *seqq.* Quesnel himself said that he was only physically outside the Oratory, "sans cesser un moment d'y demeurer en esprit et de cœur" (BATTEREL, 442). That he had really been dismissed, see *ibid.*, 299, 334, 424; *Causa Quesnelliana*, 5 *seq.*

latter's death. A fresh turn in Quesnel's destiny occurred after his ceaseless underground activities had exhausted the patience of both the ecclesiastical and the secular powers. With the concurrence of the Government, the Archbishop of Malines had him arrested and tried on the ground of certain confiscated documents. The trial ended on November 10th, 1704, with a sentence of excommunication and confinement in a monastery. However, before the opening of the judicial proceedings, Quesnel's friends had succeeded in making a hole in the wall of his prison. Quesnel escaped to Holland; he died at Amsterdam on December 2nd, 1719. The accusation, comprising twenty-six headings, together with the evidence and the final sentence, were published by order of the Archbishop.¹

The Jansenist party surrounded Quesnel with a veneration greater even than that which Saint-Cyran or Arnauld had enjoyed. This was partly due to his ways and manners which called forth the enthusiasm of his admirers; they deemed it a downright favour of heaven if, whilst on his journeys, he put up at their houses.² But his influence as a writer was even greater; it was his skilful pen that dominated the party after Arnauld's death and raised him to the position of unquestioned leadership. As regards keenness of intellect and erudition, he lags behind Arnauld and lacks the latter's air of greatness. But in his writings Arnauld always remained the harsh, dry scholar who defends his cause with heavy theological learning drawn from the Fathers and the Scholastics, whereas Quesnel displays both elevation and adaptibility; he knows how to write in a pious strain, to ingratiate himself and to play on the emotions.³ His earlier

¹ *Causa Quesnelliana*, Brussels, 1704. Cf. BATTEREL, IV., 459 seqq.; SCHILL, 31 seqq.; FLEURY, 67-97; LE ROY, 117 seqq. According to Batterel the immediate cause of Quesnel's arrest was his violent pamphlet on the "case of conscience" (*Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque* [1704]). Cf. [PATOUILLET], II., 485.

² MOURET, 398.

³ The Jansenist BATTEREL (IV., 451), says: "Nous n'avons jamais eu de plume dans l'Oratoire qui ait parlé de Dieu d'une

small publications on Confession and Communion, on the Passion of Jesus Christ, on the happiness of a good death, were received with applause and saw several editions.

However, after his flight from France, Quesnel's activity as an ascetical writer gradually ceased ; in this sphere he contented himself with the completion of his chief work. On the other hand, from his hiding-place at Brussels or Amsterdam, he released a veritable flood of polemical writings. At one time he defends himself against the Archbishop of Malines or against papal or episcopal condemnation, at another he exalts or defends Arnauld ; then he goes for the Jesuits who, in his opinion, were the authors of all the mischief ; on occasion he assumes the rôle of a champion of the Church against the Calvinists, which enables him to advocate Jansenism in an underhand way. In a word, hardly anything in the religious sphere happened in Flanders or in France which did not provide him with an occasion for intervention.¹ In so doing he did not follow the example of Arnauld whose polemical pamphlets sometimes filled a quarto volume. For the most part Quesnel's writings are of moderate size or consist of but a few sheets, and whereas Arnauld preserved appearances in regard to Rome, and strove to avoid an open rupture, the distinguishing feature of Quesnel's writings is, that in them Jansenism throws off the mask and attacks openly. When in 1690 Alexander VIII. had dealt Jansenism an exceedingly heavy blow by his condemnation of thirty-one Jansenist propositions, Quesnel, in a violent reply,² described the Roman tribunal as a den of thieves, seeing that these people were condemned unheard whilst the Consultors were ignorant men who allowed themselves to be led by party considerations.³ The Paris Doctors who in 1703 submitted

manière si noble, si élevée, si lumineuse ; j'ajoute, si pure et si élégante."

¹ Index of the publications in BATTEREL, IV., 451 *seqq.*

² *Lettre d'un abbé à un prélat de la cour de Rome*, Toulouse, 1691, prohibited by the Archbishop of Malines, 1695, by the Roman Index, 1703. REUSCH, II., 527.

³ FONTAINE, I., 23.

to the Archbishop's decision concerning the "Case of Conscience" he described as scoundrels, cowards, hypocrites, perjurers.¹ His literary manner found its imitators. No less violent is the style of the Maurist Gerberon² who had been arrested at the same time as Quesnel by order of the Archbishop of Malines, and both found many followers among the later Jansenists. Everywhere, not only by his published writings but by his extensive correspondence also, Quesnel fomented a spirit of contradiction, at court and in the Parliaments, in monasteries and among the clergy.³

Agitation of this kind could only yield disastrous results. In France the royal prohibition to write on Jansenist controversial questions was still in force.⁴ The Catholics complied with this injunction of silence whilst the Jansenists paid no attention to it. During the wars in Flanders the examination of books at the frontier had become very casual. Certain greedy booksellers took advantage of this circumstance to smuggle a quantity of Jansenist works from Holland into France.⁵ Catholics were not allowed to reply to this flood

¹ *Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque ou Consultation sur le fameux Cas de conscience* (1704). [PATOUILLET], II., 485.

² One example ([PATOUILLET], II., 490): the Archbishop of Rheims who had condemned one of Gerberon's books, he calls in 1677: "Cet enflé d'orgueil dont parle S. Paul, ce docteur qui ne sait rien de la science des saints, etc."

³ Extracts in *Causa Quesnelliana*.

⁴ See the present work, XXXI, 383 *seq.*

⁵ De Chanterac to Cardinal Gabrielli, 1700, FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, X., 45. "Sa Majesté voit par expérience que les défenseurs de la cause de l'Église savent lui obéir et se taire, mais les autres se prévalent du silence de ceux-ci pour écrire plus hardiment. . . . Nos frontières sont pleines d'émissaires du parti, qui font passer avec sûreté, de main en main, tout ce qu'ils veulent, depuis la Hollande jusqu'à Paris et aux provinces les plus éloignées: nulle vigilance et nulle rigueur de police ne peut l'empêcher; c'est un fait si visible, qu'il saute aux yeux (Fénelon to Le Tellier, July 22, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., 110 *seq.*). Nous recommandons encore aux magistrats de police de veiller à l'avenir sur ces petits libraires de campagne, qui viennent trois ou quatre fois

of accusations and misrepresentations: thus, Fénelon, for instance, was obliged literally to beg for permission to reply to a pamphlet by Quesnel against himself.¹ The bold attitude of the party and the silence of the Catholics could not fail to create the impression among the large masses that knowledge and true doctrine were to be found among the Jansenists, whose opponents knew no better defence than measures of violence, the burning of books and the banishment of men regarded as Saints. Hence, in spite of the combined efforts of Pope and King, the sect daily assumed incalculable proportions.² It had its patrons and its informants even at court; no secret was safe from it, in many ways it was better served than the King himself.³

Though Quesnel's polemical pamphlets wielded enormous influence his significance for the story of Jansenism is nevertheless based on one of his early ascetical writings, the so-called *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*.⁴ In 1650 the Oratorian Jourdin (Jourdain) had printed for the use especially of the younger members of his Congregation, a collection of sayings of Our Lord in the Gospel, together with some brief commentaries on them. In 1668 Quesnel published an enlarged French edition of the opusculum which had been originally written in Latin, and shortly after he

l'année infecter notre diocèse de méchants livres." Edict of the Bishop of Apt against Quesnel, October 15, 1703, in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 180.

¹ To Le Tellier, October 9, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., 118. Cf. *ibid.*, 23, and VII., 346: "Pendant que j'ai les mains liées pour la défense de la foi, M. Habert a la liberté d'écrire pour soutenir son erreur."

² "Malgré le Pape et le Roi unis, et agissant de concert pour écraser ce parti, il croît chaque jour sans mesure." FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 112.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ BATTEREL, IV., 471-486; A. MAULVAULT, *Répertoire alphabétique des personnes et des choses de Port-Royal*, Paris, 1902; HERZOG-HAUK, *Realenzyklopädie*, XXIV. (Vol. suppl. II.), 379 seq.

dealt thus with the whole of the Gospel, mostly in accordance with the Jansenist translation. The work appeared in this form in 1672, with a lengthy recommendation from the pen of Bishop Vialart of Châlons, which stated that to write such a book the author must have possessed the enlightened charity spoken of by St. Augustine, and must have been for a long time a pupil in the school of the Holy Ghost. This encomium continued to be reprinted even after the work had been greatly enlarged and altered.

The little book proved very popular ; a fresh impression followed in 1674 and an enlarged edition in 1679. To the edition of 1687 Quesnel added a second part dealing with the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Here the notes were fuller, with the result that, for the sake of proportion, they were also amplified in the first volume. In the edition of 1692 the work had grown to four volumes in octavo ; it enjoyed extraordinary popularity, more especially in the definitive edition of 1699.¹ Wherever French is understood, Bossuet wrote,² everybody is full of it ; booksellers were unable to meet the demand and the innumerable editions which followed one on top of the other, were sold out immediately.

So enormous a success need not surprise us : Quesnel's book was the realization, in an able manner, of a new idea

¹ The title of the book changes with the various subjects. "*Verbi incarnati I. C. D. N. verba ex universo ipsius testamento collecta, adiectis argumentis, etc.*, Paris, 1650 (BATTEREL, II., 374) ; *Les paroles de la parole incarnée J.-C. N.-S.*, Paris, 1668 ; 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, Paris, 1669 (*ibid.*, III., 270, IV., 472) ; *Abrégé de la morale de l'Évangile, ou Considerations chrét. sur le texte des quatre Évangélistes*, Paris, 1672 (*ibid.*, IV., 474) ; *Le Nouveau Testament en français avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset . . .*, Paris, 1693 (*ibid.*, 480 ; [PATOUILLET], IV., 52).

² *Avertissement sur le livre des réflexions morales. Œuvres*, IV., 196. According to HARNACK (*Dogmengeschichte*, III., Freiburg, 1897, (666), even Clement XI. "expressed a most favourable opinion of the book". Quesnel and the Jansenists express themselves with greater reserve [LOUAIL], 13 seq.).

one in keeping with the time. There existed a vast number of learned folios on Holy Scripture explaining the text and solving the difficulties. What was wanting was a handy volume in which brief notes would point out to wider circles how the words of the Scriptures could be adapted to the Christian life : this Quesnel seemed to have done in a most able manner.

His book is impregnated to its very marrow with the ideas of Jansenius, though he avoids identifying himself with them too openly. The five condemned propositions are hardly ever found in unequivocal form, but in the shape of brief comments, short prayers and reflections he links with the words of the New Testament maxims for the moral and religious life which are derived from the thought of his master. He makes frequent use of expressions from St. Augustine ; above all he knows how to spread over everything an air of unction and devotion which appeals to the religiously minded and disguises the characteristic edges and corners of Jansenius' theses. Thus from the latter's assertion of the irresistibility of grace, there follows that sinners and pagans who have not been truly converted, are wholly forsaken by grace and accordingly antecedently predestined for eternal damnation. This proposition Quesnel dresses up in such wise that most readers will probably not be aware of its appalling harshness. Again he casually observes that faith is the "first grace", or that forgiveness of sins is the "first grace" bestowed by God on the sinner, or that no grace is granted outside the Church.¹ Such expressions naturally lead to the conclusions that the unconverted sinner or pagan has never received grace of any kind, for then their faith and conversion would no longer be the first grace. But who would think of such conclusions when reading statements seemingly so harmless, unless one keeps clearly before one's eyes the fact that according to Quesnel there are none but irresistible graces ?² Continually

¹ Bull "*Unigenitus*", Propositions, 27-9.

² A recent theologian says : "On ne saurait, en effet, insinuer l'erreur avec plus d'unction et de piété, dans des phrases plus innocentes. Si bien que, maintenant encore, il faut un œil

and on every possible occasion Quesnel proclaims that without grace, viz. without efficacious grace as understood by him, man is utterly incapable of any good ; in other words, if man does not do good, it is because he is incapable of so doing, because God withholds grace from him. The statement is a blasphemy, but Quesnel gives it a seemingly harmless and even pious turn ; for example, basing himself on a saying of St. Augustine, he exclaims : " In vain thou commandest, O Lord, unless thou givest us to do what thou commandest " ; or again : " Assuredly, O Lord, all things are possible to him for whom Thou makest them possible by Thyself working them in him." Or again he describes grace as " an effect of the all-powerful hand of God, which nothing can hinder or restrict ".¹ It goes without saying that the book upholds the assertion that God's saving will only extends effectively to the elect, but here also Quesnel avoids too crude expressions. Thus in a note on Luke V., 13, we read : " When God is willing to save a soul and He touches it interiorly with the hand of His grace, no human will resists Him," and similar expressions occur elsewhere.² The ordinary reader will suspect nothing further in such statements ; but when things are constantly repeated with the most varied turns, it must needs be that he gradually adopts the Jansenist ideas, all the more so as most of Quesnel's remarks are susceptible of more than one interpretation. That Quesnel understood them in a Jansenist sense follows from the whole context, but when isolated from this context many of his statements are capable of a milder interpretation.

Besides the ideas of Baius and Jansenius, Quesnel's book also advocates Richer's thesis on ecclesiastical authority, and occasional allusions represent the Jansenists as the innocent victims of the tyrannical power of the Church, but here and

exercé pour voir où est le mal pour plusieurs au moins de ces propositions." BAINVEL, *Études*, CXXXI. (1912), 799. Cf. THUILLIER, 3 *seqq.*

¹ Bull *Unigenitus*.

² *Ibid.*, Prop., 3, 4, 10.

there Quesnel drops remarks which convey the impression that he rejected Jansenius' five propositions.

(3.)

The 101 propositions of the 1693 edition of the *Moral Reflexions* which, at a later date, Clement XI. described as deserving of condemnation, appeared only by degrees in Quesnel's book. If the edition of 1687 already contained fifty-three such propositions,¹ the first edition of 1671 only included five.² This circumstance, together with the pious air and the ambiguity of the book, sufficiently accounts for the fact that it found favour at first even with some of the Bishops. But it was precisely the most glowing of these episcopal encomiums that proved fatal both to the book and to the Bishop from whom it emanated. Although Quesnel had already escaped to Flanders at that time, in 1695 the future Archbishop of Paris, Louis-Antoine de Noailles, then Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, wrote a letter full of the most glowing praise for the 1696 edition of the *Moral Reflexions*. The letter declares that the author of the book had collected in a synthesis full of power and unction all that was most beautiful and inspiring in the Fathers of the Church; in its pages the innermost truths of religion were expounded with such penetrating force and such gentleness of the Holy Ghost, that even the most obdurate hearts must delight in them; for the clergy, the book would replace a whole library.

Now it so happened that when in the following year Noailles was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Paris, that irreconcilable Jansenist, Gerberon, published posthumously a book on grace and predestination by Martin de Barcos, Abbot of Saint-Cyran, who had died in 1678.³ Faced with a book of which 600 copies

¹ [LOUAIL], 8 *seqq.*; LE ROY, 14, n. 2.

² Nos. 12, 13, 30, 62, 65. Cf. H. KILBER in *Theologia Wirceburgensis*, IV., Paris, 1853, n. 237, p. 228.

³ "Exposition de la foi catholique thouchant la grâce et la prédestination."

had been confiscated by the Paris police as soon as it had been published, Noailles was bound to take up a decided attitude.¹ This he did in his first pastoral letter dated August 20th, 1696, the dogmatic part of which was from the pen of Bossuet : it condemned De Barcos' book as Jansenistic.²

But now Noailles found himself in an embarrassing situation. In his last ordinance at Châlons he had eulogized Quesnel's book ; in his first pastoral letter in Paris he condemned it as Jansenistic. There were those who took advantage of the situation : at the close of 1698 a pamphlet appeared with the sarcastic title : " An ecclesiastical problem—who is to be believed, Louis Antoine de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons in 1695, or Louis Antoine de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris in 1696 ? " ³

The authorship of the " Problem " was generally, though quite wrongly, ascribed to the Jesuits, not least by the embittered Noailles, since the pamphlet maintains Jansenist opinions, rather must it be regarded as an attack by the Jansenists.⁴

¹ LE ROY, 30 *seq.*

² BOSSUET, *Œuvres*, IV., 286–295 ; VII., 559–575. The dogmatic part was meant by Bossuet to be a " counter-weight " to the condemnation in favour of efficacious grace and the authority of St. Augustine (Letter to De la Broue, September 4, 1696, *Œuvres*, XL., 224) ; he hoped his exposition would be confirmed by Rome (*ibid.*, 313). The Jansenists tried to throw this " counter-weight " into the balance in favour of their cause (see memorial of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle to the Pope, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 153 *seqq.*). Fénelon said of Noailles' order : " il a soufflé le froid et le chaud. Il dit blanc pour les uns et noir pour les autres " (to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *ibid.*, VII., 220).

³ *Problème ecclésiastique proposé à M. l'abbé Boileau de l'archevêché de Paris, à qui l'on doit croire, de M. L. A. de Noailles évêque de Châlons en 1695, ou de M. L. A. de Noailles archevêque de Paris en 1696.*

⁴ VACANT, in *Rev. des sciences ecclés.*, LXI. (1890), 411 *seqq.*, LXII., 34 *seqq.*, 131 *seqq.* The author is probably a Benedictine

In his perplexity Noailles appealed to the theological adviser who had so recently come to his rescue, the Bishop of Meaux. Whether influenced by friendship for Noailles or antipathy for Molina, Bossuet now allowed himself to be deceived by the ambiguity of Quesnel's book. Provided a number of modifications were made,¹ he thought the book might be defended as orthodox, and with this view he drew up an apology of those points of the *Moral Reflexions* which were most sharply attacked.² Bossuet did not defend Jansenism,³ he merely endeavoured to show that the book was wrongly accused of Jansenism. However, he withdrew his dissertation in time and later on described Quesnel's book as hopelessly Jansenistic.⁴ In spite of this, Quesnel had Bossuet's work subsequently printed as a "justification" of his book, though otherwise he was wont to speak of the Bishop of Meaux in the most contemptuous terms.⁵

(Monnier ?); *ibid.* and SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1747. Bossuet also speaks of the pamphlet simply as of the "Problème des Jésuites" (LE ROY, 57) but without proof. The writing has often been attributed to the Benedictine Thierry de Viaixnes; *cf.* J. GODEFROY, in *Rev. Mabillon*, 1923, 167 *seqq.*, 265 *seqq.*

¹ According to Bossuet's Vicar-General, De Saint-André, he demanded that 120 pages of the book should be rewritten. INGOLD, 10, n. 3.

² *Avertissement sur le livre des Reflexions morales. Œuvres*, IV., Versailles, 1815, 195-286.

³ The book is rather "une solide et exacte apologie de la Bulle *Unigenitus*" as pointed out in a defence of Bossuet of 1738, INGOLD, 115-134.

⁴ *Cf.* the apologia of Bossuet by the Bishops of La Rochelle and Luçon in FLEURY, LXVIII., 324 *seqq.*, especially 328 *seq.* (*Cf.* also the *mémoire* of the two Bishops in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 158 *seqq.*). INGOLD, 11 *seq.* Bossuet nevertheless preserved the letter. (LE ROY, 63). *Cf.* CH. URBAIN, *Bossuet apologiste du P. Quesnel* in *Rev. du clergé Français*, January 15, 1901; TH. DELMONT, *Bossuet et le P. Quesnel* in *Rev. de Lille*, XIX. (1901), 354 *seqq.*, 437 *seqq.*; CHÉROT, in *Études*, 1899, II., 384 *seqq.*

⁵ *Causa Quesnelliana*, 354.

In Paris the "Problem" was burnt by the executioner whilst Rome put it on the Index¹; for the time being Noailles need feel no anxiety. On June 21st, 1700, he was raised to the purple at the King's request. He took part in the conclave of that year and on December 18th he received the red hat at the hands of the newly elected Pope Clement XI.² Two men were thus face to face on whose conduct and mutual relations Quesnel's recently published work was to have a fatal influence. Duty compelled the new Pope to take action against it. The new Cardinal, who was far from having forgotten the "Ecclesiastical Problem", imagined that his honour demanded that he should defend it. Confusion was inevitable for decades to come. When Noailles returned to Paris from Rome the "Case of Conscience", with all that followed, pushed everything else into the background for a time, though all objections to the *Moral Reflexions* were not entirely silenced. Mention is made of them in Quesnel's correspondence as early as 1697.³ The Bishop of Chartres was a determined opponent of the book⁴; on October 15th, 1703, the Bishop of Apt likewise published a pastoral letter in which he forbade the reading of Quesnel's book under pain of excommunication.⁵ After Quesnel's condemnation by the Archbishop of Malines, more and more voices were raised in

¹ January 10, 1699, and June 2, 1700. REUSCH, II., 728.

² LE ROY, 71, 91.

³ Pastoral letters of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle, May 14, 1711, in FLEURY, L., XVIII., 339 *seq.* Already on May 26, 1688, Quesnel complains that his publisher was threatened that the further sale of the book would be prohibited (*Correspondance*, éd. LE ROY, I., 94. In his *Entretiens* he confesses that his book had been denounced to the Inquisition as early as 1693. [LOUAIL], 14.

⁴ Wilbert to Quesnel, January 22, 1700, FLEURY, LXVIII., 333 *seq.*

⁵ Reprinted in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 178-181; FLEURY, LXVII., 97. In 1703 Fénelon also spoke of the necessity of examining the book. *Œuvres*, VII., 569.

protest ; thus the book was forbidden by the Archbishop of Besançon and the Bishop of Nevers in 1707.¹

Meanwhile the Capuchin, Timothy de la Flèche (Jacques Peschard), had brought the book to the notice of the Pope himself.² Clement XI. was astounded at the vast number of errors it contained and observed to Timothy that there could not be many books more dangerous than this one. However, as long as that sympathizer with the Jansenists, Casoni, retained the post of Assessor, the deliberations of the Inquisition made but slow progress. When Casoni was raised to the purple and his place in the Inquisition was taken by San Vitale, there occurred a further delay due to the fact that, to the Pope's annoyance, the Theatine Dubuc had displayed too much passion against Quesnel in his report to the Congregation.³ Towards the close of 1707 Noailles learnt that it was planned to condemn the *Moral Reflexions* ; he sought to prevent such a step, but in vain.⁴ A Brief of July 13th, 1708,⁵ condemned Quesnel's *New Testament* on the ground that it mainly adopted the condemned Mons translation of the Bible and in the commentaries contained subversive, rash, dangerous and erroneous propositions which had been previously condemned and which savoured of Jansenism. As usual this Brief also met with opposition in France. The Brief prescribed that all copies of the *Moral Reflexions* must be surrendered to the Bishop or to the Inquisitor. Now in France there was no Inquisition so that its mention meant nothing, but mere reference to the hated tribunal was enough for Parliament to refuse to accept the Brief, though it did

¹ FLEURY, LXVIII., 627 ; SCHILL, 54. An accusation appeared also : [J. PH. LALLEMANT, S.J.], *Le P. Quesnel seditieux*. [The second edition adds : *et hérétique*] *dans ses réflexions sur le Nouveau Testament*, 1704 (or 1705). SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1395.

² *Mémoires et lettres du P. Timothée de la Flèche sur les affaires ecclésiastiques*, 1703-1730, by U. d'Alençon, Paris, 1907.

³ LE ROY, 300 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 298 *seq.*

⁵ *Bull.*, XXI., 327 ; FLEURY, LXVII., 673 *seq.*

not go so far as to forbid it expressly. However, the Brief was not without effect upon fervent Catholics.¹ Noailles felt so hit by the papal judgment that he thought of resigning²; both he and the French diplomatists, together with Quesnel, saw in the measure no more than an act of revenge by the Jesuits against an Archbishop whom they disliked.³ Quesnel published a violent reply to the Brief; he described the action of the Roman authorities as a scandalous attempt which wounded the episcopate to the heart, as a work of darkness and the undertaking of an infamous cabal.⁴ For the purpose of self-defence he published in 1710 Bossuet's comments on the *Moral Reflexions*.⁵

Meanwhile, in the words of a contemporary, Jansenism advanced beyond all that could be imagined.⁶ With the exception of the Seminarists of Saint-Sulpice and a few others, Fénelon wrote,⁷ all the students of the Sorbonne adopted Jansenism under cover of "efficient grace"; the party used Thomism as a mask and the tutors inoculated the students

¹ "On n'a pas peu gagné que d'obtenir la condamnation du Nouveau Testament de Quesnel et de la Théologie du Juénin" (Daubenton to De Vitry, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VII., 650). That the effect of the Brief was not the one wished for appears from a letter of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle to the Pope, dat. January 1, 1711 (*ibid.*, 680). On the King's annoyance on account of the many condemnations, *cf.* LE ROY, 313.

² LE ROY, 314.

³ *Ibid.*, 225, 298, 308, 311. *Cf.* LANGUET in RANKE, *Französische Geschichte*, IV., 253: "Noailles knew that La Chaize had been against his elevation, hence he regarded all that was done against him as an intrigue of the Jesuits."

⁴ "Entretiens sur le décret de Rome, etc." *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 49 *seqq.*; SCHILL, 54 *seq.* Brief of June 6, 1710, against the book, in *Bull.* XXI., 390.

⁵ *Cf.* above, p. 202; SCHILL, 55 *seq.*

⁶ "Les progrès du Jansénisme vont au delà de tout ce qu'on peut imaginer." De Langeron to Chalmette, June 23, 1708, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VII., 640.

⁷ To Le Tellier (1710), *ibid.*, 663.

with the poison. According to Fénelon a vast number of Doctors held the new opinions, and from among these Doctors the Bishops chose their Vicars-General who then infected the various dioceses. The mischief was beginning to penetrate even into the Seminaries of the Lazarists. The Benedictines of Saint-Maur and Saint-Vanne, the Oratory, the Canons Regular of Sainte-Géneviève, the Augustinians, the Discalced Carmelites, a number of Capuchins, many Recollects and Minims had been won over to Jansenist ideas; it was inevitable that the contagion should spread further as time went on. The court was full of supporters of the party who, as occasion served, instilled its principles into the minds of the Princes. Most of the devout sex moved heaven and earth in the service of the party. Everything could be feared from the Chancellor and some of the Ministers, the Attorney-General, many distinguished functionaries and from an incredibly large number of good but biased people: of this they had had a tangible proof in the excitement caused by the suppression of Port-Royal. It was true that both King and Pope were against the party and the Roman decrees and those of the Bishops came like so many thunderbolts for the Jansenists, yet the sect grew daily. Contempt for Rome and aversion for its authority were on the increase in the nation, a circumstance which pointed to the imminent danger of a schism. Thus Fénelon. It was not long before it became plain that his prognostication was only too accurate.

(4.)

However much both Gallicans and Jansenists may have laboured to lower the papal prestige, the situation became so acute that Louis XIV. saw no other solution than to ask the Pope for a new dogmatic Bull. The zeal of the Sulpician Champflour, which had already called forth opposition to the Jansenists' solution of the "Case of Conscience", proved decisive here also. In 1703 Champflour had been named Bishop of La Rochelle and in that capacity, like some other Bishops, he too had been thinking since 1707 of a pastoral

letter against Quesnel's *Moral Reflexions*. In concert with two friends of Fénelon, Langeron and Chalmette, he published, at the end of 1710, in his own name and that of the Bishop of Luçon, Lescure, also a Sulpician, a fairly voluminous "ordinance and pastoral instruction".¹ The publisher dispatched this document to all the larger towns of France; in Paris it was hawked in the streets and posted up in the churches and even on the door of the archiepiscopal palace. In itself this action of the bookseller had nothing extraordinary about it. However, as there was question of the condemnation of a book bearing the commendation of the Archbishop of Paris, Noailles could only see a challenge in the act. He revenged himself on the two Bishops in none too light a fashion by getting their two nephews expelled from the Seminary of St. Sulpice where they were studying.²

This act of violence caused a great stir,³ and the two Bishops appealed to the King in a letter containing grievous accusations against Noailles.⁴

There was not so much question, they said, of their own persons or their nephews, but the situation was such that the Bishops could neither speak nor remain silent: their silence allowed heresy an unimpeded course and their speech scandalized the people, as Bishop spoke against Bishop. Error was daily making enormous progress by the spread of certain books which were either dedicated to Cardinal Noailles or approved by him and his entourage. In conclusion they begged the King to exercise his influence over the Archbishop, with a view to his withdrawing his recommendation and patronage of Quesnel's book. One sentence in the letter was too outspoken: religious innovations, the two observed, had

¹ "*Ordonnance et instruction pastorale de Messieurs les évêques de Luçon et de la Rochelle*. La Rochelle, 1710 (12*, 542); also Latin translation (4*, 295); extract in FLEURY, LXVIII., 223; BERTRAND, III., 133.

² FLEURY, LXVIII., 238.

³ "L'affaire des jeunes abbés fait un fracas épouvantable." Lallemand to Fénelon, in *Œuvres*, VII., 689.

⁴ April, 1711, *ibid.*, 694 seq.

invariably prevailed through the action of powerful Bishops, and the worst blows had been dealt the Church under Christian Emperors by the Bishops of imperial cities who abused the prestige of their position.¹ The letter, with its all too obvious allusion to Noailles, was published against the will of the two Bishops² and added to the confusion. The King was annoyed and demanded from the two authors an apology to the Archbishop.³

Noailles was beside himself, all the more so as on March 4th, 1711, the Bishop of Gap had also declared himself against Quesnel and some other Jansenist books.⁴ On April 28th he published a violent ordinance, accusing the three Bishops of Jansenism and prohibiting their pastoral letters which, he alleged, had been composed under their name by the "enemies of the episcopate".⁵ This presumption of the Cardinal irritated the King; he forbade him to come to court until he should have withdrawn his recommendation of the *Moral Reflexions*.⁶ But this step, the only reasonable one in his position, Noailles refused to take, notwithstanding the advice of his friends⁷; in his opinion the measures against Quesnel were nothing else but an agitation of the Jesuits who sought to hit his own person in that of the fugitive Oratorian. In letters to the King, to Madame Maintenon, to Chancellor Voisin, he piles up accusations against them.⁸ But he stuck to Quesnel, a fact which he expressly states in a letter to Bishop Hébert of Agen.⁹ As if to complete the confusion, it so happened that just then Quesnel published Bossuet's opinion on the *Moral Reflexions*.¹⁰ Thus of the outstanding

¹ *Ibid.*, 695.

² Champflour to Le Tellier, May 20, 1711, *ibid.*, 706, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 705, 714, 715.

⁴ FLEURY, LXVIII., 242.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 242 seq.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁷ Letter of the confessor of Madame de Maintenon, La Chétardie, June 26, 1711, to Noailles, in LE ROY, 347 note.

⁸ LE ROY, 350.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 351.

¹⁰ Above, p. 202.

Bishops of contemporary France, Fénelon was against and Bossuet apparently for Quesnel; as for the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, the first prelate of the realm, the official leader in spiritual things and the President of the Assembly of the Clergy, even he himself could not tell whether he was a Jansenist or not.¹

In these circumstances even Gallican France saw no other way out of the impasse, except a decision by the Pope. The Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle had prayed the King to be allowed to submit the dispute with Noailles to the Pope.² However, Louis XIV. thought that he himself might decide this matter in his own realm by appointing a consultative commission presided over by his own nephew and successor, the Duke of Burgundy. The commission, the most important members of which were the Archbishop of Paris and Bossuet's successor at Meaux, Henry de Bissy, suggested a compromise. The two Bishops were to explain in a second ordinance some of the offensive passages of their *mandements*, whilst Noailles published a new ordinance in which he would revoke his condemnation of the *mandements* of the two Bishops and acknowledge them as orthodox and as the authentic work of the two Bishops. Although as a Bishop he had the right to condemn a false doctrine wherever he found it, he did not pretend to condemn the *mandement* itself, or to exercise a judicial act against the Bishops. The manifestos of both parties were to be handed to mutual friends; if both parties were satisfied with the text, the apology of the two Bishops would first be published and on the following day the new ordinance of the two Bishops, and after that the Archbishop's.³

The two Bishops accepted these proposals⁴ whereas

¹ Fénelon's opinion: to Chevreuse, June 9, 1712, *Œuvres*, VII., 344, n. 6.

² *Ibid.*, 704.

³ The Dauphin to the two Bishops, September 4, Voisin to the Bishop of La Rochelle, September 5, 1711, FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 18 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*

⁴ Their letter to the Dauphin, September 13, 1711, *ibid.*, 22. Cf. their *Mémoire historique* to the Pope, *ibid.*, 161.

Noailles hesitated. After a submissive letter to the King he was given permission to reappear at court; he had promised to take steps against Quesnel as soon as the two Bishops should have made the promised apology¹; he also forwarded to them a list of objections to their pastoral instruction; thus he seemed willing to agree to a compromise.² However, shortly before this he had published a new edition of Bossuet's pamphlet on the *Moral Reflexions*, and a violent letter of the Bishop of Agen,³ a thing that he should not have done if he really thought of making peace. Accordingly the two Bishops were in no hurry to answer his observations but demanded a declaration from Noailles that he would submit to the decisions of the arbitrators. To this the Cardinal would not consent.⁴ Thus the first attempt at a compromise failed, moreover the Duke of Burgundy died on February 18th, 1712.⁵ Without the knowledge of the two Bishops Louis XIV. made fresh proposals to his Archbishop, which the latter rejected in such cool fashion that on January 15th, 1712, Parliament suppressed his answer⁶ as offensive for the King. All this made the situation of the Cardinal difficult enough; but he had managed to complicate his position still further by a number of imprudent acts. To put an end to these difficulties, the King's confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier, hit upon the plan of suggesting to as many Bishops as possible that they should complain to the King and represent to him that Noailles had no right publicly to condemn the opinions and pastorals of his colleagues in the episcopate. Now it so

¹ *Ibid.*, *Mém. hist.*, 156.

² *Ibid.*, 163.

³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁵ To defend himself against the suspicion that he favoured the Jansenists, the Duke sent an apologia to Rome which the Pope read with tears, as he afterwards wrote to the King on May 4 [PATOUILLET], III., 382-389.

⁶ Cf. *Mém. hist.*, *loc. cit.* Fénelon's *Examen* (June, 1712), of the *Réponse* of the Cardinal to the King's *Mémoire*. *Œuvres*, VIII., 71-107.

happened that a letter in this sense addressed by a certain Abbé Bochard to his uncle, the Bishop of Clermont, fell into the hands of the Cardinal.¹ The latter promptly published the letter and behaved as if he had detected the worst possible conspiracy against his own person.² He deprived the Jesuits, with few exceptions, of their faculties for the ministry and summoned the King³ to dismiss his confessor inasmuch as His Majesty's conscience was not safe in the hands of such people; Le Tellier, he claimed, had abused his position in order to mislead the Bishops and to expose the Church to the danger of schism. He also wrote in the same sense to Madame de Maintenon.⁴ A fresh storm against the Jesuits ensued amid the plaudits of the Jansenists.⁵ Fénelon had no other comfort for them than to counsel them to bear everything with patience and humility, for nothing could bring them greater honour.⁶

Conduct of such violence made it ever clearer that nothing was to be hoped for from Noailles as a peacemaker. On the other hand he seemed to make Quesnel's cause more and more his own,⁷ for he failed to fulfil his promise to take steps

¹ Reprint and draft of the letter to the King in [LOUAIL], 32; FLEURY, LXVIII., 348 *seqq.* Polemical writings on the affair are catalogued in BERTRAND, III., 134 note.

² SCHILL, 60 *seq.*; LE ROY, 355. A letter of Mme. de Maintenon on the subject was published by BRUCKER in *Études*, 1899, II., 128. Cf. on the Abbé also HENRI CHÉROT, *Lettre inédite de Bourdaloue à François Bochard de Saron, évêque de Clermont*, September 5, 1701, Paris, 1899, 29-37.

³ LE ROY, 362 *seq.*; cf. 368.

⁴ LE ROY, 358.

⁵ Letter of the Bishop of Boulogne, of August 29 and September 16, 1711, *ibid.*, 366.

⁶ To Chévreuse, December 19, 1711, *Œuvres*, VII., 367; cf. VIII., 81.

⁷ Colbert, the Jansenist Bishop of Montpellier, writes to him on November 25, 1711: "C'est moins le livre du P. Quesnel que le vôtre" (in LE ROY, 375). Fénelon says: "Tout le monde est accoutumé à croire que le cardinal favorise le parti." Examen, *Œuvres*, VIII., 98.

against him and refused to agree to a compromise with Champflour and Lescure. This conduct of the first Bishop of the land created an enormous sensation. A rumour arose that the other Bishops were also divided in their judgment on Quesnel, and among the simple priests opinions became more divergent than ever. Feeling in the Provinces was such, the Archbishop of Aix, Vintimille du Luc, wrote to the Dauphin, that there was reason to fear that the dispute on grace would lead to as bloody an issue as a controversy about the Eucharist had done at the time of the Reformation.¹

In these circumstances an early decision by Rome appeared as the only possible salvation. Accordingly the King submitted three questions to his Council. The first, namely, whether he might request a Bull from Rome without injury to the Gallican liberties, met with no opposition: in questions of faith, the Council answered, the Pope could decide in the first and last instance. The second question concerned the form of the Bull. The Council recommended as a model the decision on the "Case of Conscience" which had not offended Parliament; the Pope should indicate the propositions which he condemned, so that the French Bishops might judge them together with him and by their agreement render the papal sentence definitive and intangible. To the third question, how they might prevent the Pope, under some pretext or other, from refusing to give a decision, the Council's answer was that he should be assured that the Bull would be well received, provided he submitted the draft to the King and forwarded the completed Bull to him for execution.² On November 11th, 1711, by a decree of the Royal Council, Louis XIV. revoked the permission to print the *Moral Reflexions*, and five days later he instructed his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal de la Trémoille, to ask for a fresh condemnation of the book by the Pope.³ Champflour and Lescure

¹ THUILLIER, 123 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 124 *seq.*

³ LE ROY, 369, 383.

received permission to submit their business to Rome.¹ It was in vain that the Archbishop was advised to forestall the Roman decision by himself condemning Quesnel.² The King's letter of November 11th, 1711, laid particular stress on the fact that no difficulties were to be feared on the part of Noailles since he had given his word to submit immediately to a papal decision.³ The King's letter found the Pope in his country residence. De Boussu, the future Archbishop of Malines, who happened to be with the Pope at the moment, strongly dissuaded him from publishing a Constitution which might have terrible consequences; notwithstanding his assurances of submission, it was impossible to trust the Archbishop of Paris, hence a simple prohibition of Quesnel's book would be sufficient. Thereupon Clement XI. became absorbed in deep thought. Sitting at his table, he covered his face with both hands and remained in that attitude for three-quarters of an hour. At the end of that time he said to De Boussu that he could not refuse the request of a King who prayed so earnestly for a Bull, and who had rendered such service to the Church.⁴ A fateful decision had been taken.

¹ FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 59. On the memorial to the Pope of June 30, 1712, *ibid.*, 108. Minutes of a Brief to both, of July 4, 1711, revised by the Pope himself, in **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 129, Papal Sec. Archives.

² LE ROY, 377. For the rest Noailles confessed that he had never read Quesnel's book in its entirety. *Ibid.*, 376.

³ SCHILL, 62 *seq.*; LE ROY, 380, n. 2. In his letter to the Bishop of Agen which was published by Noailles, we read: "Je n'ai pas balancé à dire à tous ceux qui ont voulu l'entendre, qu'on ne me verroit jamais, ni mettre ni souffrir de division dans l'Église, pour un livre dont la religion peut se passer: que si N. S. P. le Pape jugeoit à propos de censurer celui-ci dans les formes, je recevrais sa Constitution et sa censure avec tout le respect possible; et que je serois le premier à donner l'exemple d'une parfaite soumission d'esprit et de cœur." [LOUAI], 37.

⁴ According to De Boussu's report, in THUILLIER, 125 *seq.*

(5.)

When he made his request for a new Constitution, Louis XIV.'s ambassador had first to offer excuses for the non-execution of an earlier decision against Quesnel, on the ground that it was impossible to get a papal decision accepted in France which styled itself *Moto proprio*. He requested the Pope that, in accordance with his promise to Cardinal Forbin Janson, he would bring out the new Constitution in conjunction with the King who would then undertake to get it accepted by the French Bishops. The formula of acceptance was to be settled by Pope and King together.¹

In spite of these assurances Clement XI. was not without misgivings lest the Constitution should lead to a repetition of the experiences which he had had with his former Bull, notwithstanding all the King's promises. As Cardinal Fabroni observed, an appreciation of particular propositions of Quesnel, according to their theological value, would lead to fresh complications.² However, the Pope acceded to the King's wishes and negotiations were opened. "The affair is in the hands of the Jesuits, that says everything," Quesnel wrote at that time.³ Yet in reality in the Congregation which the Pope set up for the examination of the *Moral Reflexions*, the Jesuits held a very modest position. It consisted of two Cardinals, viz. the Dominicans Ferrari and Fabroni, two officials of the Inquisition, Banchieri and the Franciscan Father Damascene, and nine theologians. Of these Le Drou belonged to the school of St. Augustine, the Master of the Palace, Bernardini, and the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, Selleri, to the Dominican school; the Franciscans, Palermo and Santelia were Scotists; to them were added the Benedictine Tedeschi, Bishop of Lipari, the Lazarist Castelli and the Barnabite Terroni. Only one Jesuit, Alfaro, the Pope's theologian, was included among the nine divines

¹ LE ROY, 383 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

³ November 15, 1711, *ibid.*, 386.

who had obviously been selected from the most varied Orders and Schools, to the exclusion, as much as possible, of the Jesuits.¹ Moreover Alfaro, as an opponent of probabilism, could be regarded as to some extent acceptable to the Jansenists.

Probably with a view to avoiding the complications experienced in connection with the five propositions of Jansenius, the intention was to embody the condemned propositions textually in the Bull. But this was found difficult. Quesnel, according to de la Trémoille's² report, had written so artfully and cautiously that it was difficult to extract individual propositions from his book; whole pages would have to be printed because only the whole context would show the dangerous meaning of his assertions. Now it would be impossible to include so much matter in a Constitution. Another difficulty arose out of the fact that the Consultors frequently disagreed as to whether a proposition could be tolerated or not. Accordingly the Pope decided that only such propositions should be included in the Bull, in the condemnation of which all concurred; it might be expressly stated that the fact that a proposition was not mentioned did not imply its approval.³ In these circumstances the work progressed very slowly⁴; at times it almost came to a standstill, so much so that Noailles' representatives in Rome

¹ Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 183; LE ROY, 402.

² January 2, 1712, in LE ROY, 403 *seq.*

³ Trémoille, July 2, 1712, *ibid.*, 424.

⁴ *Ibid.* On May 14, 1712, the Secretary of State wrote to the Auditor of the French Nunciature: " *Ma che trattandosi di materia dogmatica et essendo già state estratte dal libro consaputo le proposizioni che devono qualificarsi, la S. Sede non suole nè deve procedere senza una somma maturità ed essatta discussione delle istesse proposizioni, prima di proferirne e publicarne a tutta la Chiesa l'ultimo suo giudizio. Ha nondimeno Sua Stà, sul fondamento della notizia da lei recata, dati nuovi ordini più pressanti, perchè si solleciti al possibile la spedizione dell' affare." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, f. 132, Papal Sec. Archives.

advised their Archbishop on no account to withdraw his recommendation of Quesnel as the Constitution would not be published.¹ Meanwhile Louis XIV. continued his pressure² while Fénelon urged that the Constitution should be so worded as to leave the Jansenists no loophole³; since Rome had taken the matter in hand a decision must ensue else the party would triumph.⁴ On the other hand the Jansenists sought to intimidate the Pope; "innumerable" letters to Rome pointed to the danger to which he exposed his authority and described the bad disposition both of the French Bishops and of Parliament.⁵ Quesnel wrote to Clement XI. demanding unexceptionable judges and a hearing before judgment was delivered.⁶ However, neither the person nor the intentions of Quesnel were in question, but his book which had to be rendered harmless.⁷

¹ LAFITAU, *Hist. de la Const. Unigenitus*, I., Avignon, 1766, 142.

² *To Trémoille, July 5, 1713, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 133, p. 32 (cf. p. 38), Papal Sec. Archives; LE ROY, 442.

³ To Daubenton, April 13, June 8, and August 4, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 138, 166, 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 142; LE ROY, 435.

⁵ Daubenton, April 22, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 145. "Ce parti espère toujours d'intimider Rome; il dit hautement que Rome n'a qu'une politique faible, qu'on la décourage facilement, et qu'elle n'est rigoureuse qu'aux gens soumis et sans crédit." (Fénelon to Daubenton, June 8, 1713, *ibid.*, 167.) The Dominican Dionisio degli Albizzi, who, however, attacked the Bull at a later date ([LOUAIL], 383, 392, 730), also wrote to one of the Cardinals on March 6, 1713: "Io temo assaissimo che invece di confermar l'autorità del Papa in Francia non venga ad indebolirla. Il parlamento non accetterà la Bolla. Tanti Brevi e tante Bolle fanno qui più torto che onore a' sommi pontefici, che si comincia udire palam che condannano senza riguardo più tosto per politica che per zelo." *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 133, p. 23, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ Text in Du Bois, 2 *seqq.*

⁷ Benedict XIV. subsequently made the following remark on the conduct of Clement XI.: "A vrai dire, bien que nous ayons

The French ambassador in Rome was mistaken when he held out a prospect of the Bull for October or November, 1712.¹ However, by the end of January, 1713, at least the work of the Consultors was concluded. Clement XI. heard their report after which the work of the Cardinals began. They examined the work of the Consultors and each week they gave their judgment on ten propositions.² By the middle of April, eighty-eight errors of Quesnel had been condemned, by the end of May publication of the Bull might be expected.³ Every Tuesday and Thursday there was a session. Clement XI. took an active interest in the work; Daubenton saw notes on eighty-four of the propositions in the Pope's own hand which would fill a large volume. Cardinals

la plus grande estime pour ce grand pontife, nous avouons que sur ce point sa conduite ne nous a pas satisfait." Before judgment was passed on Jansenism under Innocent X., and on Fénelon under Innocent XII., their advocates had been heard. "C'est une chose pénible que de condamner même une livre, sans que l'auteur puisse le défendre, le livre fût-il dénoncé par un prélat très estimable, car cette condamnation marque en quelque sorte au visage et l'auteur et ceux qui l'approuvent; enfin la justice que l'on rend est d'autant plus applaudie que les deux parties ont été entendues auparavant." E. DE HEECKEREN, *Correspondance de Benoît XIV.*, Vol. I., Paris, 1912, 281.

¹ LE ROY, 425.

² Daubenton, January, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 128. The twenty-three sessions of the Congregation from February 9 to August 8, 1713, "pro examine 155 propositionum," taken from Quesnel's book in **Scritture diverse sopra la costituzione Unigenitus*, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, Fondo Albani, t. 130, p. 8-19, Papal Sec. Archives. **Scritture spettanti alla costituzione Unigenitus*, *ibid.*, t. 136 (September, 1713, to May, 1714), t. 137 (May to December, 1714), t. 138 (January to December, 1715), t. 139 (July, 1715, to 1716), t. 140 (1717); t. 134, p. 84 *seq.*: "**Metodo tenuto nel formare la costituzione Unigenitus con le minute, fogli e altre scritture*"; t. 145: "**Copia della bolla secondo le ultime mutazioni, alle quali si devono aggiungere le qualificazioni e censure sopradette.*"

³ Lallemand, April 12 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 138.

and qualifcators were amazed at the keenness and acumen of Clement XI., who was not to be side-tracked by the opposition's attempts at intimidation.¹ Trusting in the King he even ended by ignoring the warnings of his friends who reminded him of the bad reception of his earlier Bulls.² To this day the numerous autograph notes and comments in the Vatican Secret Archives bear witness to Clement XI.'s personal share in the Constitution.³

¹ Daubenton, April 22, 1713, *ibid.*, 145; Trémoille, March 25, 1713, in LE ROY, 437.

² Daubenton, December 9, 1713, *loc. cit.*, 200.

³ **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 130 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* *Autograph documents are in t. 131; t. 134, p. 70: "Due quinterneti scritti di pugno di S. Stà continenti le censure e qualificazioni espresse doppo compiti tutti gli esami"; *ibid.*, p. 111 *seq.*: "Primo abozzo o minuta della bolla Unigenitus, nella quale si damneranno le proposizioni con distributione di sententie et classi, qual ordine non fu poi ritenuto, scritto da S. Stà" (all in the Pope's hand, Minutes with corrections); *ibid.*, p. 120: "Minuta della stessa bolla disposta con altro ordine conforme fu stampata, riveduta, mutata, aggiunta e postillata da S. Stà." We give here the autograph corrections of the Pope according to the copy of the Bull in SCHILL, 301 *seqq.* Originally the words on p. 302, line 1, were "His Nos vere": His sane; p. 302, line 9: "Catholicis. . . permiscentem": adulterium scripturarum et expositionum mendacia multifariam proferentem; line 11: "habentem": commendari; line 9 from bottom "fallacem": perniciosam; line 8 from bottom "indicatam": reproductam; the words, line 2 from bottom, "ut omnes . . . compellantur" replace an originally longer passage; p. 303, line 13: "Hinc" originally: "igitur"; line 24: Huiusmodi propositiones", originally "Illae autem inter alias"; pp. 314-15: "Auditis igitur . . . innovantes respective" is by the Pope. Other additions by him are: p. 315, line 35: "utpote . . . hoc est"; line 38 *seqq.*: "sive praemissis . . . tenore praesentium"; corrections by him: line 21 "praesertim," originally "revera"; line 22 *seqq.*, "illis, quae . . . quas propterea"; line 28 *seq.*, "ac demum," "compererimus . . . Montensi"; line 37, "innocentium cordibus" instead of "christiano populo". The date on p. 316 is by the Pope.

At last "after so many contradictions and 'delays'",¹ on September 8th, the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus* appeared. In a letter from Rome² it was stated "that the greatest care had been taken not to insert anything which might in any way offend the French clergy and Parliament. Never, perhaps, had a book been examined so long and so carefully". During three years the ablest theologians of Rome chosen from the most famous schools had been employed in its examination. The propositions to be condemned were first discussed by the theologians in seventeen sessions, lasting from four to five hours each, in presence of Cardinals Ferrari and Fabroni and after that in presence of the Pope and nine Cardinals of the Inquisition, in twenty-three sessions in which all the Consultors of the Holy Office, namely the Assessor and Commissary, a Dominican, the General of the Dominicans and several Bishops had taken part. The commission had begun by examining whether the propositions had been faithfully translated from the French,³ after which their meaning and bearing was carefully studied. Every one of the propositions had cost the Pope three or four hours' study.⁴

¹ Daubenton, September 9, 1713, *loc. cit.*, 182.

² Daubenton, September 16, 1713, *ibid.*, 183. At this time, on September 27, 1713, Passionei had an audience with Louis XIV. at Fontainebleau at which the King assured him of his "sommessione e ubidienza al Papa" and of his zeal for religion. *Nunziat.*, Paci 50, p. 423, Papal Sec. Archives.

³ In his letter to the Pope Quesnel questioned the accuracy of the Latin translations of his book (in DU BOIS, 7), and the Jansenists spread the rumour that among the consultors, there were only a few who understood French ([LOUAIL], 55; LE ROY, 403). The translation of the 101 propositions, however, is very faithful; cf. SCHILL, 303 *seqq.*

⁴ Yet Harnack says: "The Constitution shows above all the lightheartedness with which men treated dogmatic theology which had become a 'corpus vile'" (*Dogmengeschichte*, III., Freiburg, 1897, 671). According to him in the Bull "Romanism parted for ever with its Augustinian past" (*ibid.*, 666). On Augustine in modern Catholic theology, see PORTALIÉ in *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, I., 2549 *seqq.*

Fénelon was full of joy and admiration at the Constitution which, he said, redounded to the particular honour of the Pope and the Holy See.¹ The head of the sect and the sect itself, he wrote, were admirably characterized, with all their rashness, their craftiness, their subterfuges and the persuasiveness with which they misled the faithful and evaded even the most radical measures. The peculiarities of Quesnel's book were excellently shown up ; it was easy to discover the line of thought and the secret plan of the whole, and the poison spread even over those propositions which were least shocking, and the cunning with which preventions against the Church's teaching and discipline were instilled into the mind of the reader. Fénelon also admired the choice and order of the list of condemned propositions. The fact that similar propositions were placed side by side caused the one to throw light on the other. So powerful, moderate and accurate a Constitution would remain as the most precious monument of contemporary Catholic teaching ; there was even a visible Providence at work in that at a time when the prestige of the Holy See was attacked and obscured, it asserted itself with such energy in the sphere of dogmatic definitions.

The Constitution *Unigenitus* ² begins with Christ's warning against false prophets who come in the clothing of sheep. This referred especially to those false teachers who under the glittering appearance of piety and holiness secretly introduce errors and injurious sects and who, in order to deceive more easily the unwary, make use of texts of holy Scripture which they twist from their natural meaning. The Pope had heard with sorrow that Quesnel's *New Testament*, a book that hucksters Catholic truth with many lies, was being widely spread in spite of a papal prohibition. The harm done by this publication was chiefly due to the fact that the evil did not appear on the surface ; at first sight it deceived the reader by a semblance of piety. Accordingly the Pope could do nothing better than to explain in detail and most clearly a deceitful teaching which up till then he

¹ To Daubenton, October 12, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 192.

² *Bull.*, XXI., 567-575.

had only condemned in general terms, by extracting a number of propositions and so revealing before the eyes of all the cockle apart from the wheat that covered it. This had been the wish of many French Bishops and of the King himself.

There follows a list of a hundred and one propositions which are then condemned and censured. The procedure differs from that adopted in dealing with the five propositions of Jansenius; it is not stated which of the twenty censures enumerated apply to any particular proposition, the manner of the condemnation merely shows that each of the propositions falls at least under one of the censures enumerated and that every one of the censures applies to at least one of the hundred and one propositions. The book itself is prohibited under pain of excommunication.

When Clement XI. accounts for the wide diffusion of Quesnel's book by the glittering ambiguity of his teaching, he thereby also hints at the difficulty both of the composition and the understanding of the Constitution. "Among the censured propositions," Daubenton wrote to Fénelon from Rome,¹ "there are some which frighten one, others which, at first sight, make little impression and seem to deserve no censure; but when one makes an effort to penetrate more deeply into their meaning, one discovers the poison." Quesnel did not clearly say what he really meant but wrapped himself in pious ambiguities.² But it was this very ambiguity of certain propositions which led the Pope to put them in relief and thus to draw attention to the fact that not everything that sounds harmless in Quesnel is harmless in reality. The ambiguity is removed by the fact that in the Bull similar propositions are set side by side in groups, so that one proposition throws light upon another.

¹ Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 183. De Bissy, the future Cardinal, also wrote on October, 1713, to the Bishop of Montpellier: "Je vous dirai dans la dernière sincérité qu'il est vrai qu'au premier abord il y a eu quelques propositions de la bulle qui nous firent de la peine." In LE ROY, 498 *seq.*

² Some examples above, p. 198 *seq.*

The theologians had at first had 155 propositions submitted to them, fifty-four of which they put on one side.¹ Of the remaining 101 propositions the most important are those which touch the real core of Quesnel's thought, namely his view that grace is always efficacious, that is, that grace bestows on the will not only the capacity of willing supernatural good, but the very willing of it, so that faith, hope, charity and the practice of the various virtues follow infallibly upon the gift of grace ; in other words there is no other grace but efficacious grace, which cannot be resisted. This, his fundamental thought, Quesnel repeats on all occasions in the most diverse forms.² As examples of the effect of grace he chooses only processes in which the free will of man plays no rôle, e.g. creation or the resurrection of the dead,³ the union of the Eternal Word with the human nature of Christ in the Incarnation,⁴ the stilling of the storm by a word from Christ.⁵ Frequently he endeavours to substantiate these ideas with the assertion that grace is nothing else than the all-powerful will of God which nothing can resist.⁶ From the omnipotence of grace it needs follows that all those whom God wishes to preserve from eternal perdition will be saved.⁷

All this sounds very beautiful in the ears of a superficial reader, inasmuch as it appears to be a homage to God's omnipotence : in reality it is blasphemous. If all those are saved, whom God wills to save, it follows necessarily that all those who perish, perish because He did not will to save them

¹ Noted in [LOUAIL], 62-76. The fact that the number of condemned propositions exceeds five score by one was the subject of a joke with the Jansenists ; they said that Le Tellier wanted it so because he had affirmed in the presence of the King that there were " more than 100 errors " in Quesnel. Saint-Simon, in LECLERQ, I., 158.

² Bull *Unigenitus*, prop. 2-25.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 23.

⁴ Nos. 21, 22.

⁵ No. 20.

⁶ Nos. 10, 11, 16, 19, 23, 24, 37, etc.

⁷ No. 13 ; also 13 and 30-3.

and that He had created them from the first for hell and had denied His grace to them. This conclusion follows also from other condemned propositions. According to Quesnel Christ only died for the elect, the others are and remain unredeemed.¹ Pagans and impenitent sinners have no part in grace since for the pagan, the first grace is faith and for the sinner, complete forgiveness of sin ; outside the Church there is no grace.² As to what was meant by never having received grace or having lost it by grievous sin, Quesnel leaves it in no doubt : the loss of grace entails a complete incapacity for meritorious work, prayer and any good deed ; without it man does nothing and can do nothing ; this condition of complete incapacity for all good was even that of the chosen people in the Old Law, on whom God laid His law whilst leaving them in their helplessness.³ In this condition of abandonment the sinner only retains his freedom of will for evil, he has only "light" to go astray, zeal to throw himself into the abyss, strength to hurt himself ; he is capable of every evil, incapable of any good ; even the natural knowledge of God issues in sin and prayer becomes yet another sin.⁴

These doctrines are connected with Quesnel's views on the virtue of charity or the love of God.⁵ According to him 'supernatural charity, which enables us to love God for His own sake, is the only virtue. Every other love is evil,⁶ without this love of God there is neither faith nor hope,⁷ no fulfilment of the law,⁸ no fruitful prayer,⁹ no merit and no reward in heaven,¹⁰ no Christianity and no religion.¹¹ Now the pagan

¹ No. 32.

² Nos. 26-9.

³ Nos. 1-8.

⁴ Nos. 38-42, 48, 59.

⁵ Nos. 44-58.

⁶ Nos. 44-6, 48, 49.

⁷ Nos. 51 *seq.*, 57.

⁸ No. 47.

⁹ Nos. 50, 54.

¹⁰ Nos. 53, 55 *seq.*

¹¹ Nos. 53, 58.

or the sinner has not this love of God, hence Quesnel concludes that whatever he does is a sin. The fact is that Quesnel only knows two kinds of love in man, from which all his desires and actions proceed: the love of God, which does everything for the sake of God, and love of self and the world—there is no middle course; when disinterested love of God does not sway the heart of the sinner, he is ruled by carnal concupiscence which corrupts all his actions.¹ Quesnel's writings make it clear that these propositions² are based³ on Jansenius' notion of a twofold delectation, one of which originates from heaven, from the impulse of grace, the other from the earth, from concupiscence. These two delectations are mutually exclusive and man follows infallibly the stronger of the two. According to Fénelon this doctrine is the real root of Quesnel's system.

Besides the teaching of Baius and Jansenius on grace Quesnel also defends Richer's views on the Church, in so far as he only concedes to ecclesiastical superiors the power to excommunicate with the consent of the whole Church⁴; for the rest, according to him, the Church consists exclusively of the just and the elect.⁵ He also regards the reading of

¹ Nos. 44–6.

² Nos. 72–8.

³ Because this opinion is not emphasized in the 101 propositions, its place being taken by the eulogy of the omnipotence of God, some have thought that Quesnel abandoned this doctrine of his Jansenist predecessors. But Montagne, a good judge, says (*De gratia diss.*, 12, art. 3 [MIGNE, *Cursus theol.*, X., 638]): “En famosum duarum delectationum indeliberatarum principium, quod ex Jansenio depromptum centies in suis memorialibus et apologeticis scriptis obtrudit Quesnellus.” FÉNELON: “Quelle est donc la doctrine du P. Quesnel? C'est le système des deux delectations . . . C'est pour soutenir ce système que le P. Quesnel . . . s'est réfugié en Hollande. Voilà précisément la doctrine condamnée par l'Église dans les propositions du livre du P. Quesnel” (*Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats: Œuvres*, VIII., 262. Cf. PORTALIÉ in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 2548. On the twofold delectation, cf. the present work, XXIX., 98.

⁴ No. 90.

⁵ Nos. 72–8.

Holy Scripture as necessary even for the uneducated,¹ upholds Arnould's strictest principles with regard to the administration of the sacrament of Penance² and speaks of excommunication in terms which clearly show that he scorned, as unjust, the excommunication which had been pronounced against himself.³

If Quesnel had expounded his ideas as connectedly as they are indicated in the Bull, there can be no doubt that the reading of his book would have proved repellent. His success is explained by the fact that, as the Bull puts it, "he instils his poison into the reader drop by drop and hides what is objectionable under a mass of pious phrases." Fénelon, too,

¹ Nos. 79-85.

² Nos. 87, 88.

³ Nos. 91-3. On proposition 91 ("the fear of an unjust excommunication must not keep us back from doing our duty"), MÖHLER remarks: "All that can be said is that it is a proposition to which even the most cautious person can have no objection, except it be that it should not be brought under discussion" (*Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by GAMS, III., 268). However, Möhler overlooks the fact that in propositions 91-3, Quesnel does not speak of the ban of the Church merely theoretically, but endeavours to justify the conduct of the Jansenists who did not care if they came under the ban of the Church. "Just" and "duty" on the lips of Quesnel do not mean what is really "just" and "a duty", but what Quesnel understands by those words in opposition to the authority of the Church. Already in 1675, Hamon, the physician of Port-Royal, wrote a pamphlet for the Nuns of Port-Royal, in which he says expressly that it did not matter at all if they were debarred from Confession and Communion (*Traité de piété composés pour l'instruction et la consolation des religieuses de Port-Royal, à l'occasion des épreuves auxquelles elles ont été exposées*, Paris, 1675, Amsterdam, 1727). Cf. [PATOUILLET], IV., 157 seqq. When Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, threatened a lady with the ban of the Church, she answered him with proposition 91 of the Bull (ROCQUAIN, 52, note). Cf. below, 322, n. 5. Excommunication would be useless if propositions 90-3 remained uncensured, everyone would say that the excommunication pronounced on him was unjust. Cf. DOM. VIVA, *Opera omnia*, VIII., Ferrara, 1757, 244. On Möhler's and

observes¹ that a great number of libertines, who scorned all religion, nevertheless passionately upheld Jansenism. This was natural enough; if a man always necessarily yields to the greater delectation, one might lead a most frivolous life whilst persuading oneself that one followed "the principles of St. Augustine". "The denial of freedom of the will," says Fénelon, "is fashionable to-day and people are delighted that a party enjoying such prestige should approve it. All these atheists favour Jansenism out of hatred for religion."

How profound was Quesnel's influence was soon to be seen.

(6.)

Louis XIV. had expressed a wish to see the draft of the Bull.² As a matter of fact it was clandestinely forwarded to Le Tellier³ who, of course, showed it to the King. Clement XI. would not allow it to be dispatched through the French ambassador and when the latter complained he denied ever having made any promise on the subject.⁴ He nevertheless showed the draft of the introduction and the conclusion of the Bull to the ambassador who had submitted a list of all such formulas of Bulls as were unable to give offence in France.⁵ For all that the Pope was not without anxiety about the reception of the Constitution. It was not a good omen that at this very time the Jansenist Bishop Clermont-Tonnerre of Langres published an open letter in which he represented to the King that it would be better to settle these controversies in France and that it was an insult to the French clergy to defer them to Rome.⁶ The same ideas were broadcast in pamphlets published by the party.⁷

Döllinger's opinion about the Bull, see JOH. FRIEDRICH, *J. v. Döllinger*, I., Munich, 1899, 269 *seqq.*

¹ To Le Tellier, July 22, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., III.

² LE ROY, 438 *seq.*, 453.

³ *Ibid.*, 460.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 455.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 453, 456.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 440

⁷ [LOUAIL], 45.

The Constitution arrived at Fontainebleau on September 25th and was received by the King with great satisfaction. It soon became known everywhere.¹ Noailles obtained a delay of forty-eight hours before its promulgation to enable him to withdraw in the meantime his commendation of Quesnel's book. His withdrawal is couched in general terms and mentions no particular error in it.²

What opposition, in spite of the careful wording of the Bull, the Roman authorities feared from the French Jesuits and from Noailles, in spite of his recantation, appears from Fénelon's suggestion as to the means of getting it accepted in France.³ "I think," he writes, "that we cannot surround the reception of the Bull with too much circumstance." The utmost solemnity was required in order to impress the people, to restrain the Jansenist theologians and to compel the Bishops to be true to their pledged word. With a view to securing as uniform an acceptance as possible, the Bull should not be immediately forwarded to individual Bishops who would then each publish his own particular ordinance, on the contrary, it would be better to summon the thirty odd Bishops who happened to be in Paris just then to a special meeting to which should also be invited a dozen Bishops of the neighbourhood, as for instance the Archbishops of Sens, Bourges, Rouen, Rheims and Cardinals d'Estrées, Rohan and Polignac. The presidency would fall to Cardinal d'Estrées whom a decisive word of the King would not fail to induce to submit to a dogmatic decision by the Pope. This extraordinary assembly of Bishops should decree the publication of a joint pastoral letter which the King might get secretly drawn up by reliable prelates and theologians.

¹ The Pope's letter to the King, September 10, 1713, in DU BOIS, 33; FLEURY, LXVIII., 501. *Draft of the letter with corrections in the Pope's own hand in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 134, p. 190, Papal Sec. Archives.

² LE ROY, 463, 486; Lallemant to Fénelon, October 3, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 190.

³ *Mémoire*, *Œuvres*, VIII., 186-190. Cf. letter to his nephew, September 11, 1713, *ibid.*, VII., 471.

But Cardinal Noailles must have nothing to do with it, as he would not keep the secret ; he was only to be informed when the *mandement* was completed, though the text must not be communicated to him : Noailles must accept it unconditionally and not publish a *mandement* of his own at some future date. There must be no mention of motives, explanations or restrictions in the document which should be short and straightforward.¹ The King would then forward it to the provincial assemblies for their acceptance. Unreliable Bishops might be warned, on the quiet, of canonical action against them should they refuse to accept the Bull, as had been done by the assembly of Paris which, as a matter of fact, should serve as a model for the provincial synods.² Immediately after the Paris assembly, Fénelon suggested, the King should issue letters patent to announce his acceptance of the Bull.³ If some officials with little zeal against Jansenism saw in it an infringement of Gallican liberties, the King might privately discuss the matter with some prudent Bishops. By comparing the Bull with former ones, which had been received without objection, it would be seen that the new Constitution contained nothing alarming. For the rest, by objecting to the form, the intention was to hit the substance itself, and to put obstacles, in France, to the dogmatic pronouncements of the Holy See. Would the Pope ever be able to issue a dogmatic decision, even on the most burning questions, if they allowed a Bull to be rejected which was so necessary and for which the King had prayed in so sensational a fashion ?⁴

Fénelon's proposals were acted upon. On October 4th it was decided to convene the Bishops who were then in the King's *entourage* and in Paris ; on the 16th the assembly opened in presence of twenty-nine Bishops who were subsequently joined by another twenty-three. The more

¹ *Mémoire, loc. cit.* Nos. 2-12.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 18-22, 26-8.

³ Nos. 29, 30.

⁴ Nos. 13-15.

notable ones among them were Cardinal Rohan, the Archbishops of Bourges, Rheims, Aix, Auch, Toulouse, the learned Bishop of Avranches, Daniel Huet, and Bissy of Meaux.¹ In the absence of D'Estrées, Noailles took the chair; he opened the discussions with a speech in which he sought to justify the attitude towards Quesnel hitherto adopted by him.² After a royal exhortation to receive the Bull had been read, he proposed that they should thank the King, appoint a commission to study the question and have the Constitution printed for distribution to the members of the assembly.³ Cardinal Rohan, the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Auch, the Bishops of Soissons, Meaux and Blois were chosen as members of the commission. In accordance with a decision of October 19th the synodal oath and the Mass of the Holy Ghost followed on the 21st. The sittings of the commission then began and with them the strife of opinions.⁴ The papal group among the Bishops, the so-called "Sulpicians",⁵ were for a straightforward acceptance of the Bull, without explanations and restrictions. They were faced by Noailles and his followers. The Archbishop had indeed prohibited Quesnel's book but continued to maintain that the condemned propositions were patient of an orthodox interpretation; accordingly he was of opinion, no doubt in view of his previous commendation, that the Bull should only be received after a preliminary declaration defining

¹ SCHILL, 77; LE ROY, 479, 484. The letter of convocation, October 6, 1713, in DU BOIS, 37. Fénelon's plan was attacked by Pontchâteau, the Chancellor, and by D'Aguesseau, the Procurator-General (LE ROY, 479). List of the participants in DU BOIS, 35, 43.

² SCHILL, 79 *seqq.*; LE ROY, 484. The speech is not in the *procès-verbal*.

³ DU BOIS, 39. The King's letter, October 15, *ibid.*, 38.

⁴ SCHILL, 79 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXVIII., 511 *seqq.*, 580 *seqq.*; [LOUAIL], 84 *seqq.*, 130 *seqq.*; Rohan to Noailles, December 12, 1713, *ibid.*, 133.

⁵ Lallemant, January 16, 1714, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 208; [LOUAIL], 130, 140.

more fully the sense of the condemned propositions. Such a declaration was also desired by the Archbishop of Bordeaux as a precaution against Jansenist distortions. The question whether and how such a declaration was to be made and how it was to be formulated, led to discussions which lasted for months.

The assembly felt that uniformity of action by the Bishops was the most pressing need¹ and they were prepared to pay for it with concessions to Noailles. Rohan's proposal to accept the Bull without further additions was accordingly declined, but neither did Noailles have his will; the first of his suggestions was defeated by the Bishop of Evreux who appealed to the King. Noailles then demanded that the ordinance on the publication of the Bull should be prefaced by an account of the discussions of the commission, or at least by a summary of them, pointing out the Catholic and the heretical sense of the condemned propositions. However, the consequences of such distinctions had been too painfully felt during the Jansenist controversies for the commission to agree to anything of the kind. In the end a *via media* was agreed upon, namely the publication of the Bull together with a joint pastoral letter.

However, the agreement was only apparent, for Noailles and his followers had decided that the Bishops' letter must not tax Quesnel's book with heresy and that only on that condition could the Bull be received; in other words, the 101 propositions had been very properly condemned but Quesnel had made no heretical statement; thus the old Jansenist distinction between right and fact was once more to be pressed into service.²

The King put an end to all uncertainty when, on January 8th, after reception of a papal exhortation, he ordered the assembly to resume its meetings and to receive the Bull

¹ Lallemand, *loc. cit.*; Fénelon, January 20, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 210 *seq.*

² Il faut éviter la question de fait plus dangereuse dans cette occasion que dans celle du livre Jansénius." Noailles to Rohan, January 14, 1714, in [LOUAIL], 137.

without addition, though at the request of the Archbishop of Rouen he granted a delay of eight days.¹ In six sessions, from January 15th to 22nd, 1714,² Rohan communicated to the assembled Bishops the result of the deliberations of the commission and its examination and condemnation of Quesnel's theses. He proposed that the assembly should declare its joy at finding in the Constitution the teaching of the Church; that it should receive the Constitution, condemn Quesnel's book, issue a joint pastoral letter exhorting all Bishops to condemn the *Moral Reflexions* on the basis of the pastoral, to register the Bull and, lastly, to send a letter of thanks to Pope and King.

The moment had come when the fate of Catholic France was about to be decided for decades to come. If the proposals were carried out, and if on this basis all continued to work with great zeal and prudence, there was every hope that religious peace would be re-established. But in this fateful hour France was led by a man like Noailles. That vain man was angry with the assembly; "I am only president in name," he wrote,³ "nearly everything is done without me and much is done against me." But he was not without followers: the party of the Archbishop, the Capuchin Timothy of La Flèche wrote not without exaggeration, was strong enough to bring about a schism, for Noailles could count on the Oratorians, the Benedictines, many Cistercians, all Canons Regular, the Dominicans, a large number of bad Monks and members of other Orders, and on the whole of the secular clergy.⁴ Bishop Soanen of Senez openly described the condemned Quesnel as an "innocent man whom the Jesuits wished to stone because he had revealed too much of the truth", and in the Assembly of the Clergy he defended the orthodoxy of the *Moral Reflexions*.⁵ Outside the assembly

¹ FLEURY, LXVIII., 584 seq.; [LOUAIL], 135 seq.

² DU BOIS, 43-8.

³ To Voisin, January 15, 1714, in LE ROY, 539; [LOUAIL], 143.

⁴ In LE ROY, 502

⁵ *Ibid.*, 470, 504.

Colbert of Montpellier also openly attacked the papal Constitution.¹ The objections of some of the others were not so much against the Bull's teaching on grace: "the propositions concerning the withholding of absolution," Noailles wrote,² "upset all good confessors and all those who are afraid of a too lenient moral theology; the propositions on the reading of Holy Scripture annoy both men and women of every social rank, whilst those on excommunication alarm and irritate the officials, courtiers and jurists." To complete the confusion the minority announced that they would no longer take part in the deliberations of the Assembly of the Clergy though at a hint from the King they went back on this decision.³ On top of everything the whole population was being stirred up by a flood of publications, poems and theatrical farces.⁴

It was in circumstances such as these that nine opponents of the Bull met on January 12th, 1714, at Noailles' house; they were the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Verdun, Lâon, Châlons-sur-Marne, Senez, Boulogne, Saint-Malo, Bayonne and Auxerre; the latter, however, soon rejoined the majority.

At the session of January 22nd dissension broke out openly. After Cardinal Rohan had read the report on the labours of the commission and proposed the acceptance of the Constitution and a joint pastoral letter, Noailles spoke of

¹ *Ibid.*, 502 seq.

² To Trémoille, December 11, 1713, in LE ROY, 465, n. 2. So also in Noailles's discourse in the assembly, January 22, 1714. [LOUAIL], 144.

³ *Procès-verbal* des évêques opposants, *ibid.*, 142.

⁴ Rohan, January 22, 1714, in DU BOIS, 47 seq.: "Le parti s'est déchaîné avec une fureur et une insolence schismatique. Pendant qu'on soutient avec tant d'assurance que le Jansénisme n'est qu'un fantôme ridicule, il se montre si réel et si redoutable, qu'il résiste en face au Pape, au Roi et aux évêques; il croît chaque jour" (Fénelon to Daubenton, January 2, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 206). On Quesnel's writings during the assembly and after, cf. [LOUAIL], 121 seqq.; [PATOUILLET], II., 473 seq.; III., 60 seqq.

the difficulties raised by the Constitution. Thereupon the Archbishop of Tours suggested that they should begin by drawing up the pastoral letter with its explanations of the condemned errors, and only when this was done should they go into the question of the acceptance of the Bull. To this Noailles and his followers agreed.¹ His action could only mean that the minority was unwilling to submit to the Bull unconditionally and would only do so on the basis laid down in the pastoral. When the letter was read on February 1st, with a view to ascertaining the assembly's opinion on it,² Noailles declared in the name of his party that they would refrain from voting and would ask the Pope for further explanations of his decision. This was a veiled rejection of the Bull. It clearly betrays a determination, a contemporary writes, to counter any intention that might exist in Rome of sending further Bulls to the French. Either the papal decisions were regarded as binding, and in that case the Bull was so too and would have to be accepted before the explanations, or the minority was of opinion that even after these explanations it would be free to think as it pleased; in that case what would be the use of the Pope giving any explanations? ³

The meeting was thus practically at an end and the cleavage complete. On February 5th the text of the letters to the Pope and the French Bishops was approved.⁴ On February 1st the minority had declared that in future they would only take part in the meetings of the Bishops out of obedience to the King and as witnesses of the proceedings. They likewise refused to subscribe to the protocol.⁵ The King forbade the minority to address a joint letter to the Pope as the Assembly of the Clergy alone had the right to act as a body. Thereupon

¹ [LOUAIL], 142 ; DU BOIS, 49.

² Printed in DU BOIS, 53-93, index in SCHILL, 87 *seq.*

³ Lallemand, January 30 and February 2, 1714, in FÉNELON. *Œuvres*, VIII., 214, 215.

⁴ In DU BOIS, 99 *seqq.*, 102 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 107 *seq.*

the minority requested Noailles to write to Rome in their name.¹ Louis XIV. forbade the Cardinal to appear before him and commanded the other eight prelates to return to their dioceses and to remain there until further orders.² Thereupon the Bishop of Lâon left Noailles' party.³

On February 15th the Bull *Unigenitus* was registered by Parliament together with a royal decree which, contrary to custom, not only exhorted, but commanded the Bishops to publish the Bull.⁴ The jurists objected to the secular power presuming to give orders to the Bishops but the King angrily brushed aside their observations.⁵ For the rest Parliament did not neglect to insert a clause to safe-guard Gallican liberties.⁶

Towards the end of February, Noailles, by publishing a pastoral letter,⁷ took a fresh step which caused an enormous sensation: within a few days over 20,000 copies of the pastoral were sold in Paris alone.⁸ In it he openly spoke of differences of opinion in the Assembly of the Clergy, complained that the Bull was obscure and liable to misinterpretation, and that it deprived priests who received it of the exercise of their priestly functions; but at the same time he once more forbade Quesnel's book.

¹ *Procès-verbal* of the opposition, in [LOUAIL], 147. The draft of their letter to the Pope and to the King, *ibid.*, 149, 155.

² [LOUAIL], 161 *seq.*

³ By the declaration of February 10, 1714, in Du Bois, 109. "Une conversion comme la sienne ne fait honneur ni à l'Église, ni à l'épiscopat, ni au pénitent," wrote Lallemand, February 16, 1714, in FÉNELON *Œuvres*, VIII., 222.

⁴ " . . . exhortons à cette fin et néanmoins enjoignons à tous les archévêques et évêques, etc." *Lettres patentes* of February 14, 1714, Du Bois, 112.

⁵ LE ROY, 560-569. On the discourse of the Abbé Pucelle, a sort of Tribune of the people, *ibid.*, 566 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 114-19. Criticism of the pastoral letter by Fénelon: *Œuvres*, VIII., 224 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.*

⁷ February 25, 1714, Du Bois, 120-5.

⁸ LE ROY, 570.

The Archbishop's pastoral appeared on the very day before the meeting at which, by the King's order, the Sorbonne was to accept and register the Bull. The theologian Witasse promptly took occasion of Noailles' prohibition to make difficulties against the execution of the royal command. However, it was resolved on March 5th to receive and register the Bull "with most profound respect and submission". On March 10th the decision was read once more without anyone objecting, only when the decision of the Faculty appeared in print did some of the Doctors manifest their dissatisfaction and ask for a fresh count of the votes. The King answered this demand by excluding six of the leaders from the deliberations and by banishing four others.¹

After this defeat in the Sorbonne the Jansenists took up all the more eagerly the weapon with which, up till then, they had achieved their greatest triumphs—the pen: a spate of pamphlets, comic songs, memorials and bulky quartos appeared with the object of disparaging both the Bull and the Pope.² It was only too evident, Fénelon wrote, that Jansenism was no mere figment of the imagination,³ but something very real and a menace to the whole Church. The most important of the above-mentioned productions is the so-called *Hexapla* ⁴; here an immense mass of texts from the Scriptures and the Fathers is marshalled in six columns, with a view to showing that Quesnel's propositions

¹ SCHILL, 92-5; FLEURY, 638-653; DU BOIS, 136-153. According to the account of the Jansenists (in [LOUAIL], 168-195; LE ROY, 574-586), the unanimity of the Faculty was brought about by deception and violence. However, on December 15, 1729, the Faculty declares its former decree: "verum esse ac genuinum," "agnoscit immerito prorsus fuisse declaratum falsum, adulterinum, commentitium" MONTAGNE, 502 seq.). On the registration by the Faculty of Rheims and Nantes, see [LOUAIL], 195 seqq.

² [LOUAIL], 94 seq., 117 seq., 121 seq., 213 seqq.

³ To Daubenton, February 5, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 216.

⁴ *Hexaples, ou six colonnes sur la constitution Unigenitus*, 1714. [LOUAIL], 405 seqq.

represent the teaching of Christian antiquity. The Assembly of the Clergy of 1715 condemned the book and many Bishops associated themselves with its sentence. The authors were also forced to put up with the accusation of deliberate forgery.¹

For all that the work was re-published in 1721, in an enlarged edition of seven volumes in *quarto*² to which was added a historical introduction in four volumes.³ Another work, also condemned in 1715, at the same time as the *Hexapla*, declares that the Constitution shook the foundations of religion and anathematized Christ Himself. According to the author, papal and episcopal sentences have no authority without the consent of the people.⁴

There were those whose interest it was to lower the prestige of ecclesiastical superiors, for with the overwhelming majority of the French Bishops the Bull met with no opposition whatever. Whereas in other countries formal submission to the papal decision was not demanded, things were different in France, on account of the King's command and the exhortation of the Assembly of the Clergy; in these circumstances the silence of any one Bishop would have been construed as a refusal of the Bull. Out of the 126 dioceses dependent on France the papal Bull was promulgated in 112, and in 1715 the Assembly of the Clergy had 110 pastoral letters relating to it published in one volume.⁵ No doubt in more than one of these letters Gallicanism shows itself

¹ Cf. [PATOUILLET], II., 182 *seqq.*; MONTAGNE, 488 *seq.* (text of the censure of 1715), 536 (examples of forgeries). Among the polemical writings against the *Hexapla*, the most important is that by the Jesuit, Jacques de la Fontaine, *Constitutio Unigenitus theologice propugnata*, 4 vols., Rome, 1717.

² [[CADRY], II., 608 *seqq.*

³ *Histoire du livre des Réflexions morales*, Amsterdam, 1723.

⁴ *Témoignage de la vérité dans l'Église*, 1714 (by the Oratorian LABORDE). Cf. [PATOUILLET], IV., 34 *seqq.* The Regent forbade the Assembly of the Clergy to print and register the two censures; however, the Bishops took copies with them signed by the secretary. LECLERCQ, I., 163.

⁵ Thus the Jansenist Louail (217).

more or less openly,¹ but this does not alter the fact that the Bull met with as good as universal submission. Even in the letters of the Bishops of Sisteron and Metz,² which were excluded from the collection of 1715 by reason of various peculiarities, the Constitution is accepted in the end. With one solitary exception all the Bishops likewise condemned Quesnel's *New Testament*.³

However, even in the days of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., papal decisions had met with a very different reception ! "One need not wonder at so disastrous a change," Fénelon wrote⁴: "the contagion spreads immeasurably. Since the peace, on the occasion of which Clement IX. was so shamefully deceived, Jansenism has struck deep roots in the clergy, the Orders and the Congregations, the schools, and even in the families." To stem the evil Fénelon demanded energetic measures: "Gentleness and patience from above merely increase insolence from below. Whilst the defenders of a just cause scarcely dare to speak and to write, the party dares

¹ *Ibid.*, 217-226. Cf. LE ROY, 588 seq. In ecclesiastical circles nothing else was expected. For this reason also it was decided, at the Assembly of the Clergy of 1714, to issue a joint Pastoral letter, as otherwise "il s'en fera d'autres dont les catholiques seront affligés avec raison". Daubenton, January 16, 1714, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 209.

² [LOUAIL], 220 seqq., 234 seqq. The mandement of Metz also in DU BOIS, 158 seqq. Suppression of the mandement by an "Arrest du Conseil d'État du Roi" of July 5, 1714, *ibid.*, 183 seq.

³ SCHILL, 92.

⁴ To Daubenton, April 12, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 236. Cf. to Rohan, July 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 245: "On ne doit jamais oublier les procès-verbaux cachés dans les greffes, par lesquels on surprit le Pape Clément IX. . . . Si cette paix flatteuse n'avoit point endormi le monde pendant quarante ans, et si elle n'avoit pas donné au parti la facilité de semer l'ivraie par-dessus le bon grain, l'Église de France ne seroit pas aujourd'hui dans le péril d'un schisme. C'est cette malheureuse paix qui cause la guerre présente, au bout de quarante cinq ans, et qui nous mène droit au schisme." Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats, *ibid.*, 268.

everything all the time and floods Europe with its venomous writings."

If in spite of the deplorable experience of the past decades Fénelon still hoped for salvation from a new papal Bull which would track Jansenism to its last hiding place, that circumstance is assuredly proof that even in Gallican France the word of the Pope still carried great weight. Fénelon thought that on this occasion Clement XI. should leave on one side both Jansenius and Quesnel, that is both persons and books, and to condemn unmistakably the real root of Jansenism, that is the doctrine of the two delectations, namely, the heavenly delectation of grace and the earthly one of concupiscence, either of which, it was said, according as it happens to be the stronger, always compels the will. Fénelon had already pressed for a condemnation, in the Bull against Quesnel, of this fundamental tenet of Jansenism,¹ but Rome did not want to do everything at once.² He now came back to his former proposal,³ but for the moment the Pope had had enough with his experiences in connection with the Bull against Quesnel.⁴

The fact was that Clement XI. was profoundly dissatisfied not only with the eight Bishops of the minority, but with the whole Assembly of the Clergy. Whilst the committee of the Assembly was still deliberating, the Secretary of State wrote to nuncio Bentivoglio⁵ that it seemed strange that the Bishops should wish for a repetition of the incidents of the Assembly of 1705. The Bishops' duty was, not to judge the Constitution or to explain it, but to submit to it. The nuncio must insist on this and, if need be, appeal to the King. For the rest the Secretary of State observes that the censures

¹ To Daubenton, June 8, and August 4, 1713, *Œuvres*, 167, 178. On the so-called "*delectatio victrix*", cf. above.

² Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, VIII., 183 seq.

³ To Rohan, July 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 244.

⁴ Benedict XIV. testified later how annoyed Clement XI. was because in spite of the King's promise the Constitution had not been straightway accepted. DE HEECKEREN, I., 31.

⁵ November 23, 1713, in [LOUAIL], 126 seq.

in the Bull were justified even though some of the condemned propositions deserved a censure, not as they stood, but only as they were understood by Quesnel. A month later the Secretary of State renewed his warning¹: the nuncio must tolerate no declaration, explanation or limitation of the Constitution, and his answer to all objections against the censures must simply be that in Rome they knew theology and understood Augustine and the other Fathers; Calvin and Luther always had Augustine on their tongue, as had Jansenius, yet the Church, which understands St. Augustine far better, had condemned them. The nuncio must not allow himself to be deluded with a promise not to use the expressions "to judge" and "to examine". If they examined in fact, what was the use of avoiding the word? All the newspapers announced that the Bishops were busy examining the Constitution and discussing the condemned propositions. Bentivoglio should request the King to put an end to the affair as soon as possible.

Even after the Assembly of the Clergy had concluded its labours, Rome was dissatisfied with its conduct.² Fault was found with the fact that the Assembly drew out its deliberations so long as to create the impression that it was subjecting the papal pronouncement to an examination. The final acceptance of the Bull by the Assembly was learnt with real satisfaction, but the very first sentence of the document relating to it gave offence inasmuch as it stated that the Assembly was exceedingly glad to find in the Constitution the Church's teaching. This sounds as if they had accepted the Constitution because they found it free from error, whilst not a word was said on the duty of submission and on the obligation for the Bishops of carrying the Bull into effect.³ It was feared that the well-disposed Bishops allowed

¹ To Bentivoglio, December 21, 1713, *ibid.*, 129 *seq.*

² Daubenton, February 24, 1714, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 223.

³ Fénelon also took offence at this at once: "Pourquoi commencer par ces mots: Nous avons reconnu etc.? . . . Quelle affectation suspecte! Pourquoi innover? Veut-on piquer Rome?" January 20, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 210.

themselves to be dominated by the opposition party and the efforts made to satisfy them annoyed Rome. As for the eight Bishops, irritation against them "was tremendous". A special Congregation of seven Cardinals¹ would be set up to deal with the matter.

It was hoped that the Pope would reply in a Brief praising the forty-one in courteous terms and blaming the eight without hurting them, whilst all the time avoiding wounding Gallican susceptibilities, but Clement XI. was in too excited a state of mind for such an answer, all the more so as stress was again being laid, offensively enough, on the claims of the Gallican Church, both in the royal letters-patent and in the document of registration of the Bull. He would have been more easily induced to overlook the Gallican agitation and to treat the eight with gentleness; it was more difficult to persuade him to pass over the action of the forty-one without a word of blame. Fénelon's confidential agent, the Jesuit Daubenton, did his utmost to secure such a Brief. At the invitation of the French ambassador, De la Trémoille, he represented first to Cardinals Fabroni and Albani, and then to the Pope himself, that it was a question either of saving the Church of France or of destroying it: of saving it if the Pope would unite with the King and with over a hundred Bishops and the great mass of the people, against a few prelates; of destroying it, if he broke with the forty-one, if he blamed their conduct and so formed a third party, for in that case he would have to deal with the whole realm and the schism would be an accomplished fact. Lesser offences, he suggested, the Pope could overlook for the sake of the welfare of the Church. In spite of these arguments, a fortnight went by before Daubenton was in a position to assure the French ambassador that a Brief would be addressed to the forty-one, and that it would satisfy them. Another eight days passed during which the Brief was polished into as courteous a form as possible. In the meantime the Jansenists

¹ Spada, Paolucci, Albani, Ferrari, Fabroni, Tolomei, Casini. Daubenton, March, 1714, *ibid.*, 231.

had done their utmost, by means of skilfully worded letters, to render the forty-one suspect in Rome.¹

Fénelon constituted himself their advocate. He hastened to express his satisfaction with the Brief and its form and to defend the joint pastoral of the Assembly of the Clergy on which Rome had as yet passed no comment.² It was not to be viewed as an explanation presupposing imperfections or ambiguities in the Bull, but rather as its justification, for though the Bull was perfectly plain for an unprejudiced reader, as a result of the spate of cunning pamphlets published by the party, nearly everyone in France felt inclined to take it for granted that it was vague, ambiguous and exaggerated. "No reply was being made to these numberless writings. Never has seduction on such a scale and one so dangerous been experienced; even women, in the course of gossip, put the most ridiculous and most odious construction on the Bull; it became the fashion to scoff at it and people were ashamed to uphold it. Everybody said aloud that it would remain as a tangible proof, for all time of the fact that the Pope was not infallible. What could the Assembly of the Clergy do against all this? So far from explaining the Bull, it has proved that it needs no explanation. It has added neither corrections nor restrictions but has refuted the insidious explanations with which the Jansenists sought to excite men's minds." For these reasons Fénelon thought that Rome should not allow itself to be hampered by the objections of professional theologians against this or that statement in the pastoral, in fact care should be taken to ascertain whether this excessive strictness was not due to some secret Jansenists who knew how to disguise themselves and to insinuate themselves everywhere for the purpose of creating discord between the Pope and the French clergy. "I know beyond a doubt that secret emissaries of the party have had recourse

¹ Daubenton, March, 1714, *ibid.*, 230 *seq.* On Daubenton's efforts in this matter: Chalmette, Rome, March 22, 1714, *ibid.*, 231. The Brief to the forty-one prelates, March 17, 1714, in Du Bois, 134 *seqq.*

² To Daubenton, April 12, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 234 *seqq.*

to such expedients in order to cross countermeasures and to divide their opponents."

Whilst Fénelon defended the forty-one he also urged that the eight rebels should be dealt with without loss of time. The King was still alive, he wrote, but a stormy period might come upon them any day and the party awaited it with impatience. A false peace would not lessen the bitterness of the party, nor lower its prestige; the very opposite would happen. A threefold line of action might be adopted towards the eight¹: the Pope might be requested to name a commission to initiate legal proceedings against them, or provincial councils and even a national council might be convened to judge them. Fénelon recommends the latter course, namely a national council presided over by the Legates of the Pope. As a matter of fact they had a grave case before them, namely that of fifteen or sixteen Bishops—including several metropolitans and the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris; two of the Bishops, those of Metz and Châlons, were *pairs* of France; two others, those of Montpellier and Saint-Malo, were brothers to two of the ministers and all had relations and connections at court and a formidable following behind them.² But Fénelon would not hear of another seemingly quite simple remedy, which was to put Noailles into a carriage and to take him to Rome, to be judged by the Pope—such an act of violence would only rouse France in favour of the Cardinal.³ No doubt the situation was a complicated one: as a Cardinal, Noailles could only be judged by the Pope; as a French Archbishop, Gallican principles only allowed him to be tried in France; if he were deprived of his cardinalitial dignity, the Pope would forfeit the right to judge him.⁴ Fénelon expected nothing whatever from negotiations with Noailles for the purpose of inducing him to recant.⁵ If the Pope allowed the eight Bishops to receive

¹ *Mémoire, ibid.*, 269 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 271.

³ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁵ Fénelon, October 14, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 255.

the Bull only on the basis of their own explanations, the party would take advantage of the concession to disparage Rome among all the nations. As it was, contempt and hatred for Mother Church were only too deeply ingrained in nearly all the nations.¹

In Rome action was first taken against the pastorals of Cardinal Noailles and the Archbishop of Tours; these documents were condemned by the Inquisition.² This was followed by the condemnation of five other episcopal letters.³ In a Brief of May 8th, Clement XI. announced that after so prolonged a delay, he was determined to proceed against the insubordinate prelates and that to this end he prayed for the King's co-operation: further particulars would be made known by the nuncio.⁴ The Pope's proposal was that the Archbishop of Paris should be sent to Rome since as a Cardinal he could only be judged by the Sovereign Pontiff.⁵

Noailles now began to realize by degrees in what difficulties he had become involved, for he had to see with his own eyes that almost all the French Bishops expressly accepted the Bull, whilst all the Bishops of the rest of the world did so tacitly. But how was he to extricate himself without either formally separating himself from the Church, or an express recantation? To this question the irresolute man himself knew of no answer: his whole conduct allows of but one explanation, namely that he sought to gain time. He began by promising formally to accept the Bull in a new pastoral and asked for a two months' delay in which to prepare one. The two months became six and yet the letter was not ready. He began by refusing to allow his draft to be examined and

¹ "Le mépris et la haine de l'Église mère ne sont déjà que trop enracinés dans presque toutes les nations." To Daubenton, October 10, 1714, *ibid.*, 254.

² March 26, 1714, in FLEURY, LXVIII., 660; DU BOIS, 153 *seq.*

³ May 2, August 22, and December 12, 1714. HILGERS, 442; REUSCH, II., 735.

⁴ FLEURY, LXVIII., 653 *seqq.*; DU BOIS, 154 *seqq.*

⁵ FLEURY, 663.

censured ; then he objected to the censors until in Cardinals D'Estrées and Polignac and the Bishops of Arras and Montauban, persons acceptable to him were appointed. In the negotiations which now began, and in which Rohan and Bissy also took part, Noailles stuck to his notion not to receive the Bull except on the basis of his explanations, so that, from the first, agreement was out of the question. Noailles had recourse to all sorts of manœuvres to draw out the affair ; he promised various alterations, but these only dealt with secondary points ; but at length the King lost patience and gave him a strict command to hand in his pastoral before October 18th. Once again Noailles obtained a delay up to the 30th, but when Polignac handed the document to the King, it contained none of the things that should have been in it according to the terms agreed upon. The King's patience was at last exhausted ; he resolved to put an end to the business by means of negotiations with the Pope.¹ There had been no lack of consideration for Noailles, in fact the Pope felt compelled to warn Rohan² in a special letter, not to add fresh food to Noailles' obstinacy by excessive readiness to yield to his demands. For the rest the efforts to win over Noailles by negotiations were continued until the following year ; Massillon and the celebrated jurist D'Agnesseau also took a hand in the solution of an insoluble question.³ As a matter of fact not even his own followers relied on the Archbishop's obstinacy⁴ ; many of them went much further, as for instance, the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne who declared that the Bull was unacceptable even if provided with explanations.⁵ The skein was now to be disentangled by means of negotiations with the Pope.

¹ Cf. FLEURY, 662 *seqq.* ; SCHILL, 99 *seqq.* ; Noailles' letter to the Bishops who were of his opinion, September 5 and 12, 1714, in [LOUAIL], I., 339 *seqq.*, 344 *seqq.* First and third part of Noailles' *mandement*, *ibid.*, 332 *seqq.* ; LE ROY, 603 *seqq.*

² August 21, 1714, FLEURY, 671 *seq.*

³ [LOUAIL], 367-380.

⁴ LE ROY, 600 *seq.*

⁵ Lettre circulaire aux évêques opposans, July 17, 1714, *ibid.*, [LOUAIL], 350 *seqq.*

(7.)

For his ambassador in Rome the King chose one of the ablest men in France, viz. Amelot, Marquis de Gournay, who had already distinguished himself as ambassador, especially in Spain.¹ By the terms of his Instruction,² Amelot was to press for a French National Council; any other means for a settlement of the conflict was deemed not practicable by the Gallican Government. In the detailed motivation for a Council, French Cæsaro-Papalism appears again and again; papal legates were to preside but with the proviso that nothing would be done against Gallican liberties. The convocation of the Council could be made out in two ways, either a papal Brief would request the royal co-operation after which the King would convoke, or the Pope would issue a letter of convocation which the King would support by a decree of his own. "The former way would be preferable because the prerogatives of the King would be better guaranteed." It would be a good thing, from the very beginning of the Council, to publish a Bull declaring the pastorals of the rebels null and void and demanding their withdrawal; in fact the Government had actually prepared a draft for such a Bull.³ After Amelot's departure it was found that even this draft did not sufficiently spare the conscience of Parliament; the fact that the Pope declared the pastoral letters null and void might be resented as an encroachment by the spiritual power. Accordingly a letter was written to Amelot to the effect that it would be best if the Pope omitted such expressions.⁴ It was easy to foresee that in view of French principles, the national Council would be as ineffectual as every other means, so that as a matter

¹ LE DRAN, *Négociation de M. Amelot à Rome en 1715*, in FERET, VI., 369-403 (also in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXXXV., [1909], 108-145).

² December 2, 1714, extract in FERET, VI., 369 *seq.*; credentials, December 5, 1714, *ibid.*, 371.

³ In FERET, VI., 370 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 377.

of fact, no means remained whereby a rebellious Bishop in France could be made to obey.

On January 12th, 1715, Amelot had his first audience with the Pope. Clement XI. was not particularly edified when he realized that though the King cherished the best of intentions, he was unable to carry out all he wished¹; however, he gave Amelot a kindly reception. In a fortnight, he observed, everything would surely be over. He would consult only those whom he employed in the most difficult affairs. Noailles had many friends in Rome, so that they must proceed with great caution.² From Paris also the greatest secrecy had been recommended to the ambassador.³

To the latter's regret the Pope chose as his representative in the negotiations Cardinal Fabroni, the author and, accordingly, the chief defender of the Bull. However, Amelot consoled himself with the thought⁴ that the Pope would have consulted Fabroni in any case, so that, after all, it would be a saving of time if he treated with him directly. In the very first conversation with the ambassador Fabroni showed himself unfavourable to the idea of a national Council. None had been held for seven or eight hundred years and this was a sure sign that both King and Pope had recognized the dangers of such assemblies. The simplest way out of their difficulties was the judgment of the Pope to whom recourse had always been had in similar cases. After Amelot had presented a memorial, Fabroni declared in the name of Clement XI. that though the King deemed a Council the

¹ " Nous avons vu de nos propres yeux Clément XI. se mordre les doigts plus d'une fois, lorsque, ayant publié la Constitution Unigenitus, il vit que Louis le Grand ne lui tenait pas la promesse qu'il lui avait faite de la faire accepter généralement et que M. Amelot lui dit, parlant à sa personne, que le Roi avait la meilleure volonté du monde, mais qu'il ne pouvait pas tout ce qu'il voulait." Benedict XIV. to Tencin, February 8, 1743, DE HAECKEREN, I., 31.

² FERET, VI., 373.

³ *Ibid.*, 371.

⁴ Letter of January 15, 1715, *ibid.*, 373 *seq.*

shortest and easiest way, the Pope could not take this view ; on the contrary, he considered this as the most difficult course, one that would draw out the affair and entail dangerous consequences. All the Cardinals were against the Council. They had letters which proved that this was regarded as the very means of destroying the Pope's authority : all the other nations would want to follow France's example when there was question of dogmatic Constitutions. Many Bishops in France only waited for an opportunity to withdraw their acceptance of the Bull ; in several dioceses sermons were being preached against it ; emissaries of the Jansenists excited the minds and continued to scatter the seed of schism ; the Protestants hoped to benefit by the situation. According to letters from Ratisbon, the Elector of Brandenburg had already offered an asylum in his States to such priests as might have to flee the country. Moreover, if Pope and King agreed, nothing was easier than to reintroduce the ban of the realm.¹ Besides, a Council could hardly be convened as Fénelon, the only French Bishop who could be considered for the post of a papal Legate at a Council, had died on January 7th, 1715. On his death-bed he had prayed the King for a successor who would take a firm stand against Jansenism and had recommended to him the priests of S. Sulpice as the chief bulwark against the sect.²

In his reply to Fabroni Amelot reverted to the idea of a Council as the only possible remedy³ ; however, in a long interview on January 23rd, 1715, Fabroni explained to him that there could be no question of a Council—the Pope would not hear of it. What then ? the ambassador asked. Fabroni replied that the matter was quite simple : let the King explain to the Archbishop that he would endure his disobedience no longer ; unless Noailles received the Constitution unconditionally within three days, he would be deprived of all his honours. Thereupon Amelot observed

¹ *Ibid.*, 374 *seq.*

² Letter to Le Tellier, January 6, 1715, *Œuvres*, VIII., 283.

³ FERET, VI., 376.

that this threat had been attempted before, but without success. He then spoke of a Bull which, by the terms of his Instruction, should serve as an introduction and preparation for the Council. However, Fabroni gave the same reply as before. The King, he explained, was also master of the Gallican liberties as well as of everything else ; let him then declare that the Cardinal had forfeited those liberties through his disobedience to the royal letters-patent and even deprive him, if necessary, of his French citizenship ; after that he might hand him over to the Pope to be judged by him. In this way everything would proceed from the King and the Gallican liberties would be safe-guarded. If His Majesty could bestow membership of the State upon a foreigner, he could also deprive a subject of it.

Fabroni himself must have been aware of the strangeness of this proposal which he made in order to get out of an impasse. He only made it, he promptly added, in order to recall the Cardinal to a sense of his duty and to show him the abyss for which he was heading. Amelot was not slow in observing that at his coronation the King had sworn to maintain the liberties of the Gallican Church. There could only be question of the deprivation of citizenship after a judicial sentence of death ; from the Pope he would have expected the most vigorous protests against such treatment of a Bishop. The suggestion did not proceed from the Pope, Fabroni replied, Clement XI. only wished to frighten Cardinal Noailles ; how this was to be done was to be decided by Fabroni and Amelot between them.¹

Thus a Council was not to be obtained. Accordingly Fabroni suggested to the ambassador on January 27th, that fresh pressure should be brought to bear on Noailles : this was to be done by the Pope drawing up two Briefs, a mild one and a severe one. In the first the Archbishop should be invited, with kindly insistence and prayers couched in a fatherly tone, to make his submission ; the other was to contain a formal command to accept the Constitution

¹ *Ibid.*, 378 *seqq.*

unconditionally within three days. If this time also he refused to obey, he was to forfeit his Cardinal's dignity without further declaration and legal proceedings would be taken against him.¹

Amelot objected that even after that there remained thirteen or fourteen Bishops who must be brought back to the fold ; he requested the Cardinal to give him his views in writing as to the line of action he should adopt. Thereupon Fabroni summed up under eleven headings all that he had already explained to the ambassador.² The first step was that the King should hand to his Archbishop the severe Brief and reinforce it with the threat of the loss of citizenship and the Gallican liberties. If an impression was made on Noailles, that Brief would be shown to no one else and the mild one would be handed to the Archbishop. The latter Brief, however, could only be delivered if the King first gave a promise to execute the other Brief in case of disobedience. Should the remaining Bishops not submit together with Noailles, the usual legal means were to be employed against them. In two memorials Amelot pointed out that the way of mildness was hopeless and the other impossible.³ The two Briefs were nevertheless drawn up and on March 9th the courier took them to Versailles.⁴ Against the will of the Pope the mild Brief was first handed to the Archbishop together with the order to reply within four days. It required little heroism on the part of Noailles to defy the Pope once more from behind the protective wall of the Gallican liberties, all the more so as the shadows of death were lowering over the aged King. The very day after reception of the Brief, Noailles returned it with an arrogant covering letter,⁵ saying that he needed no time for reflection.

For the rest the ambassador had been in too great a hurry

¹ *Ibid.*, 381.

² *Ibid.*, 382 note.

³ *Ibid.*, 382 *seq.*

⁴ LE ROY, 630.

⁵ March 15, 1715, in [LOUAIL], 381 ; LE ROY, 635 ; FERET, II., 389.

to forward the two Briefs, because the Pope was very willing to give up the idea of Noailles being deprived of his French citizenship and the Gallican liberties.¹

Meanwhile an attempt had been made to remove difficulties by means of negotiations with the rebels, but Noailles and his followers demanded as a condition of their acceptance of the Bull, a declaration by the Pope that it had not been his intention to reject efficacious grace.² "Efficacious grace," that is, the teaching of the Dominican school, had not been condemned, but already in September, 1713, Fénelon had written³ that the heads of the sect understood by it nothing else than downright Jansenism. For over sixty years the sect had contended that its teaching was none other than that of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Fénelon deemed it necessary, by means of a special dissertation, to show the difference between the Jansenist and the Thomist teaching on grace⁴; he expressed his satisfaction on learning that representatives of the Thomist School had taken part in the examination and condemnation of Quesnel's book, as in this way it had become a point of honour for them clearly to distinguish their teaching from that of the Jansenists and to keep within their boundaries so as not to give support to the party.⁵ On the other hand it became an axiom with the eight rebellious Bishops that the Bull interfered with the freedom of theological schools; they accordingly pretended that it was their task to save that freedom even though the Dominicans themselves had accepted the Constitution unconditionally.⁶

¹ FERET, VI., 382.

² *Ibid.*, 387.

³ *Œuvres*, VIII., 187.

⁴ *Cf. ibid.*, 177, 179 *seqq.*

⁵ October 12, 1713, *ibid.*, 193. *Cf. Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats*, 262.

⁶ *Mémoire*, 262; *cf.* 260, etc. Bissy begs Fénelon, September 6, 1714, to reassure the Bishop of Arras "sur toutes les alarmes qu'on lui a données, que la Bulle détruit le Thomisme et la morale sévère de l'Évangile. . . . On surprend beaucoup d'honnêtes gens par cet endroit". *Ibid.*, 250.

In existing circumstances there was no question of the Pope expressly allowing the doctrine of efficacious grace to be taught ; hence Amelot's only hope was a national Council, and as the Pope was unwilling, the idea was ventilated that the King might convene the Bishops in the fullness of his own power.¹ Chancellor Voisin approved the plan,² but suggested in the meantime that the Pope should publish a Bull threatening the rebels with canonical proceedings, unless they submitted and withdrew their Pastorals. Such a Bull would pave the way for further measures.³ Two drafts of a Bull, the one by the Chancellor and the other from the hand of Rohan, were dispatched to Rome. After a lapse of eleven days, when the Congregation of Cardinals had reassembled, the Pope declared that he stuck to his plan of the two Briefs ; if the King did not agree, he would declare Noailles to have forfeited his cardinalate, without the royal concurrence.⁴ The Chancellor observed that even this offended against the liberties of the realm⁵ ; in other words, the Pope was almost powerless in France. If he desired no more than to send one of his Briefs to a Frenchman through his nuncio, the act was against France's privileges ; if he resolved to have the Bull *Unigenitus* proclaimed by strangers in the dioceses of the rebels, the Gallican liberties stood once more in the way.⁶ In Rome this was incomprehensible. Christ, Fabroni observed, had entrusted His fold to St. Peter, but He had not added : with the exception of the French.⁷

There seemed to be no way out of the difficulties. Rome

¹ FERET, VI., 387.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 389 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 390 seq.

⁷ LE ROY, 644. On two “ *Discorsi ” by Cardinal Tolomei to the Pope, July, 1714, and January 27, 1715, “ sul modo di comportarsi contro i vescovi disobbedienti,” see MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, III. (1893), 153.

did not want a national Council, though even Cardinal Rohan recommended it in a memorial¹; one who was well able to know the feeling on the subject in the Congregation of Cardinals, viz. the Secretary Alemanni, remarked that the Council would prove to be a gathering of a hundred and twenty and more anti-papal lions.² Paris, on the other hand, would not accept the proposal of the two Briefs. Amelot saw no other solution of the problem except by pressure being brought to bear on Noailles. The Lazarist Philopald, theologian to La Trémoille, the French ambassador in Rome, had suggested that Noailles should head his new Pastoral with the mild papal Brief, which contained a sentence against malicious distortions of the Bull *Unigenitus*.³ Taking advantage of this the Archbishop should go on to say that since the explanations which the heretics added to certain clauses of the Bull were false, as the Pope himself had stated, he accepted the Bull without difficulty; the Pope had made it plain that nothing was further from his mind than to favour the above mentioned false propositions or to oppose the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas which the Roman Church had so often declared to be true. According to this suggestion the Archbishop would only have accepted the Bull on the basis of a papal explanation such as he had demanded from the beginning and shielding himself behind Augustine and Thomas, he would have saved Jansenism. The Pope was spared the painful necessity of pronouncing on these insidious proposals for Noailles refused to act on the suggestion.⁴

Amelot was now anxious that Paris should arrive at a friendly agreement with the Archbishop at any cost. Though the Pope might not approve everything, he would not take

¹ FERET, 394 *seq.* ; SCHILL, 110.

² FERET, 395 ; LE ROY, 626.

³ The Brief blames the Jansenists, who "vanis penitus atque ab eadem Nostra Constitutione illiusque toto, et quidem satis aperto tenore prorsus alienis, quin etiam studiose superinductis vel potius ad rem involvendam maligne affectis difficultatibus et quaestionibus temere cavillantur". FLEURY, LXIX., 29.

⁴ FERET, 392 *seq.*

sterner measures, so long as the Constitution was somehow accepted. Thus they would avoid a schism which otherwise was almost inevitable as the rebellious Bishops would not consent to their deposition, but would appeal to a General Council.¹

Meanwhile Amelot had not failed to give the Pope a hint that the King might convene a Council in the fullness of his own power.² As a matter of fact steps were taken in Paris to this end,³ and Clement XI. saw no other way out of the difficulty but to yield. On August 5th, 1715, Fabroni handed to the ambassador not a Bull, but a Brief, which stated that although everybody in Rome was opposed to a national Council, the Pope nevertheless desired to support the lofty aspirations of the King and to show his appreciation of so many men full of good will towards the Holy See, who unanimously and constantly insisted on the necessity of such a Council; accordingly His Holiness was prepared to send Legates, without whom, of course, the matter could not be concluded.⁴ To another desire of the King Clement XI. refused to consent, this was that if Noailles was deprived of his Cardinal's hat and thereafter submitted, the cardinalate should be restored to the penitent. Clement XI. deemed a promise of this kind incompatible with his dignity.⁵ Amelot was not satisfied with the Brief concerning the Council; he suspected that Rome only wished to gain time, though in the end the Council would be conceded. He renewed his oft-repeated request to be allowed to return to France; on August 23rd this was granted.⁶

At this time Louis XIV. was already struck with mortal disease, but he none the less commissioned Rohan and the Commissaries of the last Assembly of the Clergy to make

¹ FERET, VI., 395 *seq.*

² April 13 and June 12, 1715, *ibid.*, 392, 396 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 397 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 399 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

preparations for the Council. Opinion was unanimous that the insubordinate Bishops should have neither seat nor vote in the assembly. Thereupon the Archbishop of Bordeaux drew attention to a difficulty ; this was that the Bull against Quesnel had indeed been accepted by all the Bishops, but official information of this acceptance had not been given to the rebels. To meet this objection, the King published a declaration on July 16th,¹ in which he ordered the rebellious Bishops to follow the example of the majority of their colleagues, otherwise action would be taken against them according to the strict law of the Church. But if disobedience to this declaration was to entail exclusion from the Council, it would have to be registered by Parliament. Now the high justiciaries offered the most determined resistance to the demand of registration. Thereupon Louis XIV. resolved to have recourse to the means of which the French Kings made use in extreme cases and which he had not employed himself for fifteen years, namely to repair to Parliament in person and to order the registration. However, his mortal illness had already made great progress ; before he could carry out his designs his life came to an end on September 1st, 1715, after 70 years of rule.² From his youth Louis had been a decided opponent of Jansenism. However, whilst he struck it with one hand he continually opened to it a refuge with the other by reason of his Gallicanism : from this coign of vantage the sect could safely laugh at Pope and King. By the end of his reign Jansenism had become a formidable power ; shortly after the death of the mighty ruler, Noailles, Jansenism's head at the moment, could be described by the Regent of the realm as " the idol of France ".³

¹ DU BOIS, 185:

² SCHILL, 112 *seq.* ; FLEURY, LXIX., 41 *seqq.* ; LE ROY, 650-675. The supposed letter of Le Tellier to Chauvelin of August 2, 1715 (DU BOIS, 187 *seq.* ; LE ROY, 655 *seq.*) is a forgery, according to DUCLOS (*Mémoires secrets*, Paris, 1791, 137), and SOMMERVOGEL (*Bibliothèque*, VII., 1918).

³ In LE ROY, 693.

(8.)

That which Fénelon feared so much and which it was easy to foresee, was realized after the death of Louis XIV., namely, a complete revulsion in favour of Jansenism. Philip of Orleans, who acted as Regent for the Dauphin, then still a minor, was addicted to unbelief and immorality as it were on principle and neither religion nor papal Constitutions meant anything to him. The doors of the prisons were opened for all who were detained there by reason of insubordination to religious ordinances ; Bishops whom Louis XIV. had ordered to return to their dioceses, reappeared in Paris ; supporters of Jansenism were raised to episcopal sees and professors of theology against whom proceedings had been taken, had their honours and dignities restored to them.¹ The Jesuits were coldly received by the Regent, the Oratorians warmly² ; the Jansenists learnt with delight that the royal confessor Le Tellier had been removed and soon after banished from Paris,³ although it had been the wish of the dying King that he should continue in office with his successor.⁴ The " Council of Conscience " was already being requested to have Fort-Royal restored at the expense of the Jesuits.⁵ The Regent distrusted the

¹ A (reliable ?) list of those who had been condemned is given in [LOUAIL], 457-461. Cf. LECLERQ, I., 162. Between September 2 and 6, 1715, not more than ten prisoners left the Bastille (CARREYRE [1921], 485). Cf. also : P. DE CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, *L'Église et l'État ou les deux puissances au XVIII^e. siècle, 1715-1789*, Paris, 1893 ; F. ROCQUAIN, *L'esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution 1715-1789*, Paris, 1878 ; CARREYRE, *Le Jansénisme durant la régence I.*, Louvain, 1929 ; Idem in *Rev. hist. de l'Église de France*, XIV. (1928), 459, and in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XXI. (1925), 479-509, where the names of the Jansenist Bishops are given.

² [LOUAIL], 461.

³ *Ibid.*, 461 *seq.*, 761 ; LECLERQ, I., 129, 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70, 114.

⁵ LAVISSE, VIII., 2, 8.

papal nuncio Bentivoglio,¹ whereas Noailles who, a few days earlier, had obtained permission to approach the death-bed of the Sovereign only after he had acknowledged the Bull against Quesnel,² was summoned to court on the very day of the King's death, after he had been banished from it for eighteen months.³ When Philip of Orleans created six consultative Government colleges, one of them was entrusted to Noailles when the Regent named him president of the so-called "Council of Conscience" which had to pronounce on all that concerned religion and religious communities.⁴ The members of this Council, which as a matter of fact was dissolved in September 1718,⁵ shared the sentiments of their president. Apart from the Archbishop of Bordeaux they were all ardent Gallicans; they were the two jurists D'Aguesseau and Joly de Fleury and the Abbé Pucelle⁶ who, as a member of Parliament under the late King, had pronounced a violent speech against registration of the Bull against Quesnel⁷: the Secretary was the Jansenist Dorsanne, Noailles' Vicar-General.⁸ The Council of Conscience's encroachments in the spiritual sphere became increasingly numerous⁹ and it was in vain that the nuncio lodged an emphatic protest against Noailles' presidency with Marshal D'Huxelles.¹⁰ Clement XI. had good reason to lament the

¹ "So di sicuro che il signor Duca d'Orléans ha detto a un signore della corte che egli è avvisato da costì che io faccio il diavolo a quattro contro di lui in Roma." BENTIVOGLIO fine 1715, in *Arch. d. Soc. stor. Rom.*, XXII., 162 seq.

² LECLERQ, I., 77 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 204.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I., 148.

⁷ LE ROY, 566 seq.

⁸ LECLERQ, I., 149; cf. LXXVIII.

⁹ The Pope's protest to the Regent in the Brief of May 1, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 348-354; *Opera*, Epist., 2142 seq.

¹⁰ *Report of the nunciature, October 7, 1715, Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 193, f. 182 seqq.

King's death in an allocution of 23rd September.¹ As a matter of fact Noailles' elevation appeared so incredible to the Pope that, in a letter to the Regent,² he attributed it to a change of sentiment in Noailles, seeing that as late as 13th September the Regent had assured the Pope³ that Louis XIV's devotion to the Holy See would be maintained unalterably by him and that the dissension among the Bishops would be composed within a month.

If the Regent imagined he was serving the cause of peace when he broke the shackles that had hitherto fettered Jansenism, he made a miscalculation. The insolence of the sect no longer knew any bounds. A spate of writings once again flooded the country; in these publications the late King was outraged, whilst the Regent was represented as a strong bulwark against the court of Rome; many priests and religious threw off the yoke of obedience; disorder reigned everywhere and dissension penetrated even into the most exalted bodies of the realm.⁴

The Assembly of Clergy had been sitting since 25th May. During the whole of the Regency its deliberations mainly turned on the condemnation of two Jansenist works, the first being the so-called *Hexapla*, in which an attempt was made to defend Quesnel's assertions by quotations from the Fathers and the theologians⁵; the second book was "The Testimony of Truth". Like the *Hexapla*, the latter work by the Oratorian Vivien de Laborde, endeavours to refute the Bull against Quesnel, and in so doing develops the most revolutionary ideas; it goes so far as to assert that ecclesiastical decisions, even those of a General Council, are invalid if they lack the consent of the laity.⁶ The Quesnelists did all they

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 62 *seqq.* *Opera*, Orat., 124.

² October 1, 1715, *ibid.*, 72; CARREYRE, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XXI., 493.

³ LE ROY, 72; CARREYRE, 489 *seq.*

⁴ FLEURY, LXIX., 75 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. above, p. 235. PICOT, *Mém.*, I., 379 *seq.*

⁶ [PATOUILLET], IV., 31 *seq.*

could to prevent the condemnation of the two books by the Assembly on the ground that such a step would only give rise to fresh troubles and provoke Noailles to take counter measures or at least hinder his submission. The president, the Archbishop of Narbonne, was impressed by these arguments ; he sought at first to stay a condemnation, and after that to prevent at least any mention being made of the Bull in the sentence ; eventually he obtained from the Regent a three weeks' delay before the censure could be printed ; the Regent hoped to see peace restored during that interval.

As the press was barred to them, the Bishops saw to it that copies were made of the condemnations and these they took with them when they returned to their dioceses. How well inspired they had been, became evident at once, for soon the originals vanished for a considerable time from the archives of the Assembly.¹ For the rest, when they promulgated the censures in their dioceses, several Bishops met with opposition from their clergy who found support in Parliament² ; thus, on May 3rd, 1716, the Parliament of Dijon condemned a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône which had described the Constitution against Quesnel as a rule of faith, and all the Archbishops and Bishops included within its jurisdiction were forbidden to insert in their pastorals anything that might provoke division. Bishop Madot of Châlons refused to submit in silence. The condemnation of his protest which, he wrote, he fully expected, he himself condemned beforehand, and should Parliament confiscate his property thereafter, he would take refuge with the Capuchins and appeal to the charity of the faithful.³ Some Doctors of the Sorbonne likewise took the condemned books under their protection ; not a few of them asserted that the University had never acknowledged the Bull ; the

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 78 *seqq.* Censure of the *Hexapla*, October 5, of *Témoignage de la vérité*, October 29, 1715, in [LOUAIL], 546.

² Especially at Nantes, Châlons-sur-Saône, Rheims : [LOUAIL], 547-554. On the publications against the censures, *ibid.*, 554-560.

³ *Ibid.*, 549, 814.

decrees of the Faculty in favour of submission to the document had only been registered by it, but had not been accepted.¹

When Syndic Le Rouge, under whom the decree had been passed, had to be replaced on October 1st, Quesnel's followers secured the nomination of one of their own men, viz. Hyacinth Ravechet, after which the conflict within the Faculty itself broke out openly. Instead of passing a vote of thanks to the retiring Syndic, as custom ordained, twelve Doctors were commissioned to examine his administration.² The inquiry only ended on May 11th, 1716, with Le Rouge's exclusion from the Faculty.³ At the Faculty's monthly meeting in December, in which his affairs should have come up for discussion, other matters occupied the members. At the sitting of 2nd December the senior Doctor, Humbelot, complained of the inaugural address of the new Syndic Ravechet and in so doing dropped the remark that the Bull had been unanimously received by the Sorbonne. Ravechet protested vehemently, complained that he was being insulted and calumniated, and demanded Humbelot's expulsion unless he offered an apology. As a matter of fact the meeting passed a special decree declaring Humbelot guilty and asserting his statement that the Faculty had accepted the Bull "unanimously" to be untrue.⁴ Further significance was given to the decree by the subsequent erasure of the word "unanimously". In this form the decree implied that the Bull had not been accepted at all and that they had an official attestation of this non-acceptance. At the session of 5th December, the Faculty expressed itself anew in this sense and pronounced a sentence of exclusion against those of the Doctors who offered resistance. The nuncio's representations to the Regent were nullified by a deputation of the Faculty. On this occasion, in answer to a question of the

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 83 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 85 *seqq.*

³ [LOUAIL], 659; *cf. ibid.*, 467, 468, 469 *seq.*, 641, 653, 655, 658.

⁴ FLEURY, LXIX., 86 *seq.* The Decree is reprinted in [LOUAIL], 473.

Regent, the delegates declared that they took no notice of unjust excommunication. Nuncio Bentivoglio's indignation at the Doctors' conduct was such that he thought of taking his leave ; on his part, Cardinal Rohan returned his Doctor's diploma to the Faculty.¹

Sorbonne's action nevertheless had its imitators. The theological Faculties of Nantes, Rheims, Caen, published similar declarations.² Once the first University of the land had given the word that promulgation and registration of the Bull were not synonymous with acceptance, many Chapters and numerous members of the clergy stated that they too had only read the Constitution out of obedience, without, however, submitting to it.³ True, those who made those pronouncements were only a minority. Apart from Paris, only from 26 out of 110 dioceses of contemporary France, did any manifestations against the Bull come forth ; in these 26 dioceses, as for instance in that of Evreux, only 3 voices were raised, in that of Troyes only 2 and in those of Chartres, Autun and Auxerre only one each,⁴ and little importance need be attached to the circumstance that in a few cases these few claimed to speak in the name of their colleagues. From Rennes nothing more important is related as having been done in favour of the Jansenists except that a splendid funeral was given to Syndic Ravechet who had died there.⁵ On the other hand, in some other dioceses opposition to the Bull was more pronounced. Thus at Orleans 3 Chapters, 11 parish priests and a few Canons, pronounced against it ; at Lâon 86 Canons, 10 other dignitaries and 31 parish priests of the diocese, and at Rheims over 200 priests acted in like manner.⁶ The writings of the opponents were gathered in

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 86-90. Particulars on the sessions from November 4, 1715, to March 5, 1716 : [LOUAIL], 468-492, 638-677.

² *Ibid.*, 492 *seqq.*, 500 *seqq.*, 502.

³ *Ibid.*, 590-604 ; *cf.* 253-266.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 592, 598 *seq.*, 600.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 601.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 591, 593, 594.

three small volumes of 1,800 pages altogether and published under the title of *The Cry of Faith*.¹

Opposition was naturally most lively in the diocese of Cardinal Noailles and at the Sorbonne. On March 26th, 1714, the future Cardinal Gissy wrote that, judging by what one had heard and read during the winter on the subject of the Bull, it could not have met with worse treatment at Geneva.² When a rumour spread that, subject to a few explanations, Noailles was prepared to accept the Bull, 385 out of 450 parish priests of the archdiocese conjured him not to do anything of the kind, and the parochial clergy was reinforced by 460 priests in the capital and 50 country priests.³ The documents which express these counsels, contain at times the most violent language.⁴ Thus the clergy of the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois array their people against the Pope: never would they accept, even with explanations, a Bull "which attacks the Scriptures and Tradition and overturns dogma, moral teaching and discipline" and condemns so "devout a writer" as Quesnel and his defender, Bossuet.⁵ The Dominicans of Saint-Jacques, who in point of fact earned for themselves a sharp reprimand from their General,⁶ felt compelled to assert that an abyss was being opened under the Archbishop's feet, not only for that prelate personally, but for the whole realm and for the Church, for Christian faith and moral teaching, for religion and its whole spirit, for Scripture and Tradition, for all true teachers and evangelists, in a word, the instigators of the Bull desired to see all that was good swallowed up by the same abyss.⁷

¹ "Le cri de la foi, ou recueil des différens témoignages rendus par plusieurs facultés, chapitres, curés, communautés ecclésiastiques et régulières au sujet de la constitution *Unigenitus*," 1719, *ibid.*, 591.

² *Ibid.*, 605.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 605-618.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 611.

⁶ His letter of February 26, 1717, in [CADRY], II., 4.

⁷ [LOUAIL], 615.

The Oratorians also would not hear of any declarations : the Constitution was only too plain—it revealed in all its nakedness the “monstrous system” of its real authors.¹

There can hardly be a doubt as to who was meant by the “real authors” and “instigators” of the Bull. When, after Louis XIV.’s death, the Jansenists once more acquired strength, the Jesuits were made to feel their power. In November, 1716, Noailles abruptly deprived the hated religious of all faculties to preach and hear confessions within his diocese. Since 1711 measures of this kind had been repeatedly applied to them. His example was followed by the Bishops of Metz, Verdun, Montpellier, Châlons, Saint-Paul and others.² For the rest other priests were similarly punished for their loyalty to the pope. Accordingly, the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Paolucci, ordained,³ that those who had been forbidden to hear confessions solely because of their submission to the Constitution, might continue to do so as before. Another decree of the Roman Inquisition⁴ solemnly condemned a series of writings in which certain French priests had withdrawn their submission to the Constitution. These writings were publicly consigned to the flames by the hand of the executioner, in front of the Minerva in Rome.

In France also the conduct of the Jansenist Universities did not remain unopposed. Various publications appeared, summoning the public to the defence of the Bull.⁵ When in 1716 the theological Faculty of Nantes declared itself against the Bull the local Bishop pronounced a sentence of suspension against the Doctors whilst his colleague at Vannes announced that he would not ordain anyone who had studied at Nantes. The Bishop of Nantes let it be known that similar measures

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 575-580.

³ January 6, 1718 ; Reprint of the decree, *ibid.*, 579.

⁴ February 17, 1717 ; Decree of March 2, in FLEURY, LXIX., 494-499 ; REUSCH, II., 736 ; LECLERQ, II., 35.

⁵ Five of them have been collected under the title of *Les tocsins* (1716), in [LOUAIL], 561-565 ; counter-publications, *ibid.*, 565-571.

were to be expected from other Bishops. But at this junction the Regent forbade interference with his efforts on behalf of peace by such manifestos.¹ Nevertheless not long after the Bishop published an ordinance,² which raised a storm of indignation at the Sorbonne. In it the Bishop described the attitude of many Universities towards the Bull as a "downright scandal" and announced that in future he would not admit into the ranks of his clergy candidates who came from schools hostile to the Constitution. Ravechet delivered a lengthy harangue on this "slandrous" decree, which disturbed the peace of Church and State and would lead to schism³; he failed to understand how a Bishop in one of the most remote corners of the realm, could pretend to possess so much more wisdom than the Sorbonne⁴; he accordingly submitted that the Faculty, with a view to its justification, should draw up a synthesis of its teaching; this was actually done and the summary was read at the Sorbonne in the following December and January⁵; furthermore, Ravechet said, they might appeal to Parliament, to a General Council, to the Pope and to the Church.⁶ On the following day the Faculty decreed that anyone submitting to similar episcopal ordinances, was to forfeit his academic degrees.⁷ Three weeks later Ravechet reverted to the subject. A protest had been raised in some small publications against the action of the Government which made it impossible for the Bishops to forbid attendance at schools hostile to the Constitution, and against the conduct of the professors who arrayed themselves against the chief pastors of the Church.⁸ Thereupon Ravechet exalted the dignity of the Doctors in the words of

¹ *Ibid.*, 494.

² March 14, 1716, *ibid.*, 644.

³ April 1, *ibid.*, 644-653; *cf.* 639.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 651.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 671 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 652 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 655.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 563 *seq.*, 565.

the Council of Constance : from them the Bishop must learn the things of which they are ignorant !

The Bishop of Toulon did not hesitate to condemn Ravechet's speech by means of a *mandement*.¹ Previous to this the Faculty had obtained leave from the Regent to appeal to Parliament against the Bishop ; that body condemned the prelate's *mandement* as well as his earlier prohibition of attendance at schools in which the Constitution was opposed ; the Parliament of Aix identified itself with this condemnation.² Not long after the same Parliament of Aix felt induced to make another stand against some further episcopal ordinances.³ The Bishop of Apt had taken the Faculty of Paris sharply to task for its pride and its assumption of infallibility⁴ ; a similar manifesto was issued by the Bishop of Grasse on May 14th⁵ and on 8th and 13th June the Sorbonne also detected a lack of reverence for the Faculty in some remarks of the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Orleans.⁶ On December 1st, the Syndic proffered some fresh grievances against the Archbishop of Rheims who had complained of the presumption of the Faculties and declared that by Christ's institution, the authentic teachers in the Church were the Bishops, that in this respect the professors were their pupils. In his reply Ravechet, among other things, explained that even simple parish priests were entitled to give testimony of the faith of their churches and that when a Bishop issued a decision without previous testing of this faith, and without consulting the theologians and the parish priests, his testimony could not be considered as the testimony of the churches of his diocese.⁷ In the diocese of Evreux it actually happened that parish priests questioned the country folk on the traditional faith of their parishes and drew up formal reports

¹ *Ibid.*, 658.

² *Ibid.*, 655, 657, 659.

³ *Ibid.*, 663.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 660.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 664.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 661 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 672 *seq.*

on the result of this inquiry with a view to their use against the decision of the Holy See.¹ Thus was Gallicanism forwarded: just as the Pope's judgment is invalid without the concurrence of the Bishops, so is that of the Bishops of no value without the agreement of the parish priests and the theologians. For the utter overthrow of the Church's Constitution only one more step was needed, namely that ecclesiastical authority should be ascribed to the laity. In point of fact such a step had been prepared for by Richer and Quesnel,² above all by the Parliaments which boldly sat in judgment on papal and episcopal ordinances. The University set the crown on its opposition to the Bull when a rumour spread that Cardinal de Noailles was thinking of yielding. On receipt of this news more than a hundred Doctors repaired to the episcopal palace on January 12th, 1717, in order to assure Noailles that they would not flinch in their support of him, though with the significant clause: so long as he himself did not "become disloyal to the country, to truth and to the Church".³ This step displeased the Regent; a royal edict of February 28th, 1717, administered a reprimand to the Doctors.⁴

From the first, Philip of Orleans had regarded the religious cleavage as a danger to public tranquillity, hence he was anxious to restore peace. In September, 1715, the fourteen followers of Cardinal de Noailles were summoned to Paris for a consultation and a committee was set up, consisting of the Attorney-General d'Aguesseau, Marshal d'Huxelles and two other members who promptly withdrew, the former Bishop of Troyes, Chavigny, and the former ambassador in Rome, Amelot.⁵ For appearances' sake both the Assembly and the

¹ FLEURY, *loc. cit.*, 512 *seq.*

² See above, p. 224. Cf. É. PRÉCLIN, *Les Jansénistes du 18^e siècle et la Constitution civile du clergé*, Paris, 1929.

³ January 12, 1717, [LOUAIL], 615-618.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 675; SCHILL, 141, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. [LOUAIL], 580 *seq.*, and the report of De la Broue, Bishop of Mirepoix to the Bishop of Valence, *ibid.*, 776. The fourteen prelates were: The Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Châlons,

commission deemed it necessary to begin by approaching the Pope in order to beg for a fuller explanation of his Bull.¹ Probably connected with this plan is a letter of eighteen Bishops praying the Regent to intervene with the Pope, but the signatories are not Noailles' supporters. Among them are Bishops who were in no way suspect in Rome and who had only subscribed after insisting on a few changes in the rather ambiguous document.² After a time the letter was given to the public without the desired modifications, the idea being probably a desire to suggest that there was a very large number of Bishops who felt that the Bull required further elucidation. However, these unworthy machinations failed to attain their object as the Bishops of Poitiers, Lavaur, Le Mans and Noyon protested that they had not signed the document in its published form ; in a pastoral letter of January 14th, 1716, the Bishop of Agde publicly exposed the fraud.³

As there was no hope of obtaining the desired explanations from the Pope, the committee was of opinion that Noailles and his fourteen friends should themselves supply them and that they should be such as to secure the approval of all the Bishops of France, so that the French Church at least should be of one mind in its interpretation of the Bull.⁴

This was more easily said than done. Not even the assembly

Senez, Saint-Malo, Metz, Tréguier, Pamiers, Verdun, Boulogne, Bayonne, Mirepoix, Montpellier, Arras, Angoulême. *Ibid.*, 769.

¹ DE LA BROUE, *loc. cit.*, 777.

² The letter of the eighteen in [LOUAIL], 582 *seq.* Perhaps a much shorter letter, *ibid.*, 585 *seq.*, is a corrected copy of the former which, according to Jansenist reports (*ibid.*, 586), secured up to thirty-two signatures ; however, this is denied by their opponents (FLEURY, LXIX., 236). The names of the thirty-two signatories are not given and among the seventeen signatories of the first letter mentioned by [LOUAIL], 584, the names of the Bishops of Poitiers and Lavaur are missing. The two letters are also in DU BOIS, 245 *seqq.* The letter of the eighteen was delivered to the Regent in January, 1716.

³ FLEURY, LXIX., 235 ; SCHILL, 130 *seq.*

⁴ [LOUAIL], 777.

of the fifteen could agree. They laboured for a long time on two documents : one¹ intended to lay before the Pope the difficulties which they, in France, found in the Bull, so as to show that they did not lightly refuse to comply with it ; the other,² a theological exposition of the subjects treated in the Bull and destined for the French Bishops, all of whom it was intended to ask for their signature. However, the very suggestion of the two documents met with opposition. Five out of the fifteen were of opinion that they should be content with exposing the difficulties as on the doctrine they would never agree. None the less, three committees of five Bishops each worked on the two explanations, but months went by without result. Some wanted no explanations at all but a complete rejection of the Bull. Noailles, on the other hand, was for explanations and acceptance of the Bull on the basis of those explanations, but no one seemed willing to believe that his suggestions were serious.³ As his friends used to say, he wanted to have it both ways : the one document, viz. the exposition of the difficulties, was to enable him, if possible, to refuse the Bull altogether ; if that was not possible, the second document, viz. the doctrinal exposition, would at least sweeten the bitter pill of acceptance.⁴

The Regent ended by losing patience. In February and March, 1716, he repeatedly pressed for a termination of the work. The document stating the difficulties was finally drawn up⁵ and two envoys were chosen to take it to Rome in the King's name. However, when the Bishops were about to put their signatures to the letter, it was found that, as once before,⁶ Noailles had again taken an incredible liberty : out of the fourteen objections he had struck out four on his own authority. This caused a great stir : on May 14th, the delegates had to set out without the document which was

¹ *Ibid.*, 755-760.

² *Ibid.*, 777 ; cf. 769.

³ *Ibid.*, 767 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 771.

⁵ *Recueil de diverses difficultés, ibid.*, 755-760.

⁶ See above, p. 189.

eventually forwarded to them after the fresh disputes over the missing points had been settled.¹

At the meetings of the fifteen it was openly stated that the offer of acceptance of the Bull with explanations was only meant as a polite refusal.² How they understood their deputation to Rome appears from the very selection of the deputies. Their choice fell on Chevalier, one of the Vicars-General of Bissy of Meaux ; but Chevalier's own Bishop, after vain representations to the Regent, deemed it necessary,³ by means of a circular letter, to assure some of his colleagues that he had no knowledge of what Chevalier was to represent in Rome and that he had endeavoured to get his appointment cancelled. To the Pope he wrote that Chevalier was suspected of Jansenism.⁴ At the chief deputy's own request a companion was assigned to him in the person of the Oratorian De La Borde, the author of the subversive book which had been condemned together with the *Hexapla*.⁵ Chevalier was instructed⁶ to represent to the Pope that the Bishops of France had not accepted the Bull unconditionally and would never so accept it. The explanations must come from the Pope ; should he deny them, it would redound to the discredit of the Holy See that he should have refused to take note of such well founded objections as were those of the French Bishops ; the Sorbonne would then appeal to the universal Church and the Council. Should Clement XI. decline all explanations, there remained yet another way : let him confirm the theological explanation which would be forwarded from France—in other words, the fifteen were prepared to draw up a Bull themselves to which the Pope was expected to submit. If he declined, he would be told that France could manage without him ; the Parliaments and the Universities would act and in the King's name publish a declaration which would put an end to the

¹ [LOUAIL], 773, 780.

² *Ibid.*, 772.

³ *Ibid.*, 783.

⁴ FLEURY, LXIX., 239. Cf. CARREYRE, 764 *seqq.*

⁵ See above, p. 236.

⁶ [LOUAIL], 784-7.

controversy and leave the whole affair to the judgment of the universal Church.

Up to this time Clement XI. had adopted a waiting policy in regard to the French troubles. On account of the Gallican liberties, any interference was liable to increase the mischief; however, about May, 1716, he ordained that the cardinalitial Congregations were not to grant confirmation for any episcopal see or any benefice without the Pope's express authorization.¹ As long as the distribution of benefices remained in Noailles' hands it was impossible to trust the men appointed by him, as was said at a meeting in the nuncio's house; if he were left a free hand, within three years all the Bishops of France would be Jansenists.²

About this time Clement XI. addressed a letter to the Regent,³ the first after a silence of seven months. In it the Pope excuses his long delay by his trust in the word of the Regent who had promised him an early settlement of the conflict over the Constitution. But at present the obstinacy of Cardinal Noailles and his adherents was manifest. Accordingly, he was now forwarding two other Briefs which the nuncio would hand to the Regent to be passed on by him to the Archbishop and his followers; he commanded that the Bull be accepted

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 230. The affair ended only three years later. In France it was claimed that the Pope had no right to refuse the Bulls to the nominees of the King, and it looked as if Bishops would be installed without the Pope. To avoid the worst, Clement XI. finally gave way ([LOUAIL], 619, 793). Bossuet's nephew experienced special difficulties in his nomination to the Bishopric of Troyes (CARREYRE, 762 *seq.*). Many of the Bishops nominated in 1716 and 1717 only received consecration in 1719, as, for example, De la Cassaigne, nominated for Lescar, De Camboust for Tarbes, D'Entraigue for Clermont, Castries for Tours, Lorraine for Bayeux, Tourouvre for Rodez, Bossuet for Troyes. Cf. JEAN, 12, 83, 86, 90, 107, 347, 376, 423.

² CARREYRE, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XXII. (1926), 760.

³ May 1, 1716, *Opera*, Epist., 2146; FLEURY, LXIX., 252 *seq.* Cf. 248 *seq.*

within a time limit of two months ; after the lapse of that period Noailles would forfeit his cardinalitial dignity and judicial proceedings would be taken against him and his followers. The Regent was informed of the contents of the two Briefs previous to their arrival ; under some pretext or other, Orleans had them suppressed by Marshal D'Huxelles,¹ but in spite of this measure the fifteen Bishops had knowledge of the Pope's threats which did not fail to impress them.²

Clement XI. could not expect to receive an answer from Philip of Orleans, though the latter replied indirectly in a letter to the French ambassador in Rome,³ recommending Chevalier and his mission. The letter suggested that the Pope should issue some explanations : such action would not be derogatory to the honour of the Holy See. These explanations, together with an expression of opinion on the exposition of the fifteen, could be forwarded to the Regent who would then be able, with one word, to settle the whole conflict. Should the Pope decline, they would have to think of a national council.

In spite of the Regent's recommendation, the memorial in which the fifteen stated their objections to the Bull so shocked the Pope that he could hardly believe that it was the work of Bishops.⁴ He saw the necessity of cutting off every possibility of the Jansenist party exploiting either his words or his silence, or any act of his, as an approval of their views. Chevalier was not admitted into his presence at all and even his discussions with Cardinal Paolucci came to an end on June 25th, after only two interviews. On June 27th Clement XI., surrounded by thirty-eight Cardinals, held a magnificent consistory, such as had not been witnessed since the days of

¹ *Ibid.*, 249 ; [LOUAIL], 619. A fourth Brief of May 1, 1716 (FLEURY, LXIX., 348 *seqq.* ; *Opera*, Epist., 2142), declares the interference of the Conseil de Conscience in internal ecclesiastical affairs to be null and void ; *cf.* above, p. 255.

² FLEURY, LXIX., 249 *seq.*

³ LECLERCQ, I., 171 *seq.* On the commissions of Noailles and the Procurator-General for Chevalier, see CARREYRE, 766 *seqq.*

⁴ FLEURY, LXIX., 240.

Urban VIII.¹ After touching lightly on the Regent's attitude towards the latest Brief, the Pope spoke of Noailles who, as shown by his letter of 1705, knew quite well what he owed to the Holy See: the only question was what punishment should be inflicted on him and his friends. He would not consent to issue explanations of the Bull—they would be useless with people who refuse to submit to the Pope. In previous letters Noailles had acknowledged that it was his duty to obey the Holy See and promised to submit to a papal Bull against Quesnel. The fact that there was no need of explicit acceptance by the universal Church to establish the validity of the Constitution, had been practically acknowledged by the French when the question of "respectful silence" in regard to the Bull had been raised. He ended by observing that the Jansenists only attacked the most recent Bull against Quesnel in order to enable them to contest in like manner the validity of the earlier decisions against Jansenius. Lastly the Pope submitted the question of the procedure to be followed in depriving unworthy Noailles of his Cardinal's hat—he asked them to hand in their opinion in writing, within a fortnight. The Pope's decision became known in Paris on July 24th: Noailles must either submit within fifty days or forfeit his cardinalitial dignity.²

Noailles' party now sought to gain time and to obtain a delay. In spite of everything Chevalier ended by being allowed to negotiate with the Cardinals,³ more especially with Ferrari and Tolomei, and eventually with Aldrovandi also,⁴ but he soon made himself utterly impossible by his arrogant demeanour and by his insulting remarks about the

¹ DORSANNE, I., 277; FLEURY, 241 *seqq.*; CARREYRE, 772 *seqq.*; [LOUAIL], 790 *seq.*

² [LOUAIL], 793.

³ FLEURY, LXIX., 247 *seq.*; [LOUAIL], 794–7, 800.

⁴ FLEURY, LXIX., 258; CARREYRE, 776 *seqq.* Tolomei is said to have declared at the conferences that the Bull *Unigenitus* had only a disciplinary character [LOUAIL], 802). However, Tolomei denied that he ever said this (*ibid.*, 838; *cf.* CARREYRE, 785 *seq.*, 790).

Bull.¹ The negotiations were continued with greater skill by the French envoy, Cardinal de la Trémoille, and the Pope ended by replying to his proposals: it was to the effect that there were two ways towards peace, either the voluntary or the forcible submission of Noailles' party.²

The consistory as well as Clement XI.'s whole conduct had made it perfectly plain that the Pope could not be made to yield by the means hitherto employed, hence the Regent, who was anxious to see the end of the wearisome dispute, had recourse to new expedients.³ He was willing that the Jesuit Lafitau, who enjoyed the favour of Clement XI., should be invited to come to Paris from Rome⁴ whilst by an autograph letter he himself summoned Cardinal Rohan from Strassburg. Lafitau persuaded the Regent to make yet another request for approval by Rome of the dogmatic exposition of the Bishops of the opposition, but only after the prelates who supported the Constitution had stated their opinion on the document. During September, 1716, Rohan discussed the subject in an assembly of thirty-three Bishops, at which the Regent was sometimes present, but the adherents of the Constitution were no more to be persuaded to approve the exposition of their opponents than the various metamorphoses of that "Proteus", viz. an extract from Noailles and the so-called eight articles.

During a temporary absence of Rohan the Jansenist prelates had once more recourse to an expedient which had been tried sixty years earlier, viz., a document in three columns, one of which gave the text of the condemned propositions whilst the two others supplied a Catholic and a heretical interpretation of them.⁵ However, a so-called

¹ FLEURY, *loc. cit.* More favourable criticisms of Chevalier in CARREYRE, 785; cf. also 787.

² FLEURY, 261-3.

³ *Ibid.*, 264 seq.; SCHILL, 135 seq.; [LOUAIL], 791 seq., 804 seqq.

⁴ CARREYRE, 786 seqq.

⁵ This *écrit à trois colonnes* ([LOUAIL], 805) took two to three months to complete. Some samples of this document, due to the

Catholic sense could only be read into the propositions by altering their wording or by an unnatural interpretation, hence this device also failed to lead to the goal.

Towards the end of November Rohan was back in Paris when fresh consultations began. The three-column work was put on one side and a return made to the drafts which had served as a basis of the earlier discussion with him. No result was obtained even when, in order to simplify the negotiations, five Bishops from each party¹ discussed the matter in presence of the Regent. There was no agreement even among the opponents of the Bull: "Some described it as heretical, others as merely obscure; some were willing to accept it with certain declarations, others were for rejecting it altogether. At one time they blamed the Pope, at another his officials; one day it was said that there was a question of dogma, on another that it was merely a question of words."² The Archbishop of Rheims, who had been prevented from going to Paris by the troubles in his diocese, had good reason for warning his colleagues against the opposition's professions of faith.³ By silence on important points, by dragging in matters foreign to the dispute, agreement on a dogmatic exposition was almost in sight, but no agreement seemed possible on a formula of acceptance of the Bull. At length, at the sitting of February 26th, 1717, Noailles submitted a list of twenty-six propositions which, he alleged, had been unjustly condemned by the Bull. This put an end to the conferences and the Bishops returned to their dioceses.⁴

Whilst the Bishops spent their energy in endless discussions, Clement XI. also took a tentative step towards peace. Long before this the College of Cardinals had offered to bring

pen of Tiberge and Brisacier, Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, *ibid.*, 811 *seqq.* Rohan returned to Strassburg on October 7.

¹ Their names are in [LOUAIL], 881.

² *Ibid.*, 818.

³ *Ibid.*, 819; FLEURY, LXIX., 449.

⁴ [LOUAIL], 804-891. On the conference of February 26: DE LA BROUE, *ibid.*, 878, ROHAN, *ibid.*, 886.

pressure to bear on a fellow Cardinal by means of a warning letter ; in November, 1716, the Pope accepted the proposal. They had prayed the Pope, the Cardinals wrote,¹ to refrain from sterner measures, and Clement XI. had willingly complied with their request. They then proceed, in gentlest tones, to appraise the Archbishop's conduct ; blame is chiefly laid on his entourage and he himself is exhorted to obey. A covering letter to the Regent,² without which there would have been no prospect of the Cardinals' letter being received, enumerates the reasons for which Clement XI. was unable to adopt the suggestions which De la Trémoille had made in the name of the Regent : there simply was no other remedy except the full and sincere submission of the rebels. Should Noailles and his followers persist in refusing to submit, the Pope would carry out against him what he had decided long ago.

Even greater emphasis characterizes a Brief to the Bishops of France who were loyal to the Church.³ In it Clement XI. surveys the whole development of the dispute from the moment of the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*. The very violence of the opposition, the Pope wrote,⁴ showed before the whole world how deeply the evil had infiltrated and how necessary the remedy of the Bull really was.⁵ Therefore let the Bishops support the Pope's efforts both with their erring colleagues and with the Regent. The sterner measures which, in so far as the Bishops were concerned, were only hinted at in this letter, were already given effect to, at least to some extent, in another Brief⁶ which declared the Sorbonne to have forfeited all its papal privileges.

The Briefs shared the usual fate of papal ordinances in

¹ Letter of November 16, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 269-276.

² November 23, *ibid.*, 276-282.

³ November 20, *ibid.*, 282-296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 285 *seq.*

⁵ " Plus la constitution trouve de résistance, plus elle étoit nécessaire," Fénelon wrote to Daubenton, February 5, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 216.

⁶ November 18, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 296-304.

France. By order of the Regent the agents of the clergy forbade the Bishops to receive the Brief addressed to them¹; should they receive a papal letter they were to hand it over to the Regent. Parliamentary prohibitions followed.² In the Parliament of Metz the Attorney-General observed that it was a question of restraining a foreign Power which was never at a loss for a pretext to extend the range of its authority.³ His colleague of Rennes described the Gallican liberties as "a precious relic of the government of the primitive Church which must be safeguarded against papal arbitrariness".⁴ In presence of fantastic statements like these, Clement XI. instructed Lafitau to remind the French that Louis XIV. was the first French King to confirm a dogmatic decision of a Pope by royal letters patent and to order its registration by Parliament; that previous to Louis XIV. dogmatic Bulls had not even once been the object of a royal declaration, and that previous to Philip the Fair even non-dogmatic decrees of the Pope were freely published without interference by the Government. These representations impressed the Regent at least to the extent that he forbade the larger gathering of Bishops which had been contemplated.⁵

(9.)

Philip of Orleans had made a big mistake when he allowed the enemies of the Constitution to prolong their negotiations in Paris; they strengthened and confirmed each other in their position until they constituted a close and solid party.

¹ December 9 and 12, 1716, in [LOUAIL], 832.

² Paris on the 16th, Rouen on 22nd, Rennes on 24th, Dijon on 28th, Metz on December 29, 1716, Besançon on 2nd, Perpignan on 4th, Bordeaux and Aix on January 7, 1717. *Ibid.*, 834.

³ [LOUAIL], 834.

⁴ "Ce précieux reste de l'ancien gouvernement de la primitive Église." *Ibid.*

⁵ FLEURY, LXIX., 338 *seq.*

Four of the fifteen Bishops took up an increasingly obstinate attitude, for they would not allow the Bull to be accepted even with explanations, but wished to see it rejected unconditionally. These were Bishops De la Broue of Mirepoix, Colbert of Montpellier, de Langle of Boulogne and Soanen of Senez.¹ Characteristically enough their conduct was once more influenced by what had become a kind of fixed idea with the Jansenists, namely, fear of the Jesuits. They believed themselves to have discovered that the appeal against Quesnel secretly re-asserted *thèses* which everybody in France accused the Jesuits of teaching, so that the Constitution was nothing else but a cunning stroke by those Religious against which there was need not of explanation, but of the sternest rejection.² The four came to the conclusion that the only way out of the difficulty lay in an appeal to a General Council. Noailles shared their opinion. To declare against the Bull altogether he did not dare, out of consideration for the Regent, but to submit to it he regarded as impossible ; when a rumour spread that he was inclined to do so, thirty parish priests of Paris³ declared that they would accept explanations of the Bull neither from the Pope nor from their Bishop, whilst the Sorbonne bluntly drew his attention to the fact that he could only count on the support of the Faculty if he remained loyal to the "truth".⁴ In his embarrassment Noailles secretly inquired from the Bishop of Mirepoix, the only one of the four who still wavered, why he hesitated to appeal to the Council.⁵ As a matter of fact on March 1st, 1717, the four Bishops signed a document with such an appeal which

¹ DE LA BROUE, in [LOUAIL], 779 ; V. DURAND, *Le Jansénisme au XVIII^e. siècle et Joachim Colbert*, Toulouse, 1907.

² " Je vous avoue, M., que nous fûmes tous frappés de cette considération, et nous jugeâmes, qu'il n'étoit pas possible de remédier par des explications aux maux que les Jésuites avoient eu dessein de faire à l'Église par cette Constitution." DE LA BROUE, *loc. cit.*, 780.

³ December 17, 1716, in LECLERCQ, II., 26.

⁴ See above, p. 265.

⁵ DE LA BROUE in [LOUAIL], 878 ; *cf.* 886.

had been drawn up in the preceding November by the Bishops of Montpellier and Senez; for the publication of the appeal they selected the Sorbonne. On March 5th, 1717, in the course of the customary session, the President was informed that some Bishops were at the door demanding admission. Six Doctors went out to meet them; the Bishops took their places and De la Broue explained the purpose of their visit. Soanen of Senez read the text of the appeal and all expressed their agreement by crying: *Adhaeremus! Adhaeremus!* During the voting some members of the mendicant Orders left the hall. One Franciscan voted against the appeal, a Sulpician said that he not only disapproved, but even abhorred it, but in the end he softened the latter expression. Of the rest, ninety-six sided with the Bishops whilst some twelve Doctors were of opinion that they should first inform the Regent or Noailles.¹

The appeal² begins by painting in gloomy colours the harm which, in the view of the four Bishops, the papal Constitution had done. The enemies of the Church, we read, rejoice, heretics and unbelievers scoff, the new converts are in uncertainty, the restless supporters of a disastrous and corrupt moral teaching triumph, the light of orthodoxy is dimmed, confusion reigns everywhere. In vain during three long years had efforts been made with the Pope in the hope that he would end by realizing that the "truth" had been kept from him and that false advisers had taken him by surprise. Hence there was nothing left to them except to appeal to the universal Church. The document then alleges that the condemnation of the 101 propositions (propositions 90-2) was contrary to the principles of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sacred rights of the Bishops, the liberties of the realm, the teaching of the Fathers who unanimously taught that the power of the keys had been committed to the universal Church. Furthermore the Constitution condemned propositions (87-8) which breathed the pure

¹ *Ibid.*, 898; cf. 909.

² *Ibid.*, 901-8; FLEURY, LXIX., 456 seqq.; Du Bois, 251.

spirit of the canons on the penitential discipline ; it overthrew the surest foundations of Christian moral teaching, not excepting the first and greatest commandment, that of the love of God ; it tended not only to extinguish the sacred fire which Christ came to bring on earth, but to take away the divine light which can only be obtained from the reading of Holy Writ ; it obscured the difference between the Old and the New Testament and condemned propositions which were textually taken from the Fathers of the Church. Then came the formal appeal : "For the honour of Almighty God, for the preservation and exaltation of the Catholic Faith and Tradition, for the peace and quiet of the Church and the realm, for the defence of the rights of Bishops and the liberties of the French Church," they appealed against the Constitution *Unigenitus* and against all that had followed it and would follow it, including the papal excommunication which could be foreseen, to a future General Council legitimately assembled in a safe place, to which they might freely and securely send their representatives. Repeated assurances of respect for the Holy See mingled with these declarations.

The events in the Sorbonne were at once reported to the Regent who became exceedingly angry. The four were ordered to leave Paris within twenty-four hours and on March 19th they were commanded to return to their dioceses. Ravechet was banished to Brittany where he died on his way to Rennes ; the notary who had authenticated the Bull was sent to the Bastille ; the Faculty was forbidden to hold any meetings.¹

Meanwhile the appellants were not idle. They informed the papal nuncio of their appeal² and managed to get its text into the hands of the Pope himself. One afternoon, during an audience, a devout pilgrim presented himself before Clement XI. He too, like the rest, kissed the Pope's foot after which he handed him a document. During the night

¹ [LOUAIL], 913 *seq.*

² FLEURY, 501.

the same pilgrim, who in reality was a Paris notary hired at great expense, affixed the text of the appeal on the door of St. Peter's ; at the bottom of the document was a notary's attestation that it had been placed in the hands of the Pope.¹

In the archdiocese of Paris the conduct of the four Bishops acted like a contagion. In the capital itself and in the suburbs thirty parish priests and 700 other priests, and about three-fourths of the parish priests and 150 assistant priests of the entire diocese gave their adhesion to the appeal to the General Council.² Some of the religious Orders followed suit ; eighty Oratorians, sixty-eight Maurists and thirty-four Feuillants appealed.³ It is noteworthy that most of the Dominicans of the famous old convent of St. Jacques allowed themselves to be swept away by the current,⁴ although the Order had always defended papal infallibility and the members of the other two Dominican houses in Paris remained steadfast for the most part.⁵ The well-known Church historian, Noel Alexandre, belonged to the party of the appellants until shortly before his death.⁶ On the other hand, many religious bodies, Lazarists, Franciscans and Jesuits, remained loyal to the Pope.⁷ Bishops and priests, laymen of every condition, had their names inserted in the lists of the appellants ; among them there were artisans, women and boys ; the archiepiscopal palace was always open for the reception of appeals from the

¹ BUVAT, in LECLERQ, II., 36 ; FLEURY, 470 *seq.*

² [CADRY], II., 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 3 *seq.* De Bissy's measures against the Maurists, *ibid.*, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 ; COULON in *Revue des sciences philos. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 49 *seqq.*

⁵ COULON, 312 ; Letter of Cloche, General of the Order, December 6, 1718, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.* For the Dominicans the motive of the appeal was the fear that the Bull favoured Molinism. *Ibid.*, 65, 281.

⁶ COULON, *loc. cit.*, 49 *seqq.*, 279 *seqq.* Noailles put under an interdict all the Dominicans who had induced Alexandre to make his submission to the Pope. *Ibid.*, 289, 293.

⁷ SCHILL, 148.

whole kingdom.¹ Even gifts of money were forthcoming for the purpose of encouraging opposition to the Pope.² The number of appeals for the diocese of Paris alone is given as 1,400 by the Jansenists.³ Quesnel (*ob.* 1719), who occasionally drew attention to himself by his comments on the ecclesiastical situation, published a voluminous appeal to the Council.⁴

The whole University of Paris would have identified itself with the appeal of the theological Faculty had it not been prevented by a prohibition of the Regent.⁵ On the other hand, at Rheims the professors of theology together with the whole University, more than 100 parish priests and a few monasteries and Chapters, appealed to the General Council. At Nantes the theological Faculty did the same ; at Rouen thirty-nine parish priests appealed.⁶ Apart from these the rebellion of the four Bishops only had a considerable following in the diocese of Châlons and Senez.⁷ At Metz only three Vicars-General and four priests joined, and at Troyes, Toulon and Nevers only a very few took their side. With the exception of Senez, the diocesans of the four standard-bearers of the rebellion would have nothing to do with the step taken by their Bishops. The Bishop of Boulogne met with a hostile reception by the people of Calais because of the appeal. At Mirepoix, the Bishop found few sympathizers ; at Montpellier thirteen priests had appealed at once and many sided with their Bishop, but the Chapter only took note of the Bishop's appeal with the reservation that this did not imply approval ; in the parish of Notre Dame the parish priest refused to read the Bishop's pastoral and when the curate attempted to do so, he was prevented

¹ *Ibid.* ; FLEURY, LXIX., 504 *seq.* ; [CADRY], II., 6.

² LAFITAU, II., 8 *seqq.* ; SCHILL, 151 ; FLEURY, 502.

³ [CADRY], II., 4.

⁴ August 8, 1717, *ibid.*, 69 ; DU BOIS, 351 *seqq.*, 410 *seqq.* His other declarations in [CADRY], II., 41, 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-10. Decree of Rheims, March 8, Nantes, March 7, 1717, in FLEURY, LXIX., 475-9, 481-8.

⁷ [CADRY], II., 21 ; LAFITAU, II., 13 *seqq.*

by noise.¹ Among the Bishops, only those of Verdun and Pamiers took the part of the four, but at Pamiers no notary could be found to authenticate the appeal and no episcopal official to register it.² The Intendant of Languedoc let it be known that he was provided with four orders of banishment for the first four who should appeal.³ Noailles showed plainly enough that he approved the others' appeal to the Council, and on April 3rd he drew up his own appeal though for the time being he kept it quiet.⁴

Thus the danger of a schism became more and more concrete. Though the appellants only constituted an exiguous minority by comparison with the universal Church and even with the French Church, their number was nevertheless large enough, and there was reason to fear that the movement, once started, would gather momentum. Moreover, the appeal to a General Council, which had already been forbidden under pain of excommunication by Pius II. and Julius II., was only a cloak under which naked disobedience to the Church hid itself. The appeal was, as Pius II. had observed on a similar occasion, to a tribunal which existed nowhere and of which no one knew whether and when it would meet. The appeal was to a "legitimate Council" in a "safe place", but the appellants had never recognized a Council as legitimate and free whenever it decided against them. The next general Council was that of the Vatican; when we consider that the Gallicans appeal to its mortal enemy and destroyer as to a saviour, the thing is not without its comical side.⁵ As it

¹ [CADRY], II., 11-21; SCHILL, 150; letter of the Dominicans of Montpellier, June 27, 1717, to their General asking him for instructions, Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 193, f. 282 *seq.*

² [CADRY], II., 7. The Decrees of Verdun, March 22; Pamiers, April 12, 1717, in FLEURY, LXIX., 488-491.

³ LECLERQ, II., 37. "Dans plus de la moitié des diocèses du royaume il n'y eut pas un seul appellant." LAFITAU, II., 14.

⁴ [CADRY], II., 6.

⁵ The residue of the Jansenists, says the Jansenist GAZIER (II., 274), "n'eurent même pas l'idée de demander que l'appel des

was, ecclesiastical circles were faced with an exceedingly dangerous movement with which it was very difficult to deal. If a mistake was made the result might be irreparable for centuries or even for all time. Already a threat had been uttered, with a view to impressing the Pope, that the Regent might prorogue¹ all further negotiations until the next General Council, and if such a Council came about through the action of the secular princes a repetition of the days of Constance and Basle might very well be witnessed.

Clement XI. managed to rise superior to all resentment of these humiliating affronts to his dignity. For the moment he left the four Bishops alone. However, Noailles had had no share in their conduct, hence it seemed that he disapproved of extreme measures. Accordingly the Pope addressed to him a fairly long autograph letter on Maunday Thursday,² in which, alluding to the sacred time, viz. the solemnity of the Sacrament of unity, the remembrance of the undivided tunic and the unbroken bones of the Crucified, he admonishes the Bishop to give ear to the voice of Christ speaking through His Vicar, and to make the sacrifice of subjecting his own opinion to the judgment of the universal Church. Noailles' answer³ to this letter (dictated by the heart), is offensive in the highest degree. After the usual assurances of unlimited attachment to the Holy See and the person of Clement XI., he submits to the Pope a long list of alleged errors and inaccuracies in his Constitution which, however, for appearances' and courtesy's sake, are not ascribed to the Pope himself but to the enemies of the Church and to certain theologians who deduced the worst possible consequences from it, thereby throwing the whole Church into confusion. However, this transparent mask deceived no one; to Marshal

quatre évêques au futur concile fût adressé au concile qui allait se réunir " (that of 1870).

¹ Memorial of DE LA TRÉMOILLE, in [CADRY], II., 42 *seq.*

² March 25, 1717, *Opera*, Epist., 2226; FLEURY, LXIX., 492 *seq.*

³ May 6, 1717, in DU BOIS, 600-611. Cf. [CADRY], II., 46 *seq.*

D'Huxelles this arrogant language seemed indeed "devilish episcopal", but the Pope could only see in it a mockery of the Constitution and a humiliation of his own person.¹ When De la Trémoille proposed that he should declare by a Brief that the consequences pointed out by Noailles could not justly be deduced from the Constitution, Clement XI., for peace' sake, very nearly consented to such a declaration which would have been humiliating enough; he omitted it, however, as De la Trémoille, after consultation with Chevalier and other Frenchmen, did not dare to promise that it would yield any result.² At the same time as De la Trémoille, Lafitau sought to induce the Pope to approve the dogmatic explanation drawn up by Noailles. These negotiations, which were long drawn, had been originated by the Regent who forwarded his own proposals together with the reply of the Archbishop of Paris.³

The conversations in Rome led to no result so that for the moment the defence against the appellants depended solely on efforts in France itself. The representations of Rohan and the Bishops assembled around him obtained some success. They confirmed the Regent in his opinion that he had from the first taken a wrong course in his attempt to solve the confusion, and this conviction led to certain consequences. On March 10th Noailles' request for the recall of the four banished Bishops was rejected by the Regent, whilst on the other hand he asked Rohan that some of the Bishops should remain permanently in Paris as his advisers. When twenty-eight of the Bishops gathered round Rohan signed two petitions, one of which protested against the pretensions of the Universities, Chapters, parish priests and Parliaments, whilst the other complained of the spate of

¹ *Ibid.*, 48; SCHILL, 156.

² *Ibid.*

³ [CADRY], II., 72 *seqq.* A Jansenist account says that LAFITAU offered the Pope money for his confirmation! LAFITAU, II., 75; LECLERQ, II., 42.

pamphlets,¹ Orleans wrote to the first President of Parliament ² that in those places where the Constitution had been published, the priests must not rise against it. In these memorials there was no reference to the appeal but there is mention of it in a document sent in by Cardinal Bissy; the nullity in law of the appeal and the acceptance of the Constitution by the universal Church are demonstrated in these papers.³ True the Regent did not encourage Bissy to print his explanations, in fact they only saw the light in the following year. However, on July 18th, 1717, Orleans addressed a circular to the Bishops informing them that at the beginning of the following month the Duke De la Feuillade would be dispatched to Rome; that the instructions which he would receive would most probably lead to a lasting peace. Meanwhile let the Bishops refrain from any step that might cross his efforts; Parliament would not in any way encroach on their rights; in case of appeals "without necessity", let the Bishops have recourse to the Regent.⁴ It goes without saying that the Bishops could not be too well pleased with a letter forbidding only appeals "without necessity", but not the appeal in itself and which, moreover, took away from the ecclesiastical superiors the right of punishing the appellants. Cardinal Bissy endeavoured to make capital out of the fact that in the first draft the words "without necessity" had been omitted, but the Regent insisted on this clause.⁵ Thereupon the Bishops who were loyal to the Pope resolved to safe-guard their authority. On a former occasion already they had pointed out to the Regent that it was their pastoral duty to proceed against the rebellious parish priests, if a national Council did not come about or the appeals were not suppressed ⁶; after that Rohan, Bissy and the Archbishop

¹ [CADRY], II., 24 *seq.*

² March 19, 1717, *ibid.*, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 50 *seq.*

⁵ Bissy, July 25, Orleans, August 17, 1717, in [CADRY], II., 51 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

of Bourges promised, in view of the mission of the Duke de la Feuillade, to refrain from a decisive step until Christmas,¹ but as the Regent did not dispatch the Duke and published his own declaration on appeals "without necessity", Bissy considered himself as no longer bound by his promise and drew up a pastoral² which was published by all the Bishops who supported the Constitution. It stated that the appellants had incurred excommunication and were incapable of carrying out their ecclesiastical functions. The draft was betrayed to the Regent who now carried out a long planned measure. Chevalier had suggested the enforcement by royal decree of silence on all the parties until a General Council or the Pope should decide the matter. The Regent would have preferred to have a confirmation of Noailles' dogmatic explanation, but to this Clement XI. would not agree, though he was willing that an express declaration should leave the decision to him. Thus after a prohibition had been issued in France on May 17th forbidding the publication of any writings without permission,³ a royal decree was published on October 7th, 1717,⁴ ordering complete silence on the subject of the Constitution until the Pope should have found means to settle the dispute. Parliament registered the decree⁵ and Chancellor D'Aguesseau advised the Parliaments to see to its observance.⁶

The decree was not well obeyed for it encountered universal dissatisfaction. The Jansenists were dissatisfied because the Regent set them aside, the orthodox, because the defenders of the faith were placed on the same level as the advocates of error.⁷ There now appeared a publication giving in two columns the decree of the Regent and a similar document

¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

² September, 1717, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 82-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 85 *seq.*

⁶ Circular letter of October 18, 1717, *ibid.*, 86 *seq.* On the origin of the order of silence, LAFITAU, II., 49 *seqq.*

⁷ [CADRY], II., 90.

of the Byzantine Emperor Constantius in the affair of the Monothelites, the so-called *Typus*, with a view to showing their affinity ; added to it was the condemnation of the *Typus* by Pope Martin I. and the first Council of the Lateran.¹ The decree of the Regent did not escape the Pope's displeasure. Cardinal Paolucci spoke to the French nuncio, Bentivoglio,² of the Pope's painful surprise that the Regent, after so considerate a treatment by the Holy See, should now publish, without consulting Rome, a decree that treated the whole affair as if it were still undecided. The favour of the Government during the last two years had made the Jansenists insolent ; what must not be expected from them in the future now that the Regent put them on the level of the orthodox ! A Brief to the Duke of Orleans himself³ repeats this thought and emphatically declares that peace could be obtained by no other means except by the sincere submission of the appellants.

However, the Regent tried other means. Though the mission of the Duke de la Feuillade had not come off, Orleans had not given up the idea of direct peace negotiations with Rome. He persuaded Noailles to promise to accept the Bull if the Pope confirmed the dogmatic explanation in the composition of which the Sorbonne had also had a share ; Noailles handed the Regent a document with a promise to this effect. However, this time also the negotiations failed. The promise of the Archbishop of Paris was so worded that De la Trémoille could not even see his way to presenting it to the Pope. The dogmatic explanation was the result of concerted effort on the part of the French Bishops and, by Noailles' wish, it was presented to the Pope in the name of the friends of the Constitution ; nevertheless, after it had been examined

¹ The pamphlet was attributed to the friends of the Constitution, but [CADRY] (II., 89 *seq.*) found out " par des voyes très sures que cette pièce fut imaginée et jetée dans le public par les Appellants ".

² October, 1717, *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*

³ December 7, 1717, *Opera*, Epist., 2276 ; FLEURY, LXIX., 552 *seq.*

by Cardinals Paolucci, Fabroni, Tolomei and Albani, Clement XI. declared that he could not approve it though he was prepared to publish himself a similar declaration as regards substance and order. To this Noailles would not consent. He demanded that the Pope should either confirm the French exposition or publish a new Constitution in which the Bull against Quesnel would not be taken into account. Thus the negotiations were hopeless; moreover, by means of secret inquiries from Rohan and Bissy, it was ascertained that, as on former occasions, Noailles had tampered with the copy presented in Rome, the text of which differed from the French original in forty-eight places.¹ On top of everything it so happened that a copy of Noailles' appeal, which he had hitherto kept secret, was found among the papers of the late Bishop of Lectoure² and made public by means of the press. This incident was extremely awkward for the Archbishop: if he promised the Pope and the Regent to accept the Constitution, against which he had appealed, his duplicity was plainly revealed. Besides, on account of the command of silence, the Regent could not tolerate the publication of the document. It was accordingly suppressed by an official decree, but in such wise that the whole blame fell on the illicit publication, not on the appeal itself and on Noailles.³

Meanwhile all sorts of rumours circulated in Paris about the Archbishop's very slight inclination to submit; these rumours promptly raised another storm among his followers. Twenty-six parish priests of Paris assured him in writing that they, on their part, maintained their old standpoint and would continue to maintain it even if their Archbishop changed his mind. Fifty Doctors of the Sorbonne gave their adhesion to this declaration. As a matter of fact profound

¹ SCHILL, 160-2.

² De Polestron, d. October 13, 1717 (JEAN, 83). An **Avviso* of December 25, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, says that the question of the Bull *Unigenitus*, which had apparently been settled, revived more strongly than ever through a printed appeal by Noailles.

³ [CADRY], II., 91 *seqq.*; LECLERQ, II., 42.

excitement over the Bull is a characteristic feature of the period. The Constitution *Unigenitus* was a current topic of conversation, everybody had his own opinion about it—Doctors of the Sorbonne and Councillors of Parliament, parish priests and religious, down to sextons and beadles. Men tied ribbons of various colours to the handles of their swords by which they were known as adherents of the Constitution or the Regency, at times, in fact, the sword would fly out of its scabbard when arguments failed the armed theologians.¹ In spite of official prohibitions, polemical writings great and small were tossed to and fro between the two parties.² Once again the Sorbonne displayed particular zeal in a Jansenistic-Gallican sense. In their memorial the twenty-eight Bishops had protested against the encroachments of the professors, hence the latter, in their reply, invoked the protection of the Regent against the Bishops.³ Logically enough, in view of the fact that it had altered its standpoint in questions concerning Jansenism, the Faculty would have revoked its former censure of Arnauld, had not the State Chancellor intervened; at any rate, thereafter, subscription to this censure was no longer demanded.⁴

This characteristic of the Jansenists' aversion for Rome was so great that they conceived a project of seeking contact with the Anglicans. The Jansenist Louis Ellies Dupin wrote in this sense to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, on February 11th, 1718, and received an encouraging answer. However, the transaction raised suspicions in Paris, Dupin's papers were sequestered, with the result that it became evident that he was ready to make most important concessions. Dupin was of opinion that, without any loss to the Catholic Faith, he might sacrifice auricular confession, transubstantiation, religious vows, clerical celibacy, Lent

¹ LECLERQ, II., 43.

² *Ibid.*, 44.

³ [CADRY], II., 38. Cf. above, p. 284.

⁴ [CADRY], II., 60. On the Faculty of Nantes, *ibid.*, 80.

and the primacy of the Pope. His death in 1719 put an end to these negotiations.¹

However, amid the general confusion there were not lacking Bishops who boldly defended the cause of the Church against the Gallicans and the Jansenists.² Foresta de Cologne of Apt published a pastoral in defence of papal infallibility,³ Belsunce of Marseilles confessed, as against Gallican ideas, that he was indeed the shepherd of his own diocese, but in respect of the Pope he was but a member of the fold of Christ.⁴ De Mailly of Rheims wrote to the Regent,⁵ pointing out the damage done by the order of silence of October 7th, 1717, and condemning the encroachments of many Bishops and secular officials. "We have been handed over to the Parliaments," he wrote; "to-day the affairs of the Church are treated no longer in Councils but in the Law Courts . . . the Councils expected from the Pope confirmation of their decrees, to-day the decisions of Pope and Bishops are in need of confirmation by secular tribunals."⁶ In point of fact, things had come to such a pass that certain Faculties arrogated to themselves, to a large extent, the teaching authority of the Church and the Parliaments her jurisdiction. Cologne

¹ LAFITAU, II., 138 *seq.*; [PATOUILLET], III., 320; LUPTON, *Archbishop Wake and the project of union*, London, 1896; *D'un projet d'union entre les églises gallicane et anglicane. Correspondance entre Wake et Dupin*, London, 1864; *Dictionary of English Biography*, LVIII. (1899), 446; FLEURY, LXX., 215 *seqq.*; RANKE, *Franz. Gesch.*, IV.⁴, 326.

² FLEURY, LXIX., 700 *seqq.*

³ [CADRY], II., 99 *seq.*

⁴ Letter of March 14, 1718; *ibid.*, 102 *seq.* Cf. F. JAUFFRET, *Mmgr. de Belsunce et le Jansénisme*, Marseille, 1881; *Correspondance de M. de Belsunce, évêque de Marseille*, par L.-A. DE PORRENTUROY, *ibid.*, 1911; J. LAURENTIE, *Belsunce et le Jansénisme d'après une correspondance inédite*, [with Le Bret, President of the Parliament,] in the *Université Catholique* n. s., XXVIII. (1898), 24 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*

⁵ January 20, 1718, in, [CADRY], II., 108.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

was about to experience this now : his pastoral was suppressed by the Parliament of Aix and his revenues were confiscated. De Mailly fared even worse ; although a *pair* of the realm whose privilege it was, as Archbishop of Rheims, to anoint the King at his coronation, it fell to his lot to see his letter condemned by the Parliament of Paris, to be publicly torn and burnt by the hand of the executioner.¹ In spite of the pleadings of some highly placed persons, Orleans allowed this sentence to be carried out ; whereupon De Mailly, in a circular to the Deans, congratulated himself on having had the honour of suffering so great a shame for the name of God ; he also founded an annual Mass in thanksgiving.² The papal press of April 26th, 1718, eulogized De Mailly and Belsunce ; similar letters of September 13th praised Languet of Soissons and Forbin Janson of Arles.³

As the enemies of the Constitution kept asserting that outside France the Bull against Quesnel was hardly known, so that it could not be said that it had been accepted, Bishop La Parisière of Nîmes sought information on the subject from the Bishops of Spain and Portugal, and de Bissy from the Bishops of the rest of the world. The answers to these inquiries were published in one volume in 1718,⁴ as an incontrovertible proof of the acceptance of the Bull by the universal Church.⁵ It was necessary to print the book abroad ; in France it led to fresh action by Parliament.⁶ The Bishop of Nîmes paid for his pastoral letter with banishment from Paris.⁷

(10.)

After all this there could be but little doubt as to what fate awaited any further papal decrees. However, even

¹ *Ibid.*, 100, 110.

² *Ibid.*, 110 *seq.* ; FLEURY, LXIX., 707 *seqq.*

³ FLEURY, 705 *seqq.*

⁴ *Témoignage de l'Église universelle en faveur de la bulle Unigenitus*, Bruxelles, 1718 ; *Nouveaux témoignages*, 1722.

⁵ SCHILL, 317-334.

⁶ January 14, 1719 ; [CADRY], II., 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

though the Parliaments suppressed nearly everything that came from Rome, their decrees did not prevent every counter-measure from coming to the knowledge of the general public and these produced their effect upon wide circles. On March 8th, 1718, a decree of the Holy Office was posted up in Rome condemning the four Bishops as well as the adhesion of the Faculties of Paris, Rheims, Nantes, together with Noailles' appeal.¹

That which was to be expected, happened. The Regent refused to take the decree when the Nuncio handed it to him.² The Parliaments thundered against it³; in a joint letter the four appellants exhorted the Regent to defend the Archbishops against a power whose policy had aimed for centuries at the destruction of the prestige of the Bishops.⁴ Noailles made a separate complaint to Orleans, but failed to obtain leave to publish his appeal⁵; the Bishop of Senes made a similar protest at a synod, with the consent of his clergy.⁶

The Pope, of course, could not remain silent, but Cardinal de Bissy prevailed upon him once more⁷ to delay action. As a matter of fact fresh discussions seemed about to lead to some result this time: the appellants somehow agreed on the earlier dogmatic explanation, though this had not met with particular favour in Rome; Noailles promised to accept the Bull on the basis of his own explanations, even if these were not confirmed by the Pope. Further than this they did not get.⁸ De Bissy had to inform⁹ the friends of the Constitution by circular letter that the negotiations had

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 714; REUSCH, II., 737.

² [CADRY], II., III. "Les émissaires de Rome ne laissèrent pas de la répandre dans le royaume." *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, II 3 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 249-256.

⁴ [CADRY], II., III *seq.* The letter was not printed.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ By letter of May 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 133.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ September 14, 1718, *ibid.*, 142 *seq.*

failed, that a fresh papal pronouncement was to be expected, the consequence being a fresh appeal to a General Council which, this time, would come from the Parliament of Paris. The Bishops should forestall this step by means of pastorals in which stress should be laid on the general acceptance of the Bull by the universal Church, and the nullity of the appeal against it. It was necessary to make haste, for if the pastorals only appeared after the Bull which was to be expected, the State would consider them as its execution and would treat them accordingly.

As anyone could gather from this letter the rupture of the negotiations was complete ; Noailles was at last allowed to publish his appeal ¹ ; this he did on September 24th, but his declarations did not meet with universal approval, even on the part of his friends. They blamed him, for instance, for appealing not merely to a Council but also to a better informed Pope, and for only finding fault with the abuse of the Bull ; they would have wished him to speak more clearly.² In spite of this Noailles had the consent of his Chapter and the parish priests ; only two Canons and some ten or twelve parish priests were of a contrary opinion.³

Scarcely had the appeal been made public when the papal Bull which Clement XI. had signed on August 28th became known.⁴

¹ Reprinted, *ibid.*, 149-157.

² *Ibid.*, 157.

³ *Ibid.*, 148 seq.

⁴ "Pastoralis officii." Reprinted in *Bull*, XXI., 807-813 ; FLEURY, LXIX., 726-741. A number of *drafts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, vol. 151, are proof of the personal part the Pope took in connexion with the Bull : "Prime minute di questa Bolla in numero di tre emendate et aggiunte in molti luoghi da S. Beatitudine ; Fogli continenti mutazioni e aggiunti alla bolla di pugno di S. B. ; Principio di bolla di pugno di S. B. ; Minuta intiera di bolla formata et scritta da Clemente XI. ; Copia della medesima con nuove correzioni fatta di pugno del Papa : Osservazioni fatte da' cardinali ; Sette fogli [with alterations in the Pope's own hand] ; 13 fogli scritti da Msgr. Maielli [with alterations for Bull and Briefs] ; Note del Card. Tolomei, del P. Fontagne

It was promulgated on September 8th, the anniversary of the Constitution against Quesnel. The Pope begins with a survey of his efforts on behalf of those who had gone astray ; he had patiently gone after them, regardless of the construction that might be put on his mildness, for he knew that God must be served amid good and evil report.¹ Just as the four Bishops had addressed their appeal from the Pope to the universal Church, so does the Pope also appeal to the whole of Christendom, requesting prayers for the needs of the French Church and warning against the party and the excuses with which they seek to cover themselves. The party pretend to be in agreement with the Roman Church whereas they distorted and found fault with a decision which had been accepted by the entire Church, as if amid universal blindness they alone beheld the light of truth.² Many pretended that they only wanted explanations of the Bull ; in reality they were not eager for enlightenment ; their true aim was to involve the Church in useless questions and to obscure what was clear and plain. Moreover, the motives on which they based their request for explanations were offensive to the Holy See, inasmuch as they based it on an alleged fear that the Bull might subvert dogma and moral and ecclesiastical discipline ; but this amounted to a fear lest the faith of

e del P. Desirant ; Minuta mutata della lettera alli vescovi di Francia fatta nuovamente da Msgr. Maielli con un biglietto del Papa ; Minuta della lettera scritta a ciascuno cardinale di pugno di S. Stà concernente il breve di mandarvi in Francia ; Prima e seconda minuta del breve al Duca regente formate di proprio pugno di S. Stà, di 23 e 30 aprile ; Minuta di lettera di pugno del Papa al card. Rotomag. et Bissy 23 agosto 1718." In *vol. 152, references to the same Bull : " Biglietti del Assessore de S. Officio nel mese di Giugno 1718, con cui si dà a considerare per commando di S. Stà la prima minuta della bolla ; voti de' Cardinali Giudice, Paolucci, Casoni, Fabroni, Tolomei e Ottoboni ; Seconda e terza minuta della bolla data a considerare a' detti cardinali, Luglio et Agosto 1718." Then follow the *voti* of the Cardinals mentioned. Papal Sec. Archives.

¹ FLEURY, LXIX., 730.

² *Ibid.*, 732 *seq.*

Saint Peter should fail and the whole Church, which hearkens to the Apostolic See, might forsake the way of truth and salvation. They further alleged that the Bull might prove hurtful to theological doctrines which had hitherto been taught in the Catholic schools without anyone finding fault with them, yet the heads of these schools were all of them ready to be taught by the Roman Church, and these doctrines were being taught at this day under the very eyes of the Pope.¹ Furthermore, we read, they pretend to defend the episcopal dignity whilst, at the same time, they despise their fellow Bishops, foster the rebelliousness of the lower clergy and subject ecclesiastical persons and things to secular tribunals. No one exalts the loftiness of the New Testament and the virtue of charity more eloquently than they, yet no one injures charity with equal shamelessness. They praise the power of grace whilst they outrage the Author of grace by their errors. Moreover, they cloak themselves "with the showy garment of a false ascetism". With a view "to tearing this harmful mask" from their faces, "publicly and before the whole Church," the Pope reminds them that there is no true virtue without humility, no devotion without obedience, no perfection without charity. But what humility and obedience is that which exalts itself above fellow Bishops and the See of St. Peter? What charity is that which spreads outrageous injuries and sows everywhere quarrels and dissension? ²

To stem the evil to the best of his ability, the Pope declares that he refuses to acknowledge the recalcitrants as true sons of the Roman Church; since they had actually separated themselves from the Holy See and the Roman Church, he would regard them as cut off from him and as men with whom he was not in communion; the Bishops of the whole world should follow his example in this respect.

In spite of its objective severity the Bull must nevertheless be considered as mild, inasmuch as it mentions none of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 734 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 736 *seq.*

rebellious Bishops by name, merely hints at the appeal and avoids the word "excommunication". By the terms of the French concordat, a man need not be avoided as excommunicate, if he had not been explicitly named.¹

Clement XI. realized that his Bull would occasion a mass of new appeals; of this de la Trémoille had warned him with more than sufficient clearness.² As a matter of fact Noailles did make a second appeal on October 3rd.³ Basing himself on his first appeal, he declares the sentence of excommunication to be null and void seeing that he had appealed to a higher judge, viz. the universal Church, hence the authority of a lesser power was tied and the Pope could no longer judge any infractions of his Constitution. Moreover, the most recent papal decree offended against the privileges of the French Church; it inflicted penalties where there was no guilt and demanded unqualified obedience without any justification. A covering letter to his subjects lays the responsibility for the papal decree on those whose only aim it is to sow trouble and dissension; the letter also instructs the faithful on the duty of obedience towards the Pope and upon the limits of that authority.⁴

The flood of appeals now reached its high-water mark. The Chapter agreed with its Archbishop, as did the theological Faculty and the whole University, in fact the theological Faculty would not content itself with a simple adhesion to Noailles' appeal, and on October 18th it appealed in its own name.⁵ After that the Faculty terminated the second part of the dogmatic explanation on which it had been at work for some time, inserting some of the 101 propositions condemned by the Pope, which were also defended in the

¹ SCHILL, I68, n. 2.

² [CADRY], II., 159.

³ DU BOIS, 586-596.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 582-5. The appeal to well-known expressions of Bernard of Clairvaux and Robert Grosseteste is irrelevant, since neither opposed papal decisions on matters of faith.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 431-464; [CADRY], II., 162 *seqq.*

disputations of many students of theology.¹ A number of religious communities in and out of Paris followed the example of the Archbishop and the University, as, for instance, the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor and St. Geneviève, the Oratorians, the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, the Maurists, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Feuillants, the Celestines, and others.² Sermons were also preached against the Constitution ; in these the opponents of the Bull were extolled whilst its defenders were described as men without character, without knowledge, without mission, as ignorant and head-strong people, the enemies of order and of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ; behind all this were certain religious, it was said, who pursued a purpose of their own when they strove to alienate the faithful from their parish and to render the Archbishop and the parish priests suspect to them.³

What has been said makes it clear that the Pope still had his friends even in Paris. Whilst many religious houses participated in a body in the appeal, by means of capitular decisions, the Lazarists and the Seminary of the Foreign Missions held back.⁴ Honoré Tournely,⁵ the outstanding Sorbonnist of the time, together with twenty-two Doctors who, like himself, had been excluded from the meetings for having defended the Bull, raised a protest against the appeal of the Faculty⁶ ; more than 500 Doctors in the various dioceses of France, who had received their dignity from the Paris Faculty, acted in like manner and recognized the Bull as a dogmatic and infallible judgment of the Church.⁷ One of the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor, Gourdan, whom the people revered as a Saint, addressed a personal letter to Noailles in which he reminded him that it was a direct attack

¹ [CADRY], II., 166.

² *Ibid.*, 167 ; [NIVELLE], II., 2, 226-611.

³ [CADRY], II., 169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵ HILD, *Honoré Tournely und seine Stellung zum Jansenismus*, Freiburg, 1911.

⁶ CADRY], II., 163.

⁷ FERET, VI., 84 ; FLEURY, LXX., 43 *seq.*

against the Son of God to rise against the authority which He Himself had founded and strengthened against the powers of hell ; a man must be blind if he failed to see the lofty wisdom of the Bull *Unigenitus*.¹ As it was, an overwhelming majority of the Bishops held fast to the Bull.

Nevertheless, after Noailles had made his appeal public, not a few of his episcopal colleagues took his part.² Among those who had long been his followers, the Bishops of Laon, Châlons, St. Malo, Bayonne and Angoulême also appealed ; on the other hand two of those who had hitherto sided with them did not go so far as to appeal publicly as they would have found no following in their dioceses of Tréguier and Arras.³ Another follower of Noailles, the Archbishop of Tours, had died, but his Chapter appealed in his place. Some of those who had previously accepted the Bull now joined the appellants ; they were, not counting the above-mentioned Bishop of Laon who had resumed his original opposition to the Bull, the Bishops of Agen, Condom, Mâcon, Dax and Auxerre. Thus counting Noailles, the four first appellants and the Bishops of Pamiers and Verdun who had previously associated themselves with them, the number of appellants amounted to seventeen ; to them might be added the Bishop of Tournai who, however, had long ago resigned his office. Most of the above named had already made known their approval by a secret document in 1717, at a time when Noailles' appeal was only known to the initiated ; among them was the Archbishop of Lectoure who, however, died before the publication of this appeal and thus need not be counted. Two of the above, namely, the Bishops of Laon

¹ [CADRY], II., 170 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 172-191 ; [NIVELLE], II., I, 457-675.

³ Kervilio of Tréguier did not appeal, "comme ayant un clergé peu disposé à le suivre, et il ramena M. d'Arras à son avis par la même raison" ([CADRY], II., 173). On the equivocal conduct of the Bishop of Arras and "la populace très prévenue dans ce pays pour les maximes ultramontaines" see [CADRY], II., 289. For "ultramontane" scenes in the dioceses of Tournai and Verdun, *ibid.*, 291, 293.

and Angoulême, only joined when Noailles published his appeal on September 24th, 1718.¹ As at that time France counted 120 Bishops, it cannot be said that the twenty appellants formed a very large proportion. It is true that the example of the Bishops had a decisive influence on the clergy, though not everywhere. At Rheims and Rouen, where the Bishops were loyal to the Constitution, there were, nevertheless, numerous appeals.² On the other hand, only a very few of his priests followed the Bishop of Mirepoix in his attack on the Bull³; apart from one religious body, the Bishop of Pamiers only found two followers among his priests: "they are ultramontanes in this country," he lamented, because the priests had made their studies at Toulouse and were staunch upholders of the doctrine of papal infallibility.⁴ In effect there were only two appeals in the archdiocese of Toulouse and of the eight dioceses of the Province of Toulouse, Lombez, Montauban, Rieux and Lavaur did not furnish a single one.⁵ The situation was likewise unfavourable to Noailles and his followers in the ecclesiastical Province of Bourges in the North and in the archdiocese of Tours and the dioceses depending on it.⁶ Out of thirteen dioceses of the Province of Narbonne only five produced appellants, and of these five Montpellier alone provided a considerable number; Agde only furnished three, Béziers, Carcassonne and Saint-Pons only one each.⁷ Nevertheless the total number of appellants is reckoned at several thousands.⁸

¹ A last straggler of the Appellants in 1735 is Ségur of Saint-Papoul ([NIVELLE], II., 1, 676 *seqq.* The Bishops of Bayeux, Troyes and Castres, though not Appellants, are Jansenists (*ibid.*, 685-736).

² *Ibid.*, II., 2, 91 *seqq.*, 131 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, II., 1, 26 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 440.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 2, 192. On Saint-Papoul, see note 1

⁶ [NIVELLE], II., 2, 39, 193.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 58 *seqq.*

⁸ SCHILL, 151.

This time also Noailles' strongest supporters came from those bodies which could always be depended upon to oppose the Pope. All the twelve Parliaments of the realm strove to render the new papal Bull ineffective.¹ Thus, for instance, the Parliament of Paris forbade the Bishops to accept, publish and quote the Bull ; similar decrees by the other Parliaments instructed the Pope on papal infallibility which they declared to be an untenable opinion, on the rights of the Bishops, the General Council and the authority of the laity.² By way of particular directions for the execution of the most recent Bull, the Roman Inquisition had decreed, on December 19th, 1718, that those who in any way attacked the Bull *Unigenitus*, or defended its opponents, must be denounced to the Bishop of the diocese or the Inquisitor.³ The Parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Besançon and Metz took the customary measures against this edict also and as obedience to the papal prescriptions was especially feared from the religious, several Parliaments forbade them to leave the country or to accept directions from Rome without permission.⁴ Simultaneously with the Bull, Parliament also attacked the pastorals which, at De Bissy's suggestion,⁵ not a few Bishops had published against the appellants.⁶ Rebellious priests who saw themselves threatened by the pastorals of their Bishops, need only appeal to Parliament when they could be certain of receiving safe-conducts. Innumerable documents of the kind were issued by which the hands of the Bishops were tied.⁷ When the

¹ [NIVELLE], III., 257-291.

² [CADRY], II., 196 *seqq.* ; 205 *seqq.*

³ REUSCH, II., 738 ; FLEURY, LXIX., 807 ; [CADRY], II., 282.

⁴ [CADRY], *ibid.* ; [NIVELLE], III., 291-5.

⁵ See above, p. 297.

⁶ De Bissy in his *Instruction pastorale* of 1722 gives 48. [CADRY], II., 211.

⁷ " Les arrêts de cette espèce qui furent rendus, sont sans nombre, mais il y en a eu fort peu d'imprimez, parce que communément ceux qui les avoient obtenus, se contentoient de les faire signifier aux évêques, qui de leur coté ne passoient pas outre," *ibid.*

Bishop of Dol published his pastoral letter, the Parliament of Rennes forbade all the Bishops of its district to publish similar documents and demanded that this prohibition should be read from the pulpit in all the churches.¹ The same Bishop, in spite of parliamentary orders, had threatened certain recalcitrant Benedictines with excommunication. Parliament replied with a threat of the sequestration of the Bishop's revenues.² The same fate befell Bishop Belsunce of Marseilles who had taken action against the Oratorians, and Bishop de Foresta of Apt who had appealed from the pretensions of the Parliaments and from the youthful King to the King of maturer years. Both had their revenues sequestered. Belsunce succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the decree in question from the Council of State but de Foresta saw his appeal to the King publicly burnt by the executioner.³ In addition to Belsunce and de Foresta, Languet of Soissons distinguished himself on this occasion also by courageous action on behalf of the Church⁴ with the consequence that two of his manifestos were burnt by the executioner, by order of Parliament.⁵ In many instances the tribunals acted with truly oriental despotism. An Ursuline nun of Aix had been forbidden Holy Communion by order of the Archbishop for having appealed; she appealed to the secular judge and Parliament decided in her favour against the Archbishop.⁶ Religious superiors were forbidden under pain of sequestration of their revenues, to prevent appellant priests from saying Mass in their churches.⁷ The Rector of the Jesuit College of Chambéry was forbidden under pain of a fine of 10,000 livres, to allow the Bull to be defended in the theological lectures.⁸ The Universities also permitted

¹ February 4, 1719, *ibid.*, 214.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 216-225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 225 *seqq.*

⁵ SCHILL, 185.

⁶ [CADRY], II., 286, where more such examples are given.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 288.

themselves enormous encroachments. At Caen the University excluded from its body those Doctors who refused to appeal.¹ In the document about their appeal, which they forwarded to the Faculty of Paris, they described the doctrine of papal infallibility as a "frivolous claim",² and when a certain Doctor Tamponet, of the Sorbonne, who otherwise was no advocate of this papal prerogative, nevertheless found the expression too strong, the Faculty of Paris also declared that teaching to be erroneous and even thought of depriving Tamponet of his Doctor's title.³

The powerful sensation which the appeals created only encouraged their authors. The four Bishops who had given the first impulse, published yet another joint appeal, this time in particular against the decrees of the Inquisition in their affair and against the pastorals of the supporters of the Constitution.⁴ In a voluminous memorial⁵ they endeavoured to substantiate further their rejection of the Bull against Quesnel. As for the most recent Bull they based themselves on a pastoral instruction of the Archbishop of Paris which had caused a great sensation, were it only because of the position of its author.⁶ Its most important part is an examination of the infallibility of the Church's definitions. The defenders of the Bull against Quesnel had always stressed the fact that it had been received by all the Bishops, so that it had to be considered as a rule of faith even on the basis of Gallican principles. Noailles replied that such consent was only a convincing argument if in the act of accepting

¹ *Ibid.*, 273.

² "Hunc quidem intolerandum esse Ultramontanorum errorem (that the Appellants had been excommunicated), qui vanis opinionibus imbuti, SS. Pontificem nec falli nec fallere posse . . . temere omnino autumant." [NIVELLE], I., 421.

³ [CADRY], II., 274 *seq.*

⁴ [NIVELLE], I., 75-9.

⁵ Of 300 pages in 4to; extract in [CADRY], II., 266.

⁶ Dated January 14, 1719, appeared in February and comprises 222 pages in 4to; extract in [CADRY], II., 237-244; SCHILL, 186; FLEURY, LXX., 207-212.

the Bull the Bishops had acted as judges and if there was moral unanimity: 300 Bishops professing belief in the Pope's infallibility were, so to speak, no more than one Bishop so long as the Church was not gathered in Council, for their pronouncements were based on those of the Pope. It was so with the Bull against Quesnel: the Bishops obeyed, they submitted to an authority which they believed to be infallible, they were no more than humble and docile sheep who can but follow their shepherd.¹ To the objection that silent acquiescence by so many Bishops was unthinkable if the Bull imperilled the faith, Noailles replied by pointing to probabilism which, though it subverts the whole of Christian morality, was yet silently tolerated for so long a time.² Even in this official document Noailles could not refrain from bitter comments on "the rash and presumptuous men" whose only aim it was to destroy the teaching on grace of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, who in moral theology advance scandalous and lax opinions that have been repeatedly condemned and hold subversive principles about the hierarchy.³ In like manner the four Bishops also undertake, in the first part of their memorial, to expose the most recent errors about dogma, morals and the hierarchy; in the second part they endeavour to show in what way the Bull against Quesnel favours these errors; the four specifically turn their weapons against Molina in favour of their protégé, Quesnel.⁴

The consequences of Noailles' Instruction could easily be foreseen: it called forth many refutations, particularly from the Bishops of Soissons, Angers and Meaux; but when

¹ [CADRY], II., 240, 242. Hence the Bull against Baius is not a rule of faith on that account, although Noailles had affirmed the contrary as late as 1711 (SCHILL, 184, n. 3). Quesnel in 1687, in his *Tradition de l'Église Romaine*, had also admitted: "Le silence des autres églises . . . doit tenir lieu de consentement général" (*ibid.*; [PATOUILLET], IV., 122 *seq.*).

² [CADRY], II., 242.

³ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 267, 269.

the Inquisition condemned the Instruction, the Parliaments of Paris and Rouen in their turn condemned the decree of the Inquisition.¹

(11.)

In spite of the success of the Appellants in 1712, that very year marks a retrogression in the Jansenist movement. Though personally devoid of all religious convictions, the Regent desired religious peace for political reasons and he became more and more convinced that he would not be able to secure it whilst Quesnellism prevailed. His trusted adviser, the Abbé Dubois, though anything but a keenly religious man, was also an opponent of Jansenism from personal motives. He had just achieved a triumph with the conclusion of the quadruple alliance: to obtain yet another, by the removal of religious dissensions, may well have appeared to him a worthy pursuit. Moreover, he aspired to the cardinalate for he was anxious for his lowly origin to be forgotten at court. However, he could only hope for such a distinction by rendering so outstanding a service to the Church as to cover even his bad reputation in respect to morals.² Thus the Government was on the side of the friends of the Constitution but the support of persons of such ill report

¹ *Ibid.*, 244 *seqq.* The Decree of the Inquisition of August 3, 1719, in *Bull. Clementis*, XI., 1114, in FLEURY, LXX., 213 *seq.*; the edicts of the Parliaments of Paris and Rouen of September 6 and October 17, 1719, in [NIVELLE], III., 295 *seq.*

² BLIARD, II., 283. The existence of a French plan for a matrimonial alliance with the Spanish royal family, which it was hoped to dispose favourably by the adoption of a more Catholic policy (SCHILL, 192), cannot be proved as early as 1719 (LECLERQ, II., 207 *seqq.*). Dubois' morality has also been suspected, though quite unjustly, as is shown, for example, by Fénelon's relations with him (BLIARD, 268 *seqq.*). "A partir de 1716 sa vie devint extrêmement chaste et sobre," says LE MONTEY, *Hist. de la Régence*, II., 87, in BLIARD, II., 270, note .

as Orleans and Dubois could hardly be considered an advantage with public opinion.¹

The first symptoms of a change in the religious policy of the Regent appeared before long. Just then there were those who favoured the idea of all the Parliaments appealing to a future Council, but the Regent opposed the plan.² When a number of appellant priests sought to protect themselves against their Bishops with letters of safe-conduct from the Parliaments, Orleans forbade the issue of such letters unless the motives for an appeal had been previously approved by the Regent.³ In various particular conflicts also the Regent gave his verdict in favour of the friends of the Constitution.⁴ He sought to curb the zeal both of the Parliaments and of the Sorbonne, that "centre of the appeals".⁵ Doctor Tamponet had lately been excluded from the Sorbonne on account of his views on papal infallibility,⁶ whilst the Jansenist Petitpied, who had been excluded in 1704 on account of the "Case of Conscience", had been readmitted on June 1st. On July 6th the heads of the Faculty were summoned before the Keeper of the Seals when they were made to expunge from the registers which they had brought with them, all that had been done in favour of Petitpied and against Tamponet. The Keeper of the Seals rebuked the Sorbonne for its attitude towards papal infallibility, an attitude which was extraordinarily radical even for that Faculty, and ordered the registration of a decree forbidding it to indulge in disputations on the

¹ On the other hand a blow was dealt to the followers of Quesnel when on the occasion of a search of Dupin's premises papers were found dealing with the union of the Jansenist party with the Anglicans; see above, p. 288.

² [CADRY], II., 196.

³ *Ibid.*, 201 *seq.*; DUBOIS, 597 *seq.* *Ibid.*, a letter of advice to the Bishops. Cf. SCHILL, 182.

⁴ Two cases at Verdun (November 1, 1718, and April 25, 1719), in [CADRY], II., 293, 294.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁶ Above, p. 301.

Bull *Unigenitus* and renewing the prescriptions concerning the customary oaths and subscriptions ; in other words, the formulary of Alexander VII. and the censure against Arnauld could not be brushed aside, as had been attempted. The Doctors remonstrated but the Regent upheld his order.¹ In addition to the above decree the Faculty was likewise compelled to register a royal declaration of June 5th, 1719, which enforced anew the order of silence of October 7th, 1717.² The declaration³ pleased neither side, in fact nuncio Bentivoglio went so far as to address a circular to the Bishops stating his objections.⁴ However, in the Regent's opinion the only purpose of the order of silence was to prevent interference with the fresh negotiations, which he hoped would at long last restore peace.

Thus fresh conversations began though the Pope had recently expressed himself very unfavourably on the subject to Lafitau. At the first sign of a *rapprochement*, he observed,⁵ the Bishops who were loyal to the Church, showed the most extraordinary credulity. For all that the new attempt need not be considered from the first as quite absurd. In his most recent pastoral instruction Noailles had not found fault with the Constitution itself, but merely with its abuse, and by so doing he had incurred the displeasure of the irreconcilable opponents of the Bull. Only that could be abused, he was told, which was good in itself ; but if the Bull was good in itself, how dare he oppose it to the Scriptures and the Fathers.⁶ Moreover, that ever vacillating man had promised once before to accept the Bull with certain declarations.⁷ Such declarations were being elaborated but in the meantime

¹ [CADRY], II., 314-320. On Petitpied, *cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 106.

² [CADRY], II., 318.

³ *Ibid.*, 306-8 ; DUBOIS, 611-15.

⁴ BLIARD, II., 286, n. 4.

⁵ LAFITAU, II., 125.

⁶ [CADRY], II., 244.

⁷ Above, p. 243.

many difficulties had to be cleared away.¹ There was, first of all, the threatening attitude of the Pope. Clement XI. had plainly told Lafitau, the French agent, that his patience was at an end.² He took a first step against Noailles with the condemnation of the pastoral instruction,³ and provoked not a little resentment in Paris by raising to the cardinalate the unpopular Archbishop of Rheims, De Mailly.⁴ Nuncio Bentivoglio, who saw in Dubois only a deceiver and a cunning fox, and who was believed to be the author of a violent pamphlet against the Regent, would not allow himself to be won over to the latter's efforts for peace; as a result of pressure by the Government, he was recalled by the Pope.

Already at the end of 1718 Cardinal Rohan had been summoned to Paris for the negotiations, but in the following year Law's notorious financial schemes largely diverted attention from religious questions. It was only at the beginning of 1720 that Noailles, Massillon and the General of the Oratorians, De la Tour, compiled a draft with explanations of the 101 condemned propositions which was then discussed in the presence of Rohan and even that of the Regent himself.⁵ The supporters of the Constitution considered that they could be satisfied with the document seeing that it contained nothing false.⁶ They decided to waive many demands they could have made inasmuch as if the compromise were to be wrecked, they were faced with the threat of a fresh dangerous appeal to a future Council which would emanate from the combined Parliaments acting in the name of the King and

¹ BLIARD, II., 288-294.

² LAFITAU, II., 114.

³ Above, p. 302.

⁴ Account of the affair from Jansenist sources in LECLERQ, III., III *seqq.*

⁵ SCHILL, 192; BLIARD, II., 294 *seqq.*; LECLERQ, III., 113.

⁶ "Clearness and precision of concepts distinguish the whole work; in particular Articles I. (of the difference of the two Testaments) and III. (on Grace) may be described as excellent." SCHILL, 193.

the nation.¹ The Archbishop of Paris was given to understand that the supporters of the Constitution would sever all relations with the Appellants if the compromise did not come about, that the court would have to favour the stronger party, that it was impossible to tolerate two religions in France and that, should it be necessary, steps would be taken for his deposition. Dubois told him plainly and bluntly that an end must be put to the affair and peace restored.² Noailles allowed himself to be persuaded; he gave a written promise to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus* if at least eighty Bishops approved his explanations of that document.³ He probably thought that it would not be possible to secure so many adhesions: however, the document, with its explanations, met with the approval of most of the Bishops then in Paris; on March 13th and 14th, 1720, between thirty and forty Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops put their signature to a letter addressed to the Regent in which they declared their approval. Thereupon the Regent showed them the written promise of the Archbishop of Paris.⁴ By his order confidential agents were dispatched into all the provinces with mission to secure the adhesion of the Bishops. Within a short time the signatures amounted not to eighty but to a hundred.⁵ August 4th, 1720, saw the publication of a fresh royal declaration in support of the Bull *Unigenitus*.⁶ It forbade all oral or written criticism of the Bull or the compromise; previous appeals were declared null and void and future ones were forbidden; all the royal ordinances against Jansenism were confirmed anew; the Parliaments were told to leave questions of faith to the Bishops and to co-operate with them in the execution of censures; they were, however, empowered to prevent the disturbance of public tranquillity by publications dealing with dogmatic questions. Lastly, the various parties were warned not to describe one another as innovators, Jansenists, schismatics or heretics.

¹ [CADRY], II., 351, 353; BLIARD, II., 298, n. 3.

² [CADRY], II., 352 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 374, 406 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 428-432; SCHILL, 195; CAHEN, 34.

Two things remained to be done : one was to get Parliament to register this declaration so that it might become a law of the State, the other was to obtain from Noailles a pastoral in which he would announce his assent to the compromise. Noailles had made the registration of the royal declaration a condition of his pastoral so that for the moment everything depended on the Parliament of Paris.

As a result of its opposition to Law that self-sufficient tribunal had been banished since July to Pontoise, a dull provincial town.¹ But the gentlemen of Parliament had too high a notion of themselves as the guardians of Gallicanism to buy their escape from their cramped dwellings at Pontoise by taking without reservation a decision somewhat favourable to the Church. After lengthy and secret negotiations the declaration was submitted on September 2nd and its acceptance recommended by the legal advisers, though with some reservations ; this was, however, followed by lengthy discussions, at committee meetings, of the pretensions of the Faculty of Paris and the four Bishops. The Regent ended by losing all patience ; on September 7th he demanded the return of the declaration² and on the 18th he handed over the whole affair to the "Grand Conseil", an extraordinary tribunal consisting of nobles and dignitaries presided over by the Chancellor.³ But the Regent had no better luck with this body than with Parliament : the only thing the "Conseil" did was to pray the King to withdraw the declaration.⁴ But Orleans was not at a loss. On September 23rd, preceded by the Chancellor, the first President and five councillors of State, he entered the room where Parliament was sitting, accompanied by five Princes, thirteen Dukes and *Pairs* and five Marshals of France. All these voted in the sense of the Regent so that registration was passed by an overwhelming majority.⁵

¹ CAHEN, 23 *seq.* ; LECLERQ, II., 458 *seqq.* ; III., 115.

² [CADRY], II., 435-448.

³ *Ibid.*, 448 *seqq.* ; SCHILL, 196.

⁴ [CADRY], II., 454.

⁵ BLIARD, II., 304 ; SCHILL, 196 *seqq.* ; LECLERQ, III., 116.

It soon became evident that little had been gained. The registration in the "Grand Conseil" had no value in law, Noailles refused to issue a pastoral and insisted on registration in Parliament.

The Regent's anger against Parliament, on account of his favourite Law, was not likely to be softened by proceedings such as these. On November 11th he intensified its exile by banishing it to Blois; as a matter of fact it looked as if this sharp measure were only a preliminary for the complete suppression of that troublesome corporation. This would have meant Law's triumph and would have enabled him to do even greater mischief in the future than he had done in the past. In these circumstances Noailles was pressed from all sides to publish his ordinance in order that Parliament might register the declaration and thereby make its peace with the Regent. Noailles yielded. On November 14th he promised the Duke of Orleans to publish his pastoral and on the 16th he presented him with a copy. When Parliament, before its departure from Pontoise which it had been ordered to quit, presented itself before the Regent to take its leave, Orleans withdrew the sentence of banishment to Blois and on December 4th, after a number of difficulties had been overcome, the declaration was registered, though with the reservation of the Gallican liberties, among which the right of appeal to a Council was expressly mentioned. Thereupon Parliament was allowed to return to Paris and Law left the capital.¹ The provincial Parliaments had long ago carried out the registration without opposition.²

¹ *L'exil du Parlement à Pontoise*, 1720. Journal inédit du Président Hénault, in *Souvenirs et Mémoires*, Paris, 1899, II., 504-523; III., 145-165, 308-333 *seq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 325-338; LECLERCQ, III., 115-125; GAZIER, I., 263 *seqq.* Noailles' ordinance of August 2, 1720, in DUBOIS, 615-677; FLEURY, LXX., 483-553. The more important sections were corrected or written by D'AGUESSEAU, who after two years' disgrace had become Chancellor once more. GAZIER, I., 263; *cf.* FLEURY, LXX., 482.

² [CADRY], II., 457 *seqq.*

The Bull against Quesnel was now a law of the French State. By the death of Quesnel on December 2nd, 1719, the party lost its leader. "His Holiness triumphs!" wrote Dubois, the chief author of the success, "the Holy See was in danger of losing France, but now no one in the realm may withdraw himself from the obedience due to it in virtue of the divine and human law."¹ There was no lack of congratulations for Dubois himself.²

But the compromise was still meeting with strong opposition. The four Bishops had renewed their appeal on September 10th, 1720, before its conclusion.³ On New Year's Day, 1721, the Dean of the Chapter of Paris congratulated the Archbishop on having brought about peace; however, he spoke without authorization from the Chapter and some of those who had accompanied him left ostentatiously before the conclusion of his address.⁴ Even before registration, a new appeal was drawn up which by the end of January, 1721 had received 500 signatures; by the end of the year there were as many as 1,500 "re-appellants".⁵ On the other hand in the course of 1720 the appellant Bishops of Mirepoix, Verdun and Châlons died, whilst eight others accepted the compromise, namely, the Bishops of Arras, Tréguier, Bayonne, Saint-Malo, Mâcon, Laon, Condom and Agen; three of them, namely the Bishops of Arras, Tréguier and Bayonne, announced their submission in special pastorals.⁶ Thus the party had shrunk considerably and the re-appellants among the lower clergy were only isolated individuals; the danger of France being drawn into a schism was apparently averted.

Moreover, the Government was taking energetic steps in favour of the compromise. The fresh appeal of the four Bishops was quashed on December 31st, 1720, by a decree

¹ In BLIARD, II., 306.

² *Ibid.*, 307.

³ [CADRY], II., 501-6.

⁴ [CADRY], II., 514.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 517, 558, 598.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 607.

of the "Conseil",¹ and when in January, 1721, the three survivors addressed a lengthy memorial on the subject to the King,² they received no reply. During the negotiations for the compromise at the beginning of September, the Faculty of Paris had sent some delegates to Parliament; it was ordered not to discuss the subject at its meeting of October 1st. Not long afterwards a fresh injunction of silence became necessary in order to bridle the resentment of the Faculty which had been roused by the action of a certain Doctor who presumed to speak against the appeal on the occasion of a graduation. In October also the University elected as Rector Rollin, who publicly praised that body's attitude towards the compromise: a decree was promptly issued forbidding Rollin's re-election as Rector.³ In 1716 twenty-two Doctors had been excluded from the Faculty because of the Bull.⁴ Decrees of January 9th and February 7th, 1721, ordered the re-admission of the eighteen survivors, whilst an ordinance of February 15th forbade five appellants to take part in the sessions.⁵ The University of Caen had cut off the Jesuits from its body; the court declared the decree to that effect to be null and void.⁶ A royal rescript to the Chapter of Le Mans, declared its appeal to the Council null and void and ordered it to be struck off the registers; severe penalties were threatened if it were renewed.⁷ The printed list of the "re-appellants" gave occasion to the police to question the latter whether their appeal was serious, but this measure led to no result and was soon dropped, in fact the nuncio complained that ten re-appellants were being cited daily to give them a chance of declaring against the Pope. At a later date, at Dubois' instigation, ten re-appellants were banished.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 523.

² *Ibid.*, 549-555.

³ *Ibid.*, 518-521. Rollin's discourse in [NIVELLE], I., 576.

⁴ See above, p. 259.

⁵ [CADRY], II., 542 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 533-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 539 *seqq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 585-598; [NIVELLE], I., 559 *seqq.*, 564 *seqq.*

The compromise had been arrived at without Clement XI.'s participation. Dubois had requested him, through Lafitau, to wait for a time, until everything should be settled.¹ However, what the Pope read in the newspapers was not of a nature to please him. To the Archbishop of Arles² he spoke of his amazement that negotiations should have been conducted without his knowledge, the result of which he would be unable to approve. The only sure way to peace had been forsaken, he wrote to the Cardinal of Rheims a few weeks later.³

The Pope had good cause for complaint. When Noailles' ordinance, with the acceptance of the Bull, was handed to him, he complained to Lafitau that at the very beginning of the document the Gallican theses of 1682 were reasserted. The Pope also complained that the Bull was not accepted *sic et simpliciter*, but only on the basis of Noailles' declarations, that the propositions condemned in the Bull were not recognized as erroneous, no error in Quesnel's book was admitted and the Archbishop revoked neither his appeal nor his earlier instructions. After a thorough study of the pastoral, Lafitau found no trace of a qualified acceptance of the Bull and he even wrote a dissertation on the subject. However, it turned out that there were two different versions of the ordinance, one accepting the Bull unconditionally, the other only with reservations: thus the Archbishop of Paris had been once more caught in one of those equivocations in which he indulged from time to time.⁴ Noailles protested

¹ BLIARD, II., 299 *seqq.*; [CADRY], II., 349.

² August 20, 1720, [CADRY], II., 500.

³ September 14, 1720, in SCHILL, 199.

⁴ FLEURY, LXX., 557 *seq.* According to an Italian report (in [CADRY], II., 621 *seq.*), the Pope had addressed several Briefs to the Regent in which he complained that the Bull had only been accepted conditionally. An examination by the Inquisition had not found in Noailles' ordinance anything worthy of censure from a dogmatical standpoint. It did not follow, however, that nothing blameworthy was discovered in other

to the Regent that he knew nothing of this double-dealing but declined to make a similar protestation to the Pope. Clement XI. now requested the King to renew the decree by which Louis XIV. had quashed the decisions of 1682 whilst in a letter to the Pope Noailles should be made to make good the deficiencies of his ordinance. Philip of Orleans sent Cardinal Rohan to Rome for the purpose of further negotiations, but when the latter reached the Eternal City Clement XI. was no longer among the living.

The fact that his Bull provoked so violent an agitation in France cannot be made a reproach to Clement XI. What it did was to bring to light the magnitude of the evil, it did not cause it, and it was better that the disease should be discovered rather than that it should continue to spread in secret. The real cause of the mischief was the fact that during the Clementine Peace and since 1682, Jansenism and Gallicanism had struck ever deeper roots in France.

Nor can the Pope be accused of a want of moderation and caution. He was fully conscious of the fact that ecclesiastical authority is not bestowed on a man to enable him to play the rôle of a great lord, but that he might promote the salvation of souls entrusted to him. Because of this conviction Clement XI. endured at the hands of Noailles humiliation after humiliation but he succeeded, at this price, in warding off a schism. At the time of his death the final acceptance of his dogmatic definition was only a question of time even in the land of appeals.

respects. Cf. *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., vol. 152, on the *Mandamento* of August 12 (*sic*!) 1720: "Censure e voti di cinque qualificatori della Congregazione del s. Ufficio contra detto mandamento riferiti nella congregazione tenuta January 21, 1721; Voto del P. D. Perez, ord. Praed., February 5, 1721 (against Noailles); Voti dei cardinali del s. Ufficio, February 6, 1721, coram Sanctissimo (on the prohibition of the ordinance); Voti de cardinali Ottoboni, Imperiale, Tolomei, Paracciano, Sacripanti, Paolucci, Fabroni." Papal Secr. Archives.

(12.)

A few waves of the storm raised in France by the Bull *Unigenitus* swept even into Holland. The University of Douai submitted as soon as the Bull was published¹; the papal decree, it declared, was no less clear than other papal definitions, such as those against Wycliff and Luther, and no one would receive an academic degree from Douai who was in any way suspect of insubordination to the Bull since, as history showed, the whole constitution of the Church would be destroyed if the rights of the Holy See were called in question. When the University of Louvain hesitated to declare its submission and a rumour spread that its professors were against the Bull, Douai addressed a warning to the sister University,² to which Louvain gave a satisfactory reply,³ proclaiming its adhesion to the doctrine of papal infallibility. Only the publication of the Bull *Pastoralis* in 1718 brought to light the fact that submission to the papal decrees was not universal in Holland. The Archbishop of Malines found it necessary to issue a pastoral letter against the French Appellants⁴; his example was followed by the Bishops of Ghent and Bruges. The latter complained that the writings of the French Appellants found their way across the French frontier in large quantities and that they were not without making an impression in Flanders. These circumstances led the Archbishop of Malines to prescribe a special formula by which the parish priests were made to profess their submission to the Bull⁵; some thirty of them, whole Abbeys and Chapters and some individual priests refused their signature.⁶ Two canonists of Louvain, Van Espen and Bauvers, published a memorial to prove the nullity of the suspension from office which the Archbishop

¹ August 3, 1714, FLEURY, LXIX., 109.

² June 22, 1715, *ibid.*, 113.

³ August 8, 1715, *ibid.*, 115.

⁴ October 17, 1718, [CADRY], II., 296.

⁵ Text, *ibid.*, 298.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 298 *seqq.*

had inflicted on a rebellious parish priest.¹ When the Dean of the philosophical Faculty of Louvain endeavoured to get the Bull accepted,² thirteen professors protested on the ground that the Bull had been published without *placet* and had not been accepted by the universal Church and because the Pope himself alone was not infallible. It goes without saying that these claims did not pass unchallenged. The inner theological Faculty of Louvain, to remove all ground for suspicion, proclaimed anew its entire submission to the Bull *Unigenitus*.³ The Belgian Bishops offered no opposition to the papal definition ; in a collective letter ⁴ to the Pope they made profession of obedience, for which they were rewarded with a special Brief of thanks.⁵ In 1719 the provincial Chapter of the Dominican Province of Lower Germany made an explicit profession of submission.⁶

Clement XI. was faced with a difficult task when it became necessary to put order into the involved situation of the Dutch mission. With difficulty Innocent XII. had prevailed on the Vicar Apostolic of Holland, Peter Codde, to make up his mind to set out for Rome where he had been cited for the purpose of answering a number of grave charges.

Up to that time the cardinalitial Congregation whose task it was to try Codde, had been very unwilling to give easy credence to the numerous accusations brought against him, in fact its president, Cardinal Albani, at this time Pope Clement XI., was favourably disposed towards Codde. As Pope also he received him with all the regard due to him as an Archbishop and to one who laboured in a thorny field. On the journey the nuncios of Brussels and Cologne had given him a most friendly welcome, so much so that his friends promised him a triumph in Rome.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, 299.

² November 7, 1718, *ibid.*, 300 *seq.*

³ December 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 300.

⁴ November 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 297.

⁵ January 15, 1719, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2325 *seq.*

⁶ [CADRÝ], II., 302.

⁷ MOZZI, I., 337-340.

In its dealings with the Vicar Apostolic the Congregation of Cardinals showed so much consideration towards him that Du Vaucel wrote to Holland that Codde's cause was taking 'on an increasingly favourable complexion.¹ The authorities waited patiently during three months for Codde to complete his apology and only then was the first general congregation of Cardinals held.² Meanwhile the catechisms which Codde had introduced in the mission, to the scandal of many, were subjected to examination. It was arranged that his interrogation should take place in the presence of only three Cardinals, namely Marescotti, Ferrari and Tanara.³ In two months only five interrogations took place,⁴ in the first of which Codde was asked to explain why he had refused to appoint De Cock his Pro-Vicar for the period of his absence, as he had been instructed to do,⁵ for he had appointed Catz, Van Heussen, De Swaen and Groenhout as his lieutenants.⁶ His answer to this ticklish question was inadequate, nor could Codde derive much satisfaction from the next interrogatories. Fabroni, the Secretary of the Congregation, pressed him hard, Codde asserts, with questions which he was unprepared to answer.⁷ Accordingly a reply in writing was in order. That document pleased Du Vaucel so much that he imagined the accused would be back in his own country in the summer.⁸ The Cardinals were of a different

¹ "Les affaires de M. Gottefroï (i.e. Codde) vont de mieux en mieux." Du Vaucel, March 16, 1701, *ibid.*, 345.

² March 17 (18), 1701, *ibid.*, 342.

³ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁴ March 18 and 28, April 17, May 6 and 17, *ibid.*, 346.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 336.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 346 *seqq.* "L'affaire de Msgr. de Sebaste, vicaire de Hollande, n'est retardée et embarrassée que par la méchante procédure d'un monsignore Fabroni, dont l'entêtement sur le prétendu Jansénisme n'est pas imaginable, et qu'on soupçonne avec fondement d'être Roulier (i.e. a Jesuit) du tiers ordre." Quesnel to Vuillart, May 14, 1701, in LE ROY, II., 149.

⁸ Letter to Quesnel, May 14, 1707, MOZZI, I., 351.

opinion. When the printed memorial was laid before them, at the end of July, it was seen that Codde's replies did not tally with the questions put to him and a number of accusations were left unanswered.¹ For all that mildness prevailed once again. Codde had asked that before judgment was given, the accusation should be entrusted to Cardinal Tanara, that Cardinal Colloredo should take the place of Cardinal Albani who was retiring, and that he himself should be handed a list of the accusations against him. All these requests were granted.² The charges, under twenty-six headings, against the Vicar Apostolic, were that the theses of Baius and Jansenius were being spread in Holland, that the reading of the Bible in the vernacular was declared to be not merely useful but necessary and that errors about the veneration of the Saints, Indulgences and Purgatory were tolerated there. Moreover new ceremonies in the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments were being introduced, excessive severity prevailed on questions of moral theology, with the result that the faithful murmured and the clergy were divided, and translations of Holy Scripture and other religious works containing Jansenist errors were circulating with impunity. The Vicar Apostolic did as if he knew nothing of all this ; he extended his patronage to the authors of these disorders, whereas he combatted their opponents and professed high regard for the heads of the new sect, expecially for Arnould.³ Codde now asked that he should be shown the evidence on which these charges were based and that he should be told the names of his accusers.⁴ Both requests were, of course, refused, since all that was asked of him was to give his opinion on the tenableness of the charges against him. It took him four months to draw up his defence, hindered as he was at times by sickness ; on November 1st, 1701, the printed copies were in the hands of the Cardinals of the Congregation and

¹ *Ibid.*, 352.

² *Ibid.*, 353.

³ *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.*

⁴ Memorial to the Pope, June 22, 1701, *ibid.*, 356.

the author was allowed to present a copy to the Pope himself together with his report on the situation in Holland; Clement XI. graciously accepted both documents.¹ The apology had also been submitted to Quesnel who found its tone too moderate and respectful.² A meeting of the cardinalitial Congregation was held on December 18th, 1701, when Codde's apology was distributed to the ordinary qualificators and consultors for examination. Whatever else may have been decided at that meeting of the Cardinals, Codde confessed that he never had any knowledge of it. This did not prevent him from charging Fabroni with having selected, against the will of the judges, qualificators who were prejudiced.³

The negotiations were still pending when a document arrived from Holland which gave a new turn to the whole affair. During Codde's absence from Holland twenty Dutch priests forwarded a memorial to Rome in which they lamented the condition of their country and by way of a remedy, demanded the subscription by everybody to the formula of Alexander VII. The four Pro-Vicars appointed by Codde were all Jansenists, the memorial stated, who upheld the adherents of Quesnel.⁴ That the complaints were not unjustified was seen soon enough, when more than 300 Dutch priests sent in a petition against the twenty in which they defended both the innovations and Codde himself.⁵ That which Codde had always feared seemed about to become reality as a result of the petition of the twenty: the spectre of Alexander VII.'s formula loomed before him in dangerous proximity. Even before he could ascertain the exact nature of the contents of the petition, he drew up a reply, but when he became better acquainted with their proposals he was beside himself. He drew up a second apology in which he combatted, in somewhat unmeasured terms, both the proposals

¹ *Ibid.*, 358 seq., 360.

² *Ibid.*, 360.

³ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁴ Impression of this petition, February, 1701, *ibid.*, 363 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 365.

and their authors and attacked the desired subscription as something new, useless, pernicious and impossible.¹

These sallies did not prevent the authorities from demanding not indeed the signature which Codde combatted, but from inquiring² how he would act if such a demand were made. The Cardinals were told that he was prepared to reject the five propositions condemned by the Pope, but that he was unable to acknowledge that they were taught by Jansenius, nor did he think that in this respect the Pope insisted on anything beyond a respectful silence—in other words, he was prepared to obey with a reservation condemned by the Church. With regard to papal infallibility on which he had also been questioned, Codde answered that though he did not acknowledge it, he did not speak against it and was willing that others should defend it.³

The day after, May 7th, 1702, a solemn session of the cardinalitial Congregation was held in presence of the Pope. Codde was removed from the administration of the vicariate, Theodore De Cock being appointed in his place with the title of a Pro-Vicar. The Pope confirmed these measures by a Brief dated May 13th.⁴ In view of the state of mind of the Dutch priests, as recently manifested by three hundred of them, there was reason to fear resistance to the papal decrees, especially if Codde fanned it from Rome. Accordingly, knowledge of the decisions of the Congregation and the papal Brief was, for the present, kept from Codde—only on July 5th, through a letter from Holland, did he become acquainted with the sentence passed on him. However, though he was simultaneously informed that the so-called Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem remained loyal to him,

¹ *Ibid.*, 363–8.

² May 6, 1702, *ibid.*, 368.

³ *Ibid.*, 368–370.

⁴ Decree of May 7, 1702, *ibid.*, 370, 373 *seq.* (text, *ibid.*, III., 12); Brief to De Cock, May 13, 1702, *ibid.*, 12 *seqq.*; *Brief of May 13, 1702, to the nuncio of Vienna (the replacement of Codde by De Cock was necessary “per conservare la purità della fede”), *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., 204, Papal Secr. Archives.

Codde submitted to the Pope's judgment when it was communicated to him in due form on July 22nd, 1702.¹ That this submissiveness would not be of long duration was shown by two documents addressed by him to the cardinalitial Congregation and to the Pope in July and October. In them he complained bitterly of the fact that rumour ascribed his suspension to his refusal to sign Alexander VII.'s formula, for which cause he was looked upon as a Jansenist. He offered to subscribe under conditions, but to this the authorities refused to consent.²

Meanwhile in Holland, on June 11th, De Cock had called upon the four Pro-Vicars named by Codde with the request that they should convene the Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem for the purpose of recognizing him. The meeting did take place but all it did was to attack the Pope and to defend Codde : none of the members would accept De Cock as the new Pro-Vicar.³ The warning of internuncio Bussi of Brussels fell on deaf ears,⁴ but after the third admonition the Chapters, fearing a sentence of suspension, appealed to the Pope by anticipation and prayed for Codde's reinstatement. With a view to avoiding a complete rupture the friends of the internuncio suggested that De Cock should be recognized at least provisionally, but after consultation between Van Heussen and Gerberon, this too was refused, though De Cock was permitted to proclaim the year of jubilee.⁵

Before long an attempt was made to compel the Pope to give way as a result of pressure by the Protestant Government. The Quesnellists succeeded in attracting to their side the Grand-Pensionary, Antony Heinsius, and the burgomasters of Amsterdam and in getting the States General to intervene with the nuncio in favour of Codde's return. On August 17th, 1702, the States of the Province of Holland

¹ MoZZI, I., 378-380.

² *Ibid.*, 381 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 384 *seqq.*

⁴ His letter of June 21, 1702, *ibid.*, III., 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 387 *seq.*

and West Friesland forbade De Cock the exercise of his functions as Vicar. At the same time all Vicars not recognized by the State and all members of religious Orders were forbidden to enter Dutch territory and no one might obey a summons to present himself in Rome.¹ Quesnel was jubilant over the decree²; the measure taken by the States may well start a conflagration which it would not be easy to put out, he wrote; perhaps the States General would compel the Catholics to elect themselves the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, independently from Rome.³ Some of the other Jansenists likewise cherished the rosiest expectations; the action of the States, it was hoped, would humiliate the Pope, that obstinate person who was more interested in politics than in the welfare of the Church⁴: insinuations of this kind were also spread by means of the public press.⁵

But the burning question was to know who held authority over the Dutch mission, De Cock or Codde's four Pro-Vicars. An attempt was made to cast doubt on the genuineness of De Cock's nomination, but this trick was promptly disposed of by a letter of Cardinal Paolucci.⁶ The faculties of the four Pro-Vicars had expired when Codde was suspended and the support of the secular authority could not confer any ecclesiastical powers. In this embarrassment recourse was had to "the Pope of the Jansenists", Quesnel, to whom two questions were submitted, namely, whether in existing circumstances it was lawful to appeal to a Protestant State, and whether in these same circumstances a Pro-Vicar named by the Bishop and confirmed by the Chapter might continue

¹ *Ibid.*, 390 *seqq.*

² August 20, 1702, to Vuillart, in LE ROY, II., 170.

³ September 17, 1702, *ibid.*, II., 172.

⁴ Mozzi, I., 394 *seq.*, 401. A new prayer for the Pope was added to the litany of the Saints: "ut suos probos conservos defendat," "falsas accusationes reiiciat," etc. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 402. *Order of October 7, 1702, to the Internuncio of Brussels to report on the conditions in Holland about which the Pope is very anxious, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 204, *loc. cit.*

⁶ December 14, 1702, Mozzi, III., 16 *seq.*

to exercise his functions. Quesnel's decision was that not only might he do so, but that it was not even lawful for the four to abandon their post.¹ That such an attitude towards Rome would provoke a disastrous storm was not hidden from Quesnel; but in this instance also he relied on his fundamental principle, namely, that one need not be afraid of an unjust excommunication.² Van Espen, Hennebel, Opstraet expressed opinions which, on the whole, were to the same effect; Gerberon's advice was likewise sought.³

The Pope, on his part, could not shirk the duty of giving judgment. He instructed Cardinal Barberini, the Prefect of Propaganda, to write to the Dutch priests,⁴ whilst the inter-nuncio would inform the four Pro-Vicars⁵ that since the appointment of De Cock all their official acts were invalid and that further meddling with the government of the mission would entail excommunication. A further Brief⁶ exhorted the Catholics of Holland to regulate their conduct by these decisions.

These papal exhortations were not without effect. The Chapter of Haarlem made its submission, ceased to claim a share in the management of the mission and in 1705 printed a public acknowledgment of its attachment to the Holy See and stuck to its resolution in spite of the reproaches of the opponents.⁷ On the other hand Utrecht refused to follow the example of Haarlem; Catz, Van Heussen and Erkel, in a number of publications, described the Roman censures as null and void and appealed to a better informed Pope; they also published a declaration against the censures together with a vague profession of faith.⁸

The chief concern of Utrecht was the return of Codde.

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 405 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 411 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 414 *seq.*

⁴ February 3, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 18.

⁵ To De Swaen, February 22, 1703, *ibid.*, 19 *seq.*

⁶ April 7, 1703, *ibid.*, 21 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXVII., 14-20.

⁷ MozzI, I., 419.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 420 *seq.*

As a result of their persistence the States of the Province of Holland announced that unless Codde was restored to his country within three months, the missionaries would be expelled, De Cock imprisoned and the churches seized.¹ On February 24th, 1703, De Cock informed Rome of this decision ; however, Clement XI. had anticipated it on February 17th, by giving Codde permission to go home, in fact he was actually ordered to leave. Codde reached Utrecht on July 26th² where it had been expected that by the time of his return he would have been reinstated in his dignity, or at least that it would not be long before he would exercise once more all the powers of a Vicar Apostolic ; in any case De Cock was not going to be recognized at any price.³ To what lengths resentment against Rome had risen, as a result of the ceaseless flood of libels, was seen on the occasion of the papal Brief to the Catholics of Holland,⁴ with which Clement XI. sought to pave the way for Codde's return. In his letter the Pope warned the faithful against the disturbers of the peace in Church and State who, though small in numbers, by means of lies and false reports strove to lead astray those of ingenuous disposition. Outwardly these men pretended to stand for a stricter morality and plumed themselves on their austere theological views. But let anyone but look at the mass of their writings, which are notorious by reason of their animosity, insults, lies, calumnies and open disregard of the Holy See ! How can anyone fail to see how far removed the authors and apologists of such productions are from the Spirit of God who is called not the God of discord but the God of peace ; how far removed they are from the true charity of Christ which they preach in words but destroy by their deeds ; how far removed they are from the path of true humility and obedience, those true foundations of all the other virtues.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 422 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 423 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 425.

⁴ April 7, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 21 seqq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 seq.

The Jansenists were furious when the mirror was thus held up to their faces. Some said that the Brief was surreptitious, others described it as subversive. There one could see, they said, whether flatterers can lead the Holy See ! the next step would be to absolve the subjects from their oath of allegiance to the authorities ! The agitation did not die down until the States suppressed the Brief as a defamatory libel.¹ The Brief, the Jansenists said, was simply the work of the Jesuits who had procured it through La Chaize and Louis XIV., in whose hands Clement XI. was a mere tool.² In the meantime Codde had arrived in Holland. When he left Rome he was told that he would never again become the head of the Church in Holland, but no sooner had he reached his native land than he wrote to Rome that there was no means of restoring tranquillity in the country, except by his reinstatement as Vicar-Apostolic.³ Cardinal Barberini⁴ replied that the fact that it was precisely his followers who disturbed the peace was a convincing proof that the Pope had been fully justified in decreeing his suspension. Let him tell his friends that he did not aspire to the highest positions but submitted to the Pope ; if he acted thus the storm which had arisen on account of him, would be laid of its own accord.

Thus there was no hope of Codde's reinstatement by Rome nor could anything be expected from the intervention of nuncio Piazza at Cologne. Though he claimed to be the Archbishop of Utrecht, Codde humbled himself to such a degree as to solicit from the so-called Chapter of Utrecht authority to act as its Vicar. Thereupon Cardinal Paolucci wrote to him from Rome⁵ that the Chapter itself was without jurisdiction, hence could give none to anyone else. He was accordingly commanded, under pain of perpetual suspension, not to presume to carry out any episcopal function, to warn

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 432 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 435. Thus Prauwels, parish priest of Amsterdam, in FLEURY, LXVII., 21.

³ Mozzi, I., 436.

⁴ August 25, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 26 *seqq.* ; FLEURY, LXVII., 27.

⁵ October 12, 1703, Mozzi, III., 29 *seqq.*

the Chapter not to make use of the rights it had arrogated to itself, and the Catholic body in general not to acknowledge these rights.¹ Paolucci's arguments impressed Codde, though in a letter to the Catholics of Holland² he endeavoured to represent the proceedings against him as unjust, in the hope of saving his honour; however, he refrained from assuming the episcopal office³ though, on the other hand, he refused to give up all hope of reinstatement. A number of writings were published in order to prepare the ground for such an eventuality; these writings combatted the proposal of the appointment of a new Vicar Apostolic and conducted a relentless campaign against De Cock⁴ who, as a matter of fact, had been forced to make his escape into the territory of the Count Palatine John William.⁵ However, all that Codde obtained was a letter of Paolucci⁶ to the effect that his efforts were hopeless. As Codde's writings were regarded as the chief stumbling block in Rome, he had previously declared⁷ that he only maintained the opinions of the Thomist school and prayed that his opinions be examined both by the Roman Inquisition and by theologians of that school. His request was granted with the result that his writings were prohibited by the Inquisition,⁸ whilst against himself a sentence was pronounced not merely of suspension, as before, but of formal deposition.⁹ However, Codde refused to acknowledge the justice of a sentence pronounced by

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 440 *seq.*

² March 19, 1704, [DUPAC], 359.

³ His motives, *ibid.*, 353-9.

⁴ MOZZI, I., 442 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 441. A Brief of October 13, 1703, recommends him to the Count-Palatine, *ibid.*, III., 31.

⁶ January 17, 1704, *ibid.*, 33.

⁷ April 29, 1702, *ibid.*, I., 444.

⁸ "Uti continentes doctrinas et assertiones ad minimum suspectas, singulares atque ecclesiasticis Constitutionibus repugnant, quibus christifideles in iam damnatos errores induci ac pravis opinionibus infici possent." *Ibid.*, II., 34.

⁹ April 3, 1704, *ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

judges he had himself invoked. In a fresh letter to the Catholics of Holland, dated August 20th, he declared that he was not conscious of teaching any false doctrine.¹ In his apology he became involved in numerous contradictions with earlier statements of his.² A flood of Jansenist pamphlets swept over the country, full of insults to the Holy See, the person of the Pope and the Inquisition, whilst Codde's writings were described as irreproachable.³ His deposition, it was stated, and the censures pronounced against him, were null and void; Codde must appeal against them and he could and must resume the duties of his office.⁴ The help of the secular power was likewise invoked; many priests paid for their loyalty to the Church with imprisonment, exile, fines and molestations,⁵ whilst the Jansenist clergy enjoyed the favour of those in power. With a view to remedying the consequent confusion the Pope, by special Briefs, invoked the mediation of the Emperor⁶ and the princes of the territories adjoining Holland, the Count Palatine and the Electors of Mayence and Trèves.⁷

In other ways also Clement XI. did all he could to compose the disputes. De Cock, who might have proved an obstacle to a settlement if he remained in the North, was called to Rome and given a canonry at S. Lorenzo in Damaso.⁸ To the

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 449.

² *Ibid.*, 450 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 458 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 462.

⁵ "Le missioni d'Olanda, quali trovandosi in grandissima confusione e travaglio per l'appoggio, che danno que' magistrati alla disubbidienza" (Clement XI. to the Emperor Leopold, I., August 9, 1704, Mozzi, III., 40); "plures quoque sacerdotes, non alia de causa quam praestitae nobis quoad spiritualia obedientiae vel officio arcuisse vel exilio carceribusque multasse" (to the Count-Palatine, August 26, 1704, *ibid.*, 41 *seq.*).

⁶ Brief and letter of August 9, 1704, *ibid.*, iii, 35 *seqq.*, 39 *seqq.*

⁷ August 26, 1704, *ibid.*, 41 *seqq.*, 43 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*; FLEURY. LXVII., 23 *seqq.*

⁸ Mozzi, II., 4.

clergy of Haarlem and Utrecht Paolucci wrote a friendly letter.¹ At the Hague Bussi negotiated with the States, though at first unsuccessfully, but in the end, aided by an envoy of the Elector of Trèves, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the States for the appointment of Gerard Potkamp as Vicar Apostolic.² Thus, in spite of every attempt to the contrary, the States had dropped Codde³; yet in spite of it all, at this very time, a silver and bronze medal was being struck in his honour, the image and inscription of which constituted an insult to the Pope.⁴

A decisive factor in the election of Potkamp had been the consideration that perhaps everything would right itself if the new Vicar Apostolic were not altogether unacceptable to the Jansenists. But the electors were mistaken in Potkamp: he was almost wholly on the side of the recalcitrants. Against the oath taken by him in the hands of the internuncio he named as Pro-Vicars James Catz and Hugh Van Heussen who were both under papal censures, appointed parish priests of doubtful orthodoxy and confirmed the alleged rights of the so-called Chapter of Utrecht. However, he was not given time to increase the confusion further: he died at the end of one month.⁵

Thereupon Codde took fresh courage. After Potkamp's nomination the former had addressed a submissive letter to the Pope to which Paolucci sent a gracious reply,⁶ but after Potkamp's death he disavowed his letter and declared, in a printed document, that he refused to resign his office of Vicar Apostolic, and that he would continue to defend his rights and his honour and to press for a revision of his process.⁷

¹ November 22, 1704, *ibid.*, 48, 51.

² November 14, 1705, *ibid.*, II., 8.

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

⁵ December 16, 1705, *ibid.*, 10.

⁶ Codde to the Pope, November 27, 1705, *ibid.*, 11-13; Paolucci to Codde, December 29, 1705, *ibid.*, III., 53 *seq.*

⁷ Denuntiatio apologetica Petri Coddaei (Ultraiecti, 1706), *ibid.*, II., 14.

Potkamp's death led the Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem to commit an act of extreme imprudence by the nomination of three Pro-Vicars with mission to govern the diocese until the appointment of a new Vicar. By this step they cut the ground from under their feet. Codde, they alleged, was not only Vicar Apostolic but likewise Archbishop of Utrecht. Now he had only been deposed as Vicar-Apostolic so that, in the assumption of the so-called Chapter, he was still Archbishop of Utrecht. But if the archiepiscopal See of Utrecht was not vacant how was it possible to appoint Pro-Vicars for the administration of the diocese? For the rest Clement XI. had provisionally entrusted the government of the mission in Holland to the nuncios of Brussels and Cologne; to the alleged Pro-Vicars he had a letter sent, forbidding them to meddle with the administration of the mission.¹ The latter, however, continued to exercise the functions they had arrogated to themselves, whilst in answer to Paolucci's letter a pamphlet was published attacking the papal authority; never, the authors of the pamphlets said, would they give up their rights through fear of the censures with which they were threatened. Caricatures in the same sense were also published² and yet another series of pamphlets. A collection of thirty-one such products was condemned by Rome by special Brief.³

Meanwhile Bussi, until then internuncio at Brussels, had become nuncio at Cologne, so that it fell to his lot to give the Dutch mission a new Vicar Apostolic. His choice fell on Adam Daemen,⁴ a Canon of Cologne but a native of Amsterdam. The Chapter of Haarlem submitted to the new Vicar⁵ but the so-called Chapter of Utrecht, which had accepted Potkamp at the hand of the Pope, rejected Daemen on the plea that he had not been elected by the Chapter

¹ Paolucci's letter of July 31, 1706, *ibid.*, III., 54 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, II., 20 *seqq.*

³ October 4, 1707, *Bull.*, XXI., 304 *seqq.*; REUSCH, II., 715.

⁴ January 8, 1707, *Mozzi*, II., 23.

⁵ Petition of the people of Haarlem to obtain Daemen's recognition by the State, May 17, 1707, *ibid.*, 24 *seq.*

and persuaded the Protestant authorities to forbid him to discharge his office in Holland.¹ Daemen was consecrated Archbishop of Adrianople on December 26th, but to the time of his death on December 30th, 1717, he was unable to enter upon office in Holland and two months before his death he voluntarily laid down his dignity.² The Jansenists had prevailed on the Protestant States to issue a decree³ forbidding him to enter the country and threatening various penalties against those who acknowledged his authority. As a matter of fact these troubles provided the authorities with a welcome opportunity for taking action against the Catholics. In Holland also, as was their custom, the Jansenists traced back to Jesuit influence any unpleasantness that befell them.⁴ A letter of the States of February 18th, 1707, informed the hated religious that if the confusion among Catholics was not at an end within three months, they would be punished as the disturbers of public tranquillity.⁵ Accordingly when in 1708 the nuncio of Cologne forwarded a papal Bull proclaiming a jubilee,⁶ but expressly excluding the Jansenists from it, the Jesuits were in effect expelled by the States of Holland and West-Friesland and a prohibition was issued⁷ forbidding the introduction into Holland of any papal ordinance of whatever kind. Two years later a certain Jansenist even sought to obtain from the States a prohibition of the formula of Alexander VII.⁸ Codde had used his influence for the purpose of obtaining a State decree forbidding the Vicar Apostolic from entering the Seven Provinces,⁹ though

¹ The manifesto is reproduced (April 29, 1709) in [DUPAC], 397-400.

² MOZZI, II., 28, 102.

³ April 26, 1709, *ibid.*, 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵ Paolucci to John de Bruyn, Superior of the Dutch Jesuits, October 4, 1707, *ibid.*, III., 61.

⁶ May 3, 1708, *ibid.*, II., 33.

⁷ December 14, 1708, *ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

not long before he had assured Paolucci¹ that he would put no obstacle in the way of a new Vicar Apostolic. On December 18th, 1710, Codde's life came to an end: only a month earlier he had once more made a public profession of his separatist views.² The Pope and the nuncio of Cologne had vainly sought to induce him to change his mind.³ The Inquisition pronounced him unworthy of ecclesiastical burial,⁴ not indeed with a view to "condemning the memory of the deceased, but as an example and a warning to obstinate rebels".

This decree of the Congregation of the Index did not induce the Jansenists to alter their conduct⁵ but the severity of the Roman authorities was not without effect. Not a few of those who had suffered themselves to be led astray returned to the Church.⁶ In 1708 the nuncio of Cologne had proclaimed the unlawfulness of receiving the ministrations of apostate priests, with the result that eight priests of Utrecht and Haarlem and nineteen from the rest of Holland raised a protest and openly attacked the authority of the Pope. Thereupon the nuncio published a detailed Instruction⁷ in which he defined the various kinds of rebel priests and laid down which of their functions were valid, though as a general rule, it was strictly forbidden to receive the Sacraments at their hands. This Instruction helped not a little towards the clarifying of ideas.

With a view to preventing their party from melting away, the Jansenists now dispatched two delegates, Steenoven and Dalenoort, to the Cologne nuncio, with mission to pave the way for a compromise. They achieved nothing and when the party celebrated their return as a triumph, the nuncio

¹ May 2, 1706, *ibid.*, 17.

² His *Declaratio* of November 11, 1707, printed in *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1826, 75 *seqq.*

³ Mozzi, II., 39, 43 *seqq.*

⁴ January 14, 1711, *ibid.*, III., 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷ January 13, 1711, *ibid.*, III., 72.

made it known that all the delegates' accounts of the negotiations were false.¹ These lying reports failed to stem the retrogression of the movement ; the number of recalcitrant priests fell from 300 to about 50.²

But this did not heal the division in Catholic Holland. "The party of Quesnel," Langlet du Fresnoy writes,³ "had caused such a cleavage in the Church that Catholics in rural districts were compelled to appeal to the Holy See for parish priests from whose beliefs they would have nothing to fear. Most of them were obliged to go five or six miles to hear the Mass of a priest who remained loyal to the Holy See. When about to die, some of them have themselves taken to a neighbouring parish so as not to be obliged to receive the Sacraments from their schismatical parish priests. Not a few of the faithful have been persuaded by their pastors to speak of the Pope as do the Lutherans and the Calvinists." The party of Quesnel had done everything to remove priests of which it disapproved ; they had also succeeded in expelling all religious men from a number of Provinces, regardless of the fact that many of the faithful were thereby deprived of spiritual assistance. "We ourselves have heard these facts on the spot from the lips of Catholics."

In view of the steady decrease of their numbers the Jansenist priests felt the need of providing men who would succeed them and of finding a Bishop who would confer orders on them. In this respect some scholars such as Witasse, Van Espen, Dupin, Noël Alexandre came to the rescue by giving it as their opinion that the so-called Chapter of Utrecht had the right to issue the dimissorial letters without which no Bishop may ordain a candidate who was not also his own subject. As a matter of fact an Irish Bishop, Luke Fagan of Meath, allowed himself to be taken in by the dimissorials of the Chapter. Between 1715-16 he ordained twelve Dutch priests whom the nuncio of Cologne promptly cited to appear before

¹ December 8, 1711, *ibid.*, 76 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, II., 59 ; *cf.* 234.

³ *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

him. When they refused, he suspended them.¹ A second memorial, by Van Espen, dated May 25th, 1717, was meant to win over some French Bishops. By means of false statements Van Espen had procured the signature of four canonists, though after some years the two who still survived withdrew it. In view of the conditions at the Sorbonne it was not difficult to secure further adhesions from that quarter.² Those French Bishops who held decidedly Jansenist views were quite prepared to oblige the Dutch Jansenists, more especially Soanen of Senez who ordained Dutch priests without any dimissorials at all; Lorraine of Bayeux, Caumartin of Blois, Colbert of Montpellier acted in like manner, but on condition that their action was kept rigorously secret.³ The Chapter of Haarlem refused to issue dimissorials, but since Utrecht was the metropolis of Haarlem, the "Chapter" of Utrecht took it upon itself to issue such letters for clerics of Haarlem also.⁴ Once the Dutch Jansenists had thus had recourse to those among the French Bishops who shared their sentiments, it was only natural that, like them, they too should appeal from the Bull *Unigenitus* to a General Council.⁵ Quesnel urged such a step as it could only benefit his cause⁶ and on May 9th, 1719, the "Chapter" of Utrecht acquiesced in his request.⁷ Van Heussen, the

¹ *Ibid.*, 60 seq. Cf. Recueil de divers témoignages, 128; [DUPAC], 445-450.

² MOZZI, II., 62 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 66 seqq.; [DUPAC], 459 seq. On how the secret was discovered, see FLEURY, LXIX, 173.

⁴ MOZZI, II., 69 seqq.

⁵ "L'église de Hollande n'avoit été attaquée dans ses droits hiérarchiques qu'en haine des mêmes vérités que ses adversaires ont voulu faire condamner dans la bulle *Unigenitus*. Elle n'avoit défendu ses droits, avec tant de zèle, que parce que cette défense étoit inséparable du maintien de ces vérités." This is the explanation of the Appeal in [DUPAC], 473.

⁶ MOZZI, II., 83 seqq., 93 seqq.

⁷ *Ibid.* The Appeal is printed in [NIVELLE], II.^e Suite, Appendix 2-8.

chief promoter of this fresh insurrection against the Holy See, was dead by that time, but shortly before his death he had attested his adhesion in writing.¹ The University eulogized the Chapter for this step² and a number of priests of Utrecht and Haarlem joined in Van Heussen's rebellion.³

As was to be expected the ordinations of Jansenist priests by French Bishops could not remain so secret that Archinto, the Cologne nuncio, should have remained in ignorance of them. He summoned two intruding parish priests to justify themselves; when they exhibited to him a Brief of Leo X. by the terms of which clerics of Utrecht could only be judged within their own province, he entrusted the initiation of judicial proceedings against them to John van Bijlevelt, parish priest of the Hague and successor of the Vicar Apostolic Daemen who had died in 1717.⁴ This measure let loose another storm against the Holy See. On June 23rd and in October the party addressed two memorials to the States of Holland and West-Friesland. The representatives of Rome, they said, exercised an authority in Holland which could not be tolerated by the States; these people were disturbers of the peace and oppressors of the clergy; their aim was to fill their pockets at the expense of the Dutch, to introduce the Inquisition, whilst they reduced the prerogatives of the secular power to the advantage of the Pope.⁵ The Protestant States General were even more powerfully roused against the Pope by means of a memorial which these Catholics presented to them in 1722. The States, this document declared, would surely not tolerate a situation in which half a million Dutch Catholics would be prepared to obey the slightest hint from the Emperor or the King of Prussia; but

¹ February 11, 1719, *ibid.* 9.

² July 6, 1720, *ibid.*, 11 *seq.*

³ July 18 and September 3, 1719, *ibid.*, 9, 10 *seq.*

⁴ Mozzi, II., 104. Cf. VREGT, *Het apostolisch Vicarisschap van Joh. v. Bijlevelt*, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem I-V*, 1873-7). Brief directed to him, October 2, 1717, in Mozzi, I., 209; plenipotentiary powers, *ibid.*, 211 *seq.*

⁵ Mozzi, II., 105 *seqq.*

the situation was fraught with far greater danger when the same number of Catholics deemed it an obligation of conscience to obey the slightest suggestion of the representatives of the court of Rome.¹ What they wanted was not a Vicar Apostolic, whom the Pope could remove whenever he pleased, but a Bishop enjoying all the rights of his office ; they would recognize none other and if such a prelate were denied them, the decrees against the missionaries would have to be carried into execution. A decree banishing the Jesuits as the authors of all the mischief in the Jansenist view, was actually issued on May 25th, 1720.

The rebellious priests carried their revolt even a step further : they would appoint a Bishop independently of the Pope, one elected by the Chapters of Haarlem and Utrecht.² In that case Clement XI. would fulminate a sentence of excommunication, but there was no reason to fear such a sentence ; the Pope was determined to destroy the prerogatives of the Church of Utrecht, hence that Church had a right to legitimate defence and in such circumstances she could do all that was necessary in order to repel an unjust aggressor ; nor was Clement XI. immortal ; after his death, under another Pope, everything could be arranged.

As a matter of fact, death spared Clement XI. the necessity of having to take action against such opinions.

¹ *Ibid.*, 108 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 110 *seqq.*

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT XI.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS.

(1.)

CLEMENT XI. was above all else solicitous for the clergy. One of the first acts of his government was to order the continuation of the visitation¹ which his predecessor had prescribed for the churches of Rome.² But Clement did not succeed in solving all the problems with which the visitors were faced.³ In particular the duty of residence was impressed upon the clergy. The Vicar-General Carpegna was instructed to order⁴ all the Bishops and priests bound to residence, who happened to be in Rome, to return to their flocks; those who failed to obey within six months were to forfeit their benefice. Not long afterwards the Pro-Datarius Sagripanti published a similar ordinance⁵: within ninety days all must send in, under pain of forfeiting their benefice, a certificate from their Bishop attesting that they were fulfilling their duties. In the name of the Congregation of the Council Cardinal Panciatici, in a circular addressed to the whole hierarchy,⁶ reiterated the duty of residence for the whole Church. The Bishops or Vicars Apostolic in the territories of heretics or schismatics were not exempt from this obligation⁷; in fact the Archbishop of Mexico was

¹ January 14, 1701, *Bull.*, XXI., 6 *seqq.*

² Cf. the present work, XXXII., 638.

³ Innocent XIII., May 28, 1721, *Bull.*, XXI., 877.

⁴ February 5, 1701, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., Luxemburg, 1727, 242.

⁵ June 18, 1701, *ibid.*, 290.

⁶ Undated, *ibid.*, 423.

⁷ Decree of Propaganda, June 17, 1715, *ibid.*, 426 *seq.*

commanded to compel the Bishop of New Segovia, in the Philippines, to take up residence there.¹ A Brief to the Bishops of Poland pointed out to them the necessity of residence²; the Bishop of Kulm was the object of special blame inasmuch as his absence had enabled Protestantism to gain ground.³ Special decrees were issued to ensure clerical dignity in conduct and attire⁴; in particular the wearing of a wig during the sacred functions was prohibited⁵; clerics were also forbidden to take part in theatrical plays.⁶ Weekly lectures on Moral Theology were to assure the clergy's progress in knowledge.⁷ The Pope also dealt with complaints in connection with the competitions prescribed by the Council of Trent for the appointment to parishes.⁸ For the purpose of strengthening the spiritual life Clement XI. recommended the spiritual exercises introduced by St. Ignatius and insisted upon by St. Vincent de Paul, more especially as a means of preparing for the priesthood and for promoting the priestly spirit. A circular addressed to the Bishops of Italy⁹ ordained that the reception of Orders be preceded by ten days of such exercises and that priests, more especially those who had the cure of souls, should make them every year, if possible with the Jesuits or the Lazarists—in fact the Bishops were directed to further the spiritual exercises in every way. Clement XI. granted special Indulgences to those who attended the Tuesday conferences which had been introduced in Rome, on the model of those of St. Vincent de Paul, by the Lazarists of Monte Citorio, for the preservation of the priestly spirit.¹⁰

¹ Brief of January 27, 1703, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 149 (hereafter referred to as *Op.*, Epist.).

² May 25, 1709, *ibid.*, 608.

³ Same date, *ibid.*, 610.

⁴ Decree of December 7, 1706, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 252.

⁵ Decree of May 4, 1701, *ibid.*, 451.

⁶ To Acquila, October 31, 1706, *ibid.*, 409.

⁷ Decree of November 28, 1719, *ibid.*, 262.

⁸ Circular letter of the Congregation of the Council of Trent, January 10, 1721, *ibid.*, 423.

⁹ February 1, 1710, *ibid.*, 422 *seqq.*

¹⁰ Brief of October 27, 1713, *Bull.*, XXI., 585.

The revival of religion among the people was likewise to be promoted by the jubilee which, in accordance with custom, the Pope proclaimed at his accession.¹ When extending the Jubilee Indulgence to the whole of Italy,² Clement XI. added some exhortations the purpose of which was to arrest the decay of morals. The Bishops were told to see to the maintenance of becoming reverence in the churches and the observance of holy days. Parents should react against the decay of morals by a better upbringing of their children, teachers and parish priests by the teaching of religion and by sermons to adults who were even more ignorant than the children. Popular missions were to be greatly encouraged: quite recently Rome had had experience of their benefits; when the truths of the faith were explained in simple language, the faithful listened gladly, came in crowds and derived much profit. For this reason Clement XI. recommended to the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland the missions preached by the Jesuit Fontana.³ In like manner he recommended to the Bishops of Passau and Salzburg the popular missions of two Jesuits.⁴

In the convents of nuns, the Bishops were to tolerate no relaxation of monastic discipline, nor useless conversations in the parlour. Men of learning were to be appointed as confessors; the nuns were to spend ten days in spiritual exercises before their clothing and profession and it was desirable that these exercises should be repeated every year. Ecclesiastics should set a good example by their devout attitude both in choir and at Mass, and care must be taken that those without a vocation should not assume the duties of the priesthood.

These regulations included practically everything that could contribute towards the raising and furtherance of morals and religion. Some details mentioned in these

¹ February 25, 1701, *ibid.*, 17.

² March 16, 1703, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 407 *seq.*

³ December 30, 1703, *Op.*, Epist., 318.

⁴ January 7, 1717, *ibid.*, 2200 *seq.*

ordinances were further emphasized in other decrees. Thus a circular of the Inquisition for Italy laments the lack of reverence in the churches against which measures should be taken.¹ The Vicar-General of Rome urged the sanctification of Sundays and holy days.² As regards these matters, ordinances were also sent to the Bishops of the Papal States.³ It was especially in the matter of the religious instruction of the people that Clement XI. showed himself most solicitous. On July 26th, 1701, he addressed a circular to all the Bishops of Italy, together with an instruction in fourteen chapters, on the manner of imparting religious instruction. On March 16th, 1703, this injunction was still further amplified.⁴ Parish priests were ordered to give religious instruction at least on Sundays and feast days, and in so doing they were to follow Bellarmine's catechism. In future no one was to receive Orders, Confirmation, the Tonsure, or contract matrimony, without a testimonial from the parish priest attesting that he had been present at the catechetical instructions.⁵

Parish priests were obliged to submit to the Bishops a list of the children who frequented these instructions; parents were admonished to exhort their children to assist them.⁶ For the lay brethren in religious Orders in Italy, an explanation of the catechism and a portion of the Rule was prescribed for every Sunday.⁷

During the period of the vacation of 1710 which he spent at Castel Gandolfo, the Pope sought first hand information as to the way in which the duty of preaching and catechizing was carried out.⁸ At San Gallo in Rome, the prelates of the court were made to explain the catechism to the poor.⁹

¹ July 26, 1701, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 405 *seq.*

² February 8, 1703, published by L. MUÑOZ GASPARINI, in the periodical *Roma*, September, 1925, pp. 409 *seqq.*

³ January 11, 1719, and January 4, 1721, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 412.

⁴ NOVAES, XII., 50.

⁵ Brief of September 14, 1713, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 257 *seq.*

⁶ Brief of October 5, 1713, *ibid.*, 261.

⁷ November 13, 1709, *ibid.*, 448.

⁸ NOVAES, XII., 107.

⁹ C. B. PIAZZI, *L'agerarchia cardinalizia*, Roma, 1703, 744; *cf.* 869.

Clement XI. realized that the abuse of the theatre might become a source of danger for the morals of the people. It comes as a surprise to us to-day that the Governor of Rome should have issued an order against the abuses of the theatre, on the ground that it was a well-known fact that the real purpose of comedies and tragedies and suchlike things was not merely entertainment, but likewise the improvement of morals and the teaching of the laws of right conduct.¹ For the raising and furthering of the religious life Clement XI. hoped for great things from the example set by the penitential and strict Order of the Trappists, which had recently come into being. He wished to see it established in Rome, in 1709, at S. Vito and induced the Abbey of Casamari to adopt their Constitutions.² He was anxious to summon the Benedictine nuns who devoted themselves to the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament from France to Rome, but owing to the unfortunate circumstances of the times, he saw himself obliged to send them back again in 1708, when he strongly recommended them to the Archbishop of Paris.³ On August 1st, 1705, he approved their Constitutions.⁴

In like manner he approved, on June 13th, 1703, at the request of the Bavarian Elector Max Emmanuel, the Rule of the English Ladies, though without giving his approbation to their Institute.⁵ On March 15th, 1709, he approved the new Constitutions of the Vallombrosans,⁶ whose visitation

¹ January 5, 1721, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 293. “*Bando sopra gl’ abusi nei teatri,” February 2, 1718, in *Editti*, V., 60, f. 135, Papal Secr. Archives. *Ibid.*, 125-134, “*Bandi circa le comedie 1651-1673.”

² IGNAZ MÜLLER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI., 2001.

³ September 23, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 570.

⁴ HEIMBUCHER, I., 394.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III., 366; PECHMANN, *Gesch. des Englischen Instituts B.M.V. in Bayern*, Munich, 1907, 29. Cf. the present work, XXIX, 24-34.

⁶ *Bull.*, XXI., 113-189.

had been entrusted to the Abbot-General.¹ Nine Benedictine monasteries in Poland and Lithuania, which at the instigation of the Polish nuncio Niccolò Spinola, had been visited by Abbot Mirecki, sent this same prelate to Rome for the purpose of bringing about the union of these nine monasteries in a single Congregation, after the model of the Bavarian Benedictine Congregation. Clement XI. granted this request by a Brief of May 22nd, 1709.²

Abbot Othmar of Brewnow was granted all the privileges of the Cassinese Congregation for the Bohemian Benedictines and the federated monasteries of Moravia and Silesia.³ In order to raise the standard both of the religious life and that of the studies in the Swiss Benedictine Congregation, he ordained that special monasteries should be set apart as noviciates and houses of study.⁴ The Cistercians of Bohemia, Moravia and Lusatia were granted all the privileges enjoyed by the Spanish Congregation of their Order.⁵

Clement XI. gave his warm support to the Lazarists when they planned a foundation at Lisbon. In this matter he had recourse to the Archbishop of Braga, and on January 14th, 1717, to the King of Portugal himself. The difficulties brought forward against the exemption from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Lisbon claimed by the foundation, were only settled at the time of the canonization of St. Vincent de Paul in 1738.⁶

In an autograph letter ⁷ to the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, the Pope urged the reform of that Order. The Knights were to apply themselves to all that belonged to their calling, viz. mathematics, the art of naval warfare and military exercises. The Order of the Mercedarians had

¹ December 11, 1704, *ibid.*, 220.

² *Ibid.*, 343 *seqq.* Edict of Cardinal Carpineto, May 2, 1709, in *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 414.

³ Brief of October 6, 1714, *Bull.*, XXI., 627.

⁴ September 14, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2410.

⁵ Brief of March 7, 1715, *ibid.*, 664 *seqq.*

⁶ NOVAES, XII., 145.

⁷ January 24, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 462.

decided, on its own initiative, in a General Chapter of May 17th, 1698, in favour of a stricter observance of its Constitutions. Clement XI. approved the changes on May 29th, 1702.¹ For the same reason he granted a similar favour to the Antonites in Vienna.² For the convents of nuns, he insisted on all useless display and expense being avoided at clothings and professions.³ One important papal decision concerns the relations between Regulars and Bishops. In the Philippine Isles Dominicans, Franciscans, Hermits of St. Augustine and Jesuits had contested the right of the Archbishop of Manila to visit the seven hundred parishes which they administered amongst the natives; they were prepared rather to surrender these parishes than to allow them to be visited. The Pope declared that they were to continue to look after them and to submit to the Archbishop's visitation.⁴

As a matter of fact, Clement XI. strongly insisted on ecclesiastical principles being upheld and laws which had come into force being observed, so that even princes had to put up with a good many refusals. It was from no motive of disloyalty to Catholic doctrine, but from devotion, that Count Anton Ulrich of Brunswick Lüneburg wished to receive Communion under both kinds. This had been granted to several other princes, but Clement XI. twice refused the request.⁵

The Count of Pfalz-Zweibrücken asked several times in vain for permission to contract a marriage with a relative of his, a Protestant princess.⁶ The Bishop of Quito and Viceroy of Peru, found it difficult to observe the law of

¹ *Bull.*, XXI., 49 *seqq.*

² May 12, 1703, *ibid.*, 84 *seq.*

³ Decrees of March 2, 1702, July 28, 1708, January 26, 1709, September 28, 1711, June 26, 1716, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 243, 256, 410 *seq.*

⁴ Brief of January 30, 1705, *Bull.*, XXI., 225 *seq.*

⁵ July 23 and October 22, 1712. THEINER, *Gesch. der Rückkehr Urk.*, 26; RÄSS, IX., 145.

⁶ Briefs of July 23, 1707, September 22, 1708, July 4, 1711, August 28, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 422, 568, 1552, 2358.

fasting on the occasion of ordinations. The Pope, however, stood firm in enforcing this law of the Church.¹ A custom had crept in of some priests saying all the three Masses on Christmas night at which the faithful communicated, instead of celebrating only one Mass; this innovation found no favour with the Pope.² Clement XI. showed himself most scrupulous in all that concerned divine worship and the reverence due to the Holy Eucharist.³ The Forty Hours' Prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, which had been observed at certain times of the year since the sixteenth century, was by his order regulated and ordered on January 20th, 1705.⁴ Processions of the Blessed Sacrament were not to be allowed to degenerate into occasions of mere curiosity; they were to be accompanied, not with fireworks and noise of arms and other ostentatious display, but by reverence and devotion.⁵ The Bishop of Toledo was reprimanded by the Pope⁶ because, in his episcopal city, the Blessed Sacrament was taken to the sick without those marks of reverence which were then customary in Rome and he forwarded to him the regulations in use in Rome, as a pattern of what should be observed.

Clement XI. gave many proofs of his veneration for the Mother of God. When on August 5th, 1715—a feast of our

¹ Brief of December 5, 1711, *ibid.*, 1604.

² Brief of December 18, 1702, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 245.

³ Circular letter for Italy, July 26, 1701, *ibid.*, 405. Cf. in **Bandi*, V., 7, f. 17, the edicts “per l'osservazione del culto divino” (July 15, 1701), f. 19, against frequenting churches at night in unbecoming dress (July 11, 1703), f. 20, against erecting altars or statues in the streets (September 19, 1704, and May 2, 1714), f. 22, against unbecoming behaviour in the churches (July 3, 1714), f. 59, “sopra l'osservazione di feste” (February 8, 1703). Papal Secr. Archives.

⁴ *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 248. Cf. *Civ. Catt.*, 1919, II., 111–125; on the beginnings of this devotion, *ibid.*, 1917, II., 466 *seqq.*

⁵ Edict of the Vicar-General of Rome, June 9, 1702, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 244.

⁶ November 19, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2418. Cf. JAK. HOFFMANN, *Verehrung des allerheiligsten Sakramentes*, Kempten, 1897, 275.

Lady and as he was taking part in a procession for the success of the Turkish war—Prince Eugene gained the great victory of Peterwardein, Clement XI. made use of the occasion to extend the feast of the Holy Rosary to the whole Church.¹ He raised the feast of the Immaculate Conception to the rank of a holy day of obligation, chiefly in order to implore the help of heaven in time of need.²

Clement XI. did much to promote the veneration of the Saints, although he only carried out one canonization during the whole of his pontificate. This took place on May 22nd, 1712. The new Saints were Pius V., the Theatine Andrea Avellino from the circle of Charles Borromeo (*ob.* 1608) and the Capuchin lay brother Felix of Cantalice (*ob.* 1587) and Catherine of Bologna, a Poor Clare (*ob.* 1463).³ The Pope also undertook only one solemn beatification, that of John Francis Regis, a Jesuit missionary in the Cevennes (*ob.* 1640). This took place on May 8th, 1716.⁴ Besides these, though without a formal beatification, he confirmed the cult which since time immemorial had been paid to many other saintly personages. This honour was conferred on Pope Gregory X. (1272–6),⁵ on the founder of the Order of Calatrava, on the Cistercian Raymond Serra (twelfth century), on the foundress of the Vallombrosan nuns, Umiltà di Faenza (*ob.* 1310), and on a number of Franciscans, e.g. Liberato da Lauro (fourteenth century), Andrea de Comitibus and the lay brothers James of Illyria (*ob.* 1485) and Salvatore d'Orta (*ob.* 1567), the Martyrs John of Perugia and Peter Sassoferato (*ob.* 1230); also on the following members of the Dominican

¹ Decree of the Congregation of Rites, October 3, 1714, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 440.

² December 6, 1708, *Bull.*, XXI., 338.

³ The Bulls of Canonization of Pius V. and Andrew Avellino in *Bull.*, XXI., 506 *seqq.*, 518 *seqq.* The Bulls for the other two Saints were only published on June 5, 1714, by Benedict XIII. *Ibid.*, XXII., 36 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXI., 704 *seq.* Cf. *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 436 (Decree of March 27, 1712), 439 (Decree of May 30, 1716).

⁵ Decree of September 12, 1713, *Bull.*, XXI., 575.

Order : Lucia of Narni (*ob.* 1544), the brother of St. Hyacinth, Ceslaus Odrovanzio (*ob.* 1242), Augustine Gazotti, Bishop of Agram and afterwards of Lucera (*ob.* 1323), the Servite Alexius Falconieri (*ob.* 1310), the Cistercian nuns of the Portuguese royal family, Teresa and Sancia, the Capuchin lay brother Serafino d'Ascoli.¹ The cult of some other Saints was extended to the whole Church.² At the request of James III. of England, St. Anselm of Canterbury was raised to the honour of a Doctor of the Church.³ In 1714 the relics of Pope Leo I., who later on was raised to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, were placed in the position in St. Peter's which they occupy to-day.⁴ Clement XI. himself composed an office of St. Joseph, the foster-father of Our Lord, extending it to the whole Church.⁵

One of Clement XI.'s constant anxieties was the preservation of ecclesiastical liberty in the face of encroachments by the secular power. The quarrels with Savoy, which continued during his whole pontificate and which were only finally settled by Benedict XIV., had come down to him as an inheritance from his predecessor's reign. The Government of Turin had put obstacles in the way of vocations to the priesthood and had taxed ecclesiastical benefices. When the Bishops remonstrated the Government declared their decrees null and void. Innocent XII. took the part of the Bishops whose renewed remonstrances likewise called forth a fresh protest from the Government. The confusion was further increased when, in a quarrel relating to immunity, a certain priest appealed to the Senate of Nice, whilst the nuncio of Turin and the Vice Legate of Avignon ranged themselves in opposition to the Senate and the Archbishop of Embrun, as

¹ NOVAES, XII., 154-162; *Bull.* XXI., *Index s.v.* "Cultus immemorialis".

² For SS. Peter of Alcántara, Ubaldo, Hedwige, Antoninus, Agatha, John of God, see *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 431 *seqq.*, 437.

³ February 3, 1720, *ibid.*, 441.

⁴ *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VII., 1765.

⁵ February 3, 1714, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 437; PFÜLF in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII. (1890), 297.

Metropolitan of Nice, took the part of the Senate which then appealed to Clement XI. During the whole of his pontificate the Pope had to deal with difficulties of this kind.¹ Apart from the feuds which had dragged on for hundreds of years as the fruit of the Sicilian Monarchy,² there were both isolated encroachments in the kingdom of Naples as well as papal protests, as at Aquila, Lecce, Lipari,³ Milan and Genoa.⁴

This disregard of ecclesiastical rights had spread as far as Poland.⁵ With regard to Germany, an urgent Brief was sent to the Elector of the Palatinate at Düsseldorf,⁶ requiring him to refrain from encroaching on the liberties of the Church. The Pope likewise implored the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and administrator of Breslau, Francis of Conti, to oppose all violations of ecclesiastical immunity.⁷ Liège and

¹ Comprehensive account in NOVAES, XII., 22-33. Briefs of May 17, 1707, October 27, 1710, January 3, 1711, July 9, 1712, July 28, 1713, October 20, 1717, August 18, 1719, January 5, 1720, in *Bull.*, XXI., 271, 406, 413, 538, 560, 779, 818, 825; *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 268 *seqq.* *Una missione di Savoia a Roma presso il Papa Clemente XI. secondo un carteggio col M. Franc Riccardi, ministro del granduca di Toscana*, Firenze, 1889 (Nozze). Cf. " *Lettere a Giac. Laderchi nel negotiato tra la S. Sede e la corte di Savoia 1717-1724 ", in *Cod. Barb.*, XLII., 20, Vatican Library; " *Scritti orig. di Giac. Laderchi sul negotiato tra la corte di Savoia et la S. Sede, affidato al med. Laderchi, che andò a Torino sul fine del 1716 (Monarchia Sicula), " *ibid.*, XLII., 67. Other *writings on the dispute: 1700-4, *ibid.*, LX., 15, 1706-1711, *ibid.*, LX., 66. Cf. POMETTI, XXI., 335 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*

² Cf. above, p. 98.

³ Briefs of May 21, 1707, December 24, 1711, June 18, 1712, *Bull.*, XXI., 287 *seq.*, 463 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*

⁴ Briefs of October 5, 1709, December 3, 1712, *ibid.*, 353 *seq.*, 546 *seq.* On the interdict of Lecce, 1711-19, cf. *Arch. Napolet.*, XXIV., 165.

⁵ NOVAES, XII., 116 *seq.*, 137.

⁶ January 23, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 460. Cf. WOKER, *Aus den Papieren des Kurpfälzischen Ministers A. Steffani*, Cologne, 1885, 32 *seqq.*

⁷ April 10, 1706, *Op.*, Epist., 336.

Malines also witnessed similar encroachments,¹ as did Portugal and Ragusa.² Clement XI. considered it his duty, in all these cases, to defend ecclesiastical privileges. Sometimes his admonitions met with success. Thus when Count Leopold of Lorraine had promulgated some laws contrary to ecclesiastical liberty, the Pope, after repeatedly condemning the ordinance, was finally able to congratulate the Count³ on having promulgated different laws.⁴ As the result of yet another remonstrance by the Pope, Leopold also revoked a later decree of the year 1715.⁵

On the other hand, when the duties of his office permitted him to do so, the Pope met the legitimate desires of the secular Powers. He gave proof of this when at the wish of John V., King of Portugal, he divided the diocese of Lisbon into two sections, erecting in the chapel of the royal palace a second archbishopric, the occupant of which was to bear the title of Patriarch.⁶

(2.)

Clement XI. seemed to be in no hurry to create new Cardinals. Three years went by after his election, before he invested the Archbishop of Naples and former nuncio in Poland, Francis Pignatelli, with the purple.⁷ Pignatelli was a nephew of Innocent XII., hence his elevation by Clement XI. was an expression of gratitude towards the late Pontiff who

¹ *Ibid.*, 388; *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 396.

² *Op.*, Epist., 170, 250; Brief of January 19, 1706, *Bull.*, XXI., 248.

³ Brief of February 11, 1704, *ibid.*, 99 seq.

⁴ November 30, 1710, *Op.*, Epist., 728; Orat. consist. (December 1, 1710), 50.

⁵ Brief of February 2, 1715, *ibid.*, 2050.

⁶ *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VII., 2094; *Clementis XI. Bullarium*, Frankfurt, 1729, 479 seqq. Cf. *ibid.*, 506 seq., 508 seqq., the Briefs of February 18 and March 12, 1717.

⁷ December 17, 1703, *Op.*, Orat. consist., 18.

had bestowed many benefits on the former Cardinal Albani.¹ Again two and a half years went by without further nominations, when all at once on May 17th, 1706, the Pope created twenty new Cardinals, owing to the number, as he himself said, having fallen so far short of the complement of seventy.² This time again one of the elevations was a mark of gratitude. Clement XI. had received the purple at the hands of Alexander VIII., now he conferred the same distinction on a relative of Alexander VIII., Pietro Priuli. Of the remaining nineteen not a few had been nuncios, as for instance the Florentine Francesco Martelli, who had been nuncio in Poland; Lorenzo Fieschi, Archbishop of his native city of Genoa, at Naples and Paris; Lorenzo Casoni at Naples; Francesco Acquaviva in Spain; Tommaso Ruffo in Tuscany; Orazio Filippo Spada at Cologne; Francesco Antonio Gualtieri in Paris. The others had won distinction in various spheres of activity: Ranuccio Pallavicini as Governor of Rome; Giandomenico Paracciani as Governor of Benevento; Niccolò Grimaldi in the same capacity in different towns and lastly as Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; Carlo Colonna had been *Maggiordomo*; he was succeeded by Giuseppe Vallemani, already nominated Cardinal *in petto* and Secretary of several Congregations of Cardinals; Alessandro Caprara was at the head of the Penitenziaria; Carlo Agostino Fabroni, Secretary of Propaganda and Prefect of the Index, was remarkable for his extraordinary talents and learning;

¹ NOVAES, XII., 60. Cf. **Relazione intorno alla vita di Fr. Pignatelli* (only up to his elevation to the cardinalate), *Cod. Barb.*, XLII., 69, pp. 185-194, Vatican Library.

² *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 18 seq.; NOVAES, XII., 77-86. On GUALTIERI, cf. A. BASCHET, *Le duc de Saint-Simon et le card. Gualtieri. Mém. sur la recherche de leur correspondance 1706-1728*, Paris, 1878. His *letters in *British Museum*; see JULIUS P. GILSON, *Guide to the Manuscripts of the British Museum*, London, 1914. Some letters of Maurists to him are in *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1907, 415-19. On Fabroni see BLUME, *Inter.*, II., 117; on the (tasteless) tomb of Filippucci see FORCELLA, VIII., 73. " *Testamento del card. Acquaviva " (1725) in *Cod. ital.*, 190, n. 5, State Library, Munich.

Giovanni Baduari, until then Patriarch of Venice, had distinguished himself by his pastoral zeal.¹ In the year of his elevation to the cardinalate he was appointed Bishop of Brescia where he combated the opinions of Picenino, a Swiss Protestant, and the Jansenists. Several of those nominated were well known for their piety and love of the poor, as was Gabriel Filipucci of Macerata to whom the Pope made a yearly grant of 1,000 scudi for his charities. In the year of his elevation to the cardinalate, Filipucci addressed a lengthy petition to the Pope praying to be relieved of that dignity. Clement XI. granted the petition² but when the Bishop died in the following year he ordered a princely funeral for him. Amongst the twenty new Cardinals, there were only two foreigners. These were the convert, Christian Augustine of Saxony, Archbishop of Gran, and Joseph Emmanuel de la Trémoille who received the purple on the proposal of Louis XIV. Lorenzo Corsini, the future Clement XII., also received the purple on May 17th, 1706. Michelangelo Conti, who was to be Clement XI.'s successor as Innocent XIII., was the only one who was nominated in the third creation of Cardinals, which took place on June 7th, 1706, in the consistory in which the resignation of Filippucci was accepted.³ Not all the twenty-two Cardinals who had been nominated up to now, were able to take part in the next conclave: Caprara died in 1711, Pallavicini in 1712, Baduari in 1714, Martelli in 1717, Casoni and Trémoille in 1720; Paracciani died on the very day on which the next Pope was elected.

These first three creations were followed by three others up till 1712, at which, however, only four prelates in all received the purple; they were: in the first place, Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, a native of Turin, papal Legate in distant China, on August 1st, 1707⁴; on April 15th, Ulisses Joseph Gozzadini of Bologna, until then Secretary

¹ *Vita del card. Giov. Badoaro*, Brescia, 1766.

² June 7, 1706, *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 22.

³ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 23; NOVAES, XII., 84.

⁴ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 30; NOVAES, XII., 91.

of Briefs and formerly professor of Canon law in his native city¹; together with the latter Antonio Francesco Sanvitali, at one time Vice-Legate at Avignon and afterwards nuncio at Florence, was nominated *in petto* but proclaimed before long.² To these was added the Pope's nephew, Annibale Albani, nominated on December 23rd, 1711.³ On June 26th, 1709, Francesco Maria de' Medici had obtained permission to renounce the cardinalate to prevent the Medici family of Florence from becoming extinct.⁴

When he raised his nephew, the Pope had created his twenty-sixth Cardinal, but not by any means the last. In fifteen creations Clement XI. bestowed the purple on seventy prelates. On the occasion of the seventh promotion, May 18th, 1712, eighteen Cardinals were promoted in order to fill up the gaps caused by death.⁵ A third of these owed their nomination to the pressure of the European Powers. Manuel Arias y Porres owed the red hat to the prayer of Philip V. In his youth he had been a Knight of Malta; he embraced the ecclesiastical state in his fifty-second year and attained the position of head of the supreme Council of Castile and finally that of Archbishop of Seville. He never went to Rome. Together with him another Spaniard was promoted in the person of the Benedictine monk Benedict Sala, Bishop of Barcelona. He had been an opponent of Philip V. and was obliged, after Philip's triumph, to retire to Rome. Charles VI., however, used his influence on his behalf.⁶ In the same way, at the prayer of the Emperor, Wolfgang Hannibal von Schrattenbach,⁷ Bishop of Olmütz, obtained the red hat, as did the Inquisitor-General Nuno da

¹ *Op., loc. cit.*, 32. *Biography in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 257, Papal Secr. Archives, and by Rondoni in *Bibl. Casanatense*, Rome, *Miscell.*, VI., 465.

² NOVAES, XII., 105.

³ *Op., loc. cit.*, 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶ A. M. ALBAREDA, *Contribució a la biografia del cardenal Sala O. S. B. abat de Montserrat*, in *Analecta Montserratensia*, VI. (1625), 77-224.

⁷ WURZBACH, XXXI., 270 *seq.*

Cunha de Atayde, as a result of pressure by the King of Portugal. France, of course, could not be passed over. Louis XIV. had intervened only on behalf of one of the two Frenchmen who had been nominated, viz. Armand Gaston de Rohan, Coadjutor of Fürstenberg of Strassburg ; the other, Melchior de Polignac, Archbishop of Auch and ambassador to the Holy See, had been raised to the cardinalate at the request of the English Pretender James III.¹

Five others owed their promotion not to princely intercession but to their services to the Holy See in diplomacy. Three of these, Giovanni Battista Bussi, Giulio Piazza and Giovanni Antonio Davia, had been at first internuncios at Brussels and subsequently nuncios at Cologne. Piazza was still administering the nunciature of Poland and Davia that of Vienna. Davia was a man of great merit who had fought, sword in hand, against the Turks ; on the advice of Innocent, he embraced the ecclesiastical career. He incurred Vienna's displeasure because, in obedience to papal instructions, he refused, in 1705, to acknowledge the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. The same misfortune of royal displeasure was incurred by nuncio Antonio Felice Zondadari when, as nuncio in Spain, he tried to bring about peace, with the result that he had to spend seven years in retirement at Avignon before his elevation to the cardinalate. Agostino Cusani had earned the red hat by filling the difficult post of nuncio at Venice, Vienna and Paris.²

Others had rendered themselves worthy of elevation not in foreign countries, but as faithful officials in the Eternal City. Ludovico Pico della Mirandola had been *Maggiordomo* and Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences ; Pietro Marcellino Corradini, at first a celebrated advocate at the Curia, Subdatarius and Auditor of the Pope, could be employed

¹ P. PAUL, *Le card. Melchior de Polignac 1661-1741*, Paris, 1922, Polignac also tried his hand as a Latin poet in a work entitled "Antilucrezio". BAUMGARTNER, *Wellliteratur*, IV., 633.

² *La nunziatura Veneta di Msgr. Agostino Cusani nel triennio 1704, 5 e 6, tratta dai dispacci orig. per cura di A. CERUTI*, 1877 ; *Arch. stor. lomb.*, III. (1876), 29-71.

in all important affairs : after the death of Benedict XIII. he very nearly obtained the papacy. As Auditor of the Rota during twenty-three years, Luigi Priuli had rendered good services in the affairs of his native city of Venice. Curzio Origo, an old friend of Clement XI., had been entrusted with various important offices.

Apart from the Benedictine Sala, three among the new Cardinals belonged to religious Orders. The Capuchin Francesco Maria Casini had been a famous preacher ; the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Tolomei, who was conversant with nine oriental languages, had been a learned professor of Holy Scripture and Philosophy at the Roman College ; the Theatine, Giuseppe Maria Tommasi, was remarkable for exceptional holiness of life and great learning in liturgical subjects ; like Tolomei, as a scion of a noble family, he had renounced his birthright in order to enter religion: He was examiner of Bishops and a Consultor of the Congregation of Rites and of the Holy Office. He refused at first to accept the cardinalate but the Pope overcame his objections with the same arguments with which Tommasi had at one time pressed the Pontiff to accept the papacy. During the seven months of his cardinalate, Tommasi distributed 4,000 scudi to the poor whilst a further 2,000 was spent on beautifying his church ; he was beatified by Pius VII. in 1805.¹

Without exception all those nominated were able and blameless priests. Corradini and Davia came well within reach of the papacy, Rohan was employed in practically every ecclesiastical affair and proved a strenuous defender

¹ Eulogy of Tommasi by Clement XI. : January 30, 1713; *Op.*, Orat. consist., 82. Biography by BERNINO (Romae, 1714, manuscript in the Archives of the Theatines, Rome, differing greatly from the printed copies) ; by POTTINO, Palermo, 1916. Also : *Archivio stor. ital.*, 5 Series, XIV., 226 ; A. F. VEZZOSI, *Scrittori dei chierici regolari*, Roma, 1780, 416. Edition of the works by VEZZOSI, 7 vols., Romae, 1748-1754. Some minor publications, by G. MERCATI in *Studi e testi*. Cf. NARDUCCI, *Biblioteca Angelica*, 551 seq. Tommasi's tomb is in the crypt of S. Clemente, Rome.

of the Bull *Unigenitus*, Atayde was praised for his prudence and ability, his solicitude for the poor and the splendour of the divine service. Seven amongst these Cardinals had been nominated *in petto*; however, their names were soon published: they were, Mirandola, Bussi, Corradini, Origo, on September 26th, 1712, Arias y Porres, Sala and Polignac on January 30th, 1713.¹ With the publication of the two last mentioned, the Pope combined the nomination of two new Cardinals, an Italian and a German.² Benedetto Odescalchi, a relative of Innocent XI., had been nuncio in Poland; he died in 1740 as Archbishop of Milan with the reputation of having distributed 1,100,000 imperial lire in alms. His fellow Cardinal was Damian Hugo von Schönborn, Bishop of Spire and Constance, who after the devastations caused by the French, successfully restored his bishopric of Spire to its pristine splendour. A priest of exemplary piety,³ he received the purple on the proposal of the Emperor, but was reserved, for a time, *in petto*. It was only on May 29th, 1715, that his elevation was made public, that is after that of Fabio Olivieri, Secretary of Briefs under four Popes, a cousin and fellow-student of the Pope, who was proclaimed in the public consistory of May 6th of that year.⁴ Schönborn's proclamation was followed by the bestowal of the red hat on four other Cardinals,⁵ but only one of these was at once

¹ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 78, 82 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 82 *seq.*; NOVAES, XII., 180 *seq.* Brief of February 11, 1714, and dispatch of the red hat to Odescalchi: *Op.*, Brevia, 1816; *cf.* 1822.

³ REMLING, *Gesch. der Bischöfe von Speier*, II., Mayence, 1854, 625 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, II., 57; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 608'; J. WILLE, BRUCHSAL, *Bilder aus einem geistlichen Staat des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Karlsruhe, 1897, 18 *seqq.* Brief of August 24, 1720 (congratulating him on his ordination to the priesthood and on his impending episcopal consecration) in *Op.*, Epist., 2402.

⁴ *Op.*, Orat. consist., 120, 122; NOVAES, XII., 191.

⁵ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 122; NOVAES, XII., 192. *Cf.* M. SAGLIOCCO, *Compendio delle virtù de card. Iñico Caracciolo*, Roma, 1738. On Bissy see J. GAZIN-GOSSEL in *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 539 *seqq.*, 679 *seqq.*

publicly proclaimed, viz. the Frenchman Henri Thiard de Bissy, Bossuet's successor at Meaux, a prelate well known as a father of the poor and a zealous defender of the ancient faith. The other three, Iñigo Caracciolo, Bernardino Scotti and Maria Marini were reserved *in petto*; only on December 16th, 1715, on the occasion of the last creation, were their names made public.¹ Most of the new Cardinals then nominated had been nuncios, viz. Niccolò Caracciolo at Florence, Giovanni Patrizi at Naples, Niccolò Spinola at Florence and in Poland. These were followed by the learned jurist Fernando Nuzzi who, although never a nuncio, had nevertheless occupied nearly every important position at the Curia.

On March 15th, 1717, after the Pope had rewarded the services of Alessio Gilberto Borromei, his Maestro di Camera, with the red hat, and on July 12th of the same year had honoured in the same way, though much against his will,² Giulio Alberoni, the foreigners were in a majority in the nominations which followed. At the same time as Alberoni, a Hungarian, Emmerich Czacki, Archbishop of Kolocsa, was raised to the purple, though he remained *in petto* until October 1st of the same year.³ On November 29th came the turn of two Frenchmen, Léon Potier de Gesvres, Archbishop of Bourges, and François de Mailly, Archbishop of Rheims. Gesvres obtained the dignity at the request of the King of Poland, whilst Mailly earned his elevation by his zeal in defence of the faith, as the Pope declared at the consistory.⁴ The Fleming, Thomas Philip of Alsace, Count of Boussu, a former student of the Germanicum and Rector of the Anima, merited his elevation by his stand against Jansenism.⁵ The Spaniard, Belluga Torre Castiglio Haro y Moncada was also a remarkable man. At Cordova he had established an

¹ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 126; NOVAES, XII., 194 *seq.*

² *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 142 *seq.*; NOVAES, XII., 209 *seq.*

³ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 150; NOVAES, XII., 211 *seq.*

⁴ The Pope called him "malleum Iansenistarum", *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 169. Cf. Brief to Mailly, January 8, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2388.

⁵ On Boussu, cf. STEINHUBER, I., 423; I. LOHNINGER, *Die zwölf Kardinäle aus der Reihe der Anima-Rektoren*, Rome, 1912, 13.

Oratory of St. Philip over which he presided as Superior. Though he held the See of Castagna the nuncio ordered him to act as Viceroy of Valencia and in the war of succession to take command of the troops which were to defend Philip V. against the rebels of Murcia. He earned the cardinalate by his zeal for the Holy See and for ecclesiastical liberty and immunity. He handed to the King a memorial on the grievous injury that must accrue to Spain, to the Church, to religion and to the King himself, from the restriction of intercourse with Rome. It required a papal command (March 12th, 1720) to induce him to accept¹ the Cardinal's hat. In order to escape from this dignity, he had not failed to make representations both to the King and to the Cardinals. After his nomination he renounced his bishopric and retired to Rome. Polignac called him a mirror of prelates, whilst Clement XI., at the time of his elevation, praised him as a courageous defender of the Holy See.² With him two other foreigners were nominated, as a result of pressure by their respective rulers, viz. the Portuguese Joseph Pereira de Lacerda and the Bohemian Michael Frederick of Althan. The former had been Viceroy of Algarbe and the latter became Viceroy of Naples in 1722. Together with these, four Italians received the purple, viz. Giorgio Spinola, Cornelio Bentivoglio, Gian Francesco Barbarigo and Giambattista Salerni. Spinola had been nuncio in Spain and Vienna with Charles VI. both as King of Italy and Emperor. Bentivoglio occupied a similar position in Paris, but after the death of Louis XIV. he came under suspicion with the Regent and had to be recalled. The conversion of the Elector of Saxony was due in no small measure to Salerni, who received the red hat at the request of the King of Saxony, the Crown Prince and the Emperor.³

¹ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 2396.

² *Op.*, Orat. consist., 168 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XII., 224.

³ NOVAES, XII., 225 *seq.* On Althan, *cf.* LOHNINGER, 12. On Salerni, B. DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXI. (1926), 104-117. The Pope commanded Salerni to accept the Cardinal's hat by Brief of November 29, 1719, printed in NILLES, *Symbolae*, II. (1885), 1016.

Two Spaniards were raised to the purple at Clement XI.'s last creation on September 30th, 1720: they were Borgia Centella Ponce de León, a son of the Duke of Gandia, and Alvaro Cienfuegos. The Pope had long refused to grant the Emperor's prayers on behalf of Cienfuegos owing to his being a Jesuit; as he had already nominated two other Jesuits, Tolomei and Salerni, he did not wish to raise a third to the purple.¹

(3.)

By his many ordinances for the spiritual renewal of clergy and people, Clement XI. had benefited the whole Church and by filling the vacancies in the College of Cardinals he had provided for future papal elections. It only remained for him, now to turn his attention to that part of his flock which, more than any other, stood in need of his solicitude. This includes, in the first place, the North of Germany and the northern countries in general where, under the zealous care of the Jesuit missionaries, the small Catholic communities succeeded in maintaining themselves, though with difficulty.²

¹ *Op.*, *loc. cit.*, 176; Brief of October 8, 1770, *Op.*, Epist., 2414; NOVAES, XII., 230, “* Vita del. card. Cienfuegos” in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, *Arm.*, I. It contains the following eulogy: “è inesplicabile la stima che fece della sua virtù e capacità il Re Pietro II. [of Portugal] che per la vivezza e prontezza solea chiamarlo Milfuegos.” The Emperor also had a great esteem for him. Cf. SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, ed. BOISLISLE, X. (1893), 532. On his writings, SOMMERVOGEL, II., 1182 *seqq.* The second-hand bookseller Samonati in Rome had in his possession one of his manuscripts, *Le ragioni di Stato e i suoi documenti politici* (to Charles VI.).

² DUHR, IV., 1, 100–124. On the Saxon mission, *ibid.*, 489 *seqq.* On East and West Prussia, *ibid.*, 459 *seqq.* Cf. the testimony of the Vicar Apostolic, Otto von Gronsfeldt, September 16, 1706: ‘ Ferme omnes per septentrionem missiones ab eodem [Ferdinand von Fürstenberg] erectae fundataeque sunt et Patribus Societatis

There also Clement XI. endeavoured to do all that lay in his power. The greatest difficulty, lay in the fact that for this whole northern region there was only one Vicar Apostolic. This vast territory which, besides the northern parts of Germany, included Sweden, Norway and Denmark, was far too extensive to be attended to by one man. A memorial drawn up at the beginning of the eighteenth century urges the partition of this Vicariate: it prays for a superior of their own for the territories of Hanover and Prussia.¹

The man by whose initiative this memorial was drawn up, was himself appointed to a post the creation of which he had advocated. This was Agostino Steffani, an Italian from Castelfranco and one of the most remarkable personalities of his time.² From a poor chorister of St. Mark's, Venice, he became one of the first composers of the eighteenth century, whose works exercised no small influence on George Frederick Händel, one of the greatest figures in the realm of music.³

indefesso labore ac studio, prudentia, discretione fructuque animarum in ista vinea Domini operantibus recteque fungentibus hucusque munere suo fuere addictae." METZLER, 301.

¹ METZLER, 81 seq. ; P. WITTICHEN in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, VI. (1904), 344 seqq.

² F. W. WOKER, *Aus den Papieren des kurpfälzischen Ministers Agostino Steffani*, Cologne, 1885 ; idem. *Ag. Steffani, Bischof von Spiga i. p. i., Apostol. Vikar von Norddeutschland 1709-1728*, *ibid.*, 1886.

³ F. CHRYSANDER, *Georg. Friedrich Händel*, I., Leipzig, 1858, 311-353. "He [Steffani] was one of the greatest masters of the time. His word was universally accepted. The assurance that 'Steffani had said so', was enough to end any controversy. He was Händel's favourite and he was the only great composer from whom he [Händel] not only learnt something, but whom he confesses to have actually imitated" (*ibid.*, 312). "In the conception of a great musical poem Steffani is substantially the equal of his great successor [Händel]. We find in him an idealism equally profound, only in his dramatic power is he considerably inferior" (*ibid.*, 323). "His duets have made Steffani immortal." "His duets, which bear the stamp of consummate skill, cannot be too highly praised, they will only perish when music itself

He became a priest in 1681 when, thanks to his musical achievements, he received a call to the court of Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover, where the master in the realm of harmony and the counterpart to Rubens, likewise revealed himself as an able diplomatist. Without breaking off relations with the court of Hanover, he entered, at the beginning of the Spanish War of Succession, into close relations with the Elector John William of Pfalz-Neuburg, in whose service he rose to the position of President of the electoral Government. Though John William had no decisive vote, he was nevertheless mixed up in all the events and questions which agitated Germany at that time and on most occasions Steffani appears as his representative and spokesman.¹ Ordinances issued by him had the same force as if they had been signed by the Elector himself.² In Rome also Steffani was highly esteemed. At the suggestion of the Elector, the Pope not only appointed him to the See of Spiga (September 13th, 1706), but desired him to take up residence in Rome at the time of his quarrel with the Emperor Joseph I., in order that he might consult him.³ In his own opinion Steffani had "settled the matter very satisfactorily" in Rome.⁴ In token of his gratitude the Pope nominated him an Assistant at the Pontifical throne⁵ and provided him with several benefices.⁶

During Steffani's residence in Rome, the division of the northern Vicariate was effected. On April 9th, 1709, a Brief was issued appointing the Bishop of Spiga Vicar Apostolic for Pfalz-Neuburg, Brandenburg and Brunswick, in so far as these territories were not already under the jurisdiction

perishes," *ibid.*, 327. Selected works published by A. EINSTEIN and A. SANDBERGER, Leipzig, 1905. Cf. EITNER in *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXV., 549-553; WOKER in *Katholik*, 1887, I. 312-329, 421-432.

¹ WOKER, *Aus den Papieren*, 6 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 97. Cf. opinion of the Empress, *ibid.*, 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶ WOKER, *Steffani*, 6.

of other Ordinaries or Bishops.¹ Thus a new Vicariate Apostolic of the North was established comprising Upper and Lower Saxony.

The fact that a man of such brilliant gifts and high repute was placed at the head of the new vicariate justified the highest expectations for the future. The Pope, as well as the nuncio of Cologne, were full of hope.² Steffani himself entertained great plans. Secular priests were to replace the regulars over whom the Bishops had but little power. He took advantage of the favour which he enjoyed with the princes and the highest officials to induce them to adopt a friendly attitude towards the Catholics and to pave the way for subsequent conversions. To this end he appeared in public with great display, lived in great style and kept a splendid table because, as he wrote, in Germany all matters of importance are settled at table.³ For the time being he retained his position as minister of the Elector. However, the youthful enthusiasm with which he had assumed his charge soon vanished. Disillusion followed disillusion ; in vain did he endeavour to induce some of his noble friends to embrace the Catholic faith.⁴ He experienced the greatest difficulty, in Hanover alone, in replacing the Jesuits by secular priests.⁵ In 1713 laws came into force which openly aimed at the destruction of the Catholic Church.⁶ It was only in the year 1718 that Steffani was able to consecrate the one church in the Elector's city of residence which the latter had been made to promise to the Catholics on his nomination as Elector in 1692.⁷ However, in 1712, a church was built in Brunswick, which Duke Anthony Ulrich, a convert, had promised,⁸ and

¹ Printed in WOKER, *Gesch. der norddeutschen Franziskanermissionen*, Freiburg, 1880, 429 seqq.

² WOKER, *Steffani*, 6, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 seqq.

⁶ WOKER, *Hannover*, 100 seqq.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 147 seqq.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

at Celle a hall was set up in 1711.¹ At Halle and Dessau, Steffani successfully established new mission stations.² The Vicar Apostolic spared no efforts to get himself recognized in this capacity in all the Prussian territories. He obtained at last permission to exercise purely ecclesiastical functions and these he performed with all possible solemnity.³ Unfortunately after the death of Frederick I. of Prussia everything came to nought. The King looked upon himself as both Bishop and Pope even for the Catholics.⁴ In his view all spiritual jurisdiction over them should be exercised by a Vicar appointed by the King and he only desisted from carrying this plan into execution when he failed to find a Catholic willing to put himself in such an impossible position.⁵ At the end of 1711 Steffani sent a long account to Rome of the confusion and disorder in things spiritual in Brandenburg which presents a sad picture. "The benefices attached to churches, which the treaty of Westphalia had left to us in fairly large numbers, are being lost little by little ⁶ because the court bestows them on Protestants, with injunction to sell them to the Catholics. But as the Protestant holders ask exorbitant sums by way of compensation, no one is willing to recover them at such a price. The dearth of priests is constantly increasing owing to the fact that the poor Friars have to make long journeys of from ten to twelve miles to find a Bishop from whom they may receive Orders. Discipline among regulars is on the decline and in time it will break down altogether, since the court of Berlin is unwilling to allow foreign Superiors to deal with matters which, it alleges, are its own affair."

Since 1719 Steffani, crushed as he was with debts, had entertained the idea of returning to Italy and this resolution

¹ *Ibid.*, 246, 261.

² *Ibid.*, 24.

³ WOKER, *Steffani*, 79, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

he carried into execution at the end of 1722. Propaganda failed to find a substitute equally acceptable to the princes. At the end of October, 1725, Steffani returned to Hanover; he died whilst on a journey to Frankfurt on the Main, 1728.¹ Steffani's spirit of initiative was greatly appreciated in Rome.² The Holy See did all in its power to further his projects for the erection of churches. "Probably at no time did any Pope issue so many Briefs on behalf of the building of one single church for a Catholic community of average size as Clement XI. did for that of Hanover." On leaving Rome in 1709 Steffani, besides a present of 6,000 florins, was also given letters of recommendation for his new church to a whole series of secular and ecclesiastical princes.³ For the erection of a church at Brunswick the Pope gave 2,000 thalers and yet another 4,000 thalers,⁴ not counting the 300 scudi which he bestowed on the mission.⁵ But on a number of other questions Steffani's wishes were not met as he had hoped. His numerous proposals for the maintenance of his secular clergy in Hanover were judged impracticable in Rome.⁶ Thus Propaganda refused to consider his suggestion that it was possible to allow the King of Prussia to empower a Vicar, in the name of the State, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, since this would not greatly differ from the royal *placet* which was tolerated elsewhere.⁷ When accusations against Steffani's administration became more and more insistent, the Pope, at the request of the court of Vienna, dispatched Bishop Künigl of Brixen to Hanover with mission to examine the situation and to put an end to abuses.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 131, 134.

² *Ibid.*, 5, 52, etc., and *Hannover*, 78.

³ WOKER, *Hannover*, 148 seq.

⁴ WOKER, *Steffani*, 45 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 seq.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 83 seqq.

⁸ WOKER, *Hannover*, 172 seqq.; also N. NILLES in *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.*, XIV. (1890), 388-394. Künigl asked the Pope repeatedly to be allowed to lay down the burden of the Episcopal

Steffani's further demands that the privileges of the monasteries in his Vicariate should be abolished and the abuses that had crept in done away with, were likewise not complied with in Rome.¹

In the archdioceses of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, in spite of their almost entirely Protestant surroundings, sixteen monasteries were still in existence. At Huysburg there were Benedictines, at Halberstadt Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Dominican and Cistercian nuns, at Hamersleben Augustinians and elsewhere in the archdiocese of Halberstadt three convents of nuns still survived. A Benedictine monastery and five convents of nuns had maintained themselves at Ammensleben, in the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and some of the churches of Halberstadt still had Catholic benefices attached to them.²

Before the partition in the year 1709,³ the northern Vicariate numbered nearly twenty stations. After Upper and Lower Saxony had become independent, the northern Vicariate continued to retain several missions in the three Hanseatic towns and at Schwerin, Altona, Friedrichstadt, Glückstadt, Fridericia, Rendsburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm.⁴ After the death in 1702 of the Bishop of Hildesheim, Jobst Edmund

office, but the Pope would not accede to his request; see Briefs of January 8, 1714, March 13, 1717, March 29, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 1930, 2222, 2398. "Nos quoque," the Pope writes (*ibid.*, 2222), "apostolicae servitutis sarcinam onerosissimam periculorumque plenam inviti suscepimus et in hac temporum acerbitate aegro prorsus animo sustinemus. An non putas in tot tantisque curis et sollicitudinibus plane gravissimis, quibus assidue premimur. Nos etiam interdum taedere vitae et longe optabiliorem Nobis videri illum pristinum statum? Sed iugum, quod divina providentia ferre Nos voluit, non excutiendum Nobis, sed ferendum forti animo esse statuimus. . . ."

¹ WOKER, *loc. cit.*, 99.

² *Ibid.*, 95 *seqq.*

³ See above, p. 357.

⁴ METZLER, 77. Cf. Catalogus notitiarum in WOKER, *Aus norddeutschen Missionen*, Colonia, 1884, 91-112.

von Brabeck, the suffragan Bishops of Osnabrück acted as Vicars Apostolic of the North.¹ The most important event for the Vicariate during the pontificate of Clement XI. was the foundation, by the Jesuit Martin Gottseer of the northern Seminary at Linz on the Danube, for the education of priests for Scandinavia.² Clement XI., who as Cardinal Protector of Sweden had encouraged the beginnings of the Seminary, also gave it his support as Pope by recommending it on July 14th, 1707, to a number of prominent Bishops, and on January 16th, 1712, to the Emperor and Empress.³ Owing to differences of opinion on the subject of jurisdiction over Brunswick, difficulties arose in connection with the demarcation of the boundaries of the northern Vicariates. A Brief of Clement XI. of June 14th, 1714, assigned Brunswick to the Bishop of Hildesheim.⁴ On the other hand, in the following year, Steffani succeeded in getting the new mission of Kursachsen attached to the Vicariate of Hanover. When the Elector of Hanover purchased the Duchy of Bremen-Verden from Sweden, these territories came under the jurisdiction of the Hanoverian Vicariate, though they had formerly belonged to the northern Vicariate.⁵

In spite of the difficult position in which the Catholic Church found itself in North Germany, she still had power to attract Protestants. Between 1706 and 1712 there occurred no fewer than two hundred and seventeen conversions to the Catholic faith in the Franciscan Province of Saxony and ninety from 1712 to 1740.⁶ Even persons of princely rank joined the Catholic Church during the pontificate of Clement XI. Mention must be made in the first place of the conversion of the heir to the throne of Saxony, Frederick Augustus III., who took this step from conviction after suitable instructions

¹ METZLER, 72, 141 *seqq.*

² METZLER in *Theol.-pract. Quartalschr.*, LXIV. (1911), 253-282.

³ *Op.*, Epist., 403, 1515, 1516 *seq.*

⁴ METZLER, 98 *seq.* WOKER, *Franziskanermissionen*, 431 *seqq.*

⁵ METZLER, 99 *seqq.*

⁶ WOKER, *loc. cit.*, 68.

had enabled him to see the Catholic teaching in a new light.¹ Numerous Briefs had been addressed to his father exhorting him to see to it that the heir to the throne was placed in Catholic surroundings,² but it was only on October 11th, 1717, that Clement XI. was able to communicate to the Cardinals the conversion of the Prince³ which had taken place secretly on November 27th, 1712.⁴ Thus was the royal House of Saxony won over for ever to the Catholic Church. In a Brief dated May 28th, 1716,⁵ the Pope expressed his joy at the conversion of two other members of the same princely house, viz. that of Duke Maurice William of Sachsen-Weitz and his nephew Maurice Adolph. Unfortunately Maurice William, yielding to the pressure of his entourage, returned to Protestantism⁶ whereas Maurice Adolph renounced his worldly prospects, became a priest and died as Bishop of Leitmeritz.⁷ Clement XI. was able to congratulate more than one member of the princely family of Brunswick on his, or her, conversion. Among them were the future Empress Elizabeth Christina⁸ and her grandfather Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick.⁹ Two of his daughters followed the Duke's example, viz. in 1712 Henrietta Christina, up to that time

¹ DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXI. (1926), 104-117.

² Briefs of July 30, 1701, July 7, 1703, May 12, and August 18, 1708, July 17, 1709, February 22, 1710, November 10, 1712, *Op.*, Epist., 76, 174, 510, 560, 618, 682, 1770.

³ *Op.*, Orat. consist., 150.

⁴ Brief of congratulation to the father, April 22, 1713, *Op.*, Epist., 1834.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2152.

⁶ WOKER, *Franziskaner missionen*, 212.

⁷ RÄSS, IX., 324.

⁸ July 2, 1707, *Op.*, Epist., 410; F. SCHAUERTE, *Die Konversion der Prinzessin Elisabeth Christina von Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel*, Frankfurt, 1885.

⁹ February 1, 1710, *Op.*, Epist., 678. Exhortation of April 12, 1710, to admit the conversion openly; a present to him September 9, 1710, *ibid.*, 720. Cf. *Op.*, Orat. consist., of May 19, 1710, p. 48; WOKER, *Franziskanermissionen*, 377 seqq.

Abbess of Gandersheim, and in 1714 Countess Augusta Dorothea of Schwarzburg-Armstadt.¹ Owing to the conversion of Charles Alexander in 1715,² Württemberg was ruled for a time by Catholic Dukes. Eleonore Charlotte, Duchess of Öls, Princess of Württemberg-Mömpelgard, returned to the old faith in Paris in 1702. Like Anthony Ulrich, she too explained her motives for this step in a written statement.³ The Countess Palatine Elizabeth Louise of Zweibrücken, who had become a Catholic in Paris in 1700, also published an account of the reasons for her conversion.⁴ A special Brief recommended to the Emperor the person of Prince John Christian Augustus of the family of the Dukes of Holstein⁵ who, as a result of his conversion, was in danger of losing his position in the army and his livelihood.

The conversion of Princess Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel gave rise to a much debated memorial issued by the Protestant University of Helmstedt. The grandfather of the princess, Anton Ulrich, had requested Fabricius, a professor of the above-mentioned University, to answer the question whether a princess belonging to the evangelical Protestant religion might with a safe conscience embrace the Roman Catholic religion for the sake of betrothal to a Catholic King. Fabricius answered in the affirmative inasmuch as all the essential elements of the Christian faith were to be found in Catholicism.⁶ Four out of six professors

¹ Briefs of congratulation, September 17, 1712, *Op.*, Epist., 1758, and March 7, 1716, *ibid.*, 2136. Cf. *ibid.*, 2026, 2032, 2134, 2206.

² Räss, IX., 311 *seqq.* The prospect of the conversion of Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg gave occasion to the Pope to send a number of Briefs, August 4, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 550 *seqq.*

³ Brief of September 12, 1703, in Räss, IX., 63.

⁴ Brief of February 8, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 38.

⁵ Brief of December 12, 1704, *ibid.*, 314.

⁶ W. HOECK, *Anton Ulrich und Elisabeth Christine*, Wolfenbüttel, 1845, 81 *seqq.*; SCHAUERTE, *loc. cit.*, 148 *seqq.* Account from the Protestant side in SOLDAN, *Dreissig Jahre des Proselytismus in Sachsen und Braunschweig*, Leipzig, 1845.

of the University shared his opinion.¹ Leibnitz, who was also consulted, likewise answered in the affirmative.² However, this did not represent the general opinion of the Protestant theologians.³

(4.)

Apart from the solicitude which Clement XI. bestowed on Northern Germany and Scandinavia, he also gave many proofs, during his whole pontificate, of his interest in the spread of the faith. Soon after he had ascended the pontifical throne, he bestowed a present of 30,000 gold scudi on the missions.⁴ His secretary, Niccolò Forteguerra, was instructed to draw up a survey of the whole work of the missions during the years 1706 and 1707 on the basis of the archives of Propaganda.⁵ Clement XI. confirmed the privileges granted by Paul III. to convert Jews and Pagans.⁶

¹ SCHAUERTE, *loc. cit.*, 154.

² *Ibid.*, 156.

³ HERZOG-HAUCK, *Realenzyklopädie*, V., 731.

⁴ NOVAES, XII., 249.

⁵ “* Memorie intorno alle missioni d’Africa, Asia, America, estratte dall’Archivio della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide per ordine della S. M. di Clemente XI. e dedicate alla Santità di Papa Benedetto XIII.,” in *Vat.*, 7210, Vatican Library; *Cod. ital.*, 215, State Library, Munich; catalogue of the antiquary Silvio Bocca, Rome, LXXXIV. (1891), 231; the paragraph on Africa in *Bibl. de l’École de médecine de Montpellier*, n. 102 (see *Catalogue gén. des Mss. des bibliothèques publ. des Départements*, I., Paris, 1849, 323); the paragraph on America in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 143, Papal Secr. Archives. A publication [without place and year] (by A. MAI; cf. MORONI, XCVIII., 141, 309; SCHMIDLIN in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1896, 123), registered in LEMMENS, XI. CORRADO ZACCHETTI, *Una vita inedita di Niccolò Forteguerra*, Oneglia, 1898; F. CAMICI, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di Niccolò Forteguerra*, Siena, 1895; ANG. FABRONI, *Vita Italorum*, IX., Pisa, 1782, 10–31. Forteguerra will be quoted hereafter according to the Munich manuscript.

⁶ Bull of March 11, 1704, *Bull.*, XXI., 107 seqq.

One of the Albani Pope's pet schemes was the erection of Seminaries for the education of missionaries. At a session of the Congregation of Propaganda on October 3rd, 1706, he strongly recommended to some of the superiors of Orders the founding of missionary colleges at home, on the model of the Roman College of St. Pancras of the Discalced Carmelites and that of the Franciscans of S. Pietro in Montorio. Accordingly the Conventuals erected a college at Assisi for the benefit of their missions in the Balkans and the neighbouring territories,¹ whilst the Observants built one at Rome near their monastery of St. Bartholomew on the island of the Tiber.² To the Discalced Trinitarians who had settlements in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania, Poland, Lithuania and Portugal, the Pope granted in 1720 the church delle Fornaci, near which they planned the erection of a central college for missionaries of the whole Order.³ Clement XI. furthered the seminary at Linz on the Danube which served as a nursery for the northern missions.⁴ He also took a warm interest in the continental seminaries for the education of priests for the Scottish missions.⁵ He founded a missionary college for the Maronites near the monastery of SS. Marcellus and Peter.⁶ For the Far East he thought of erecting a seminary at Manila in the Philippines, and he entertained a similar intention in regard to Persia but had to be satisfied with admitting oriental students into Propaganda.⁷

¹ Brief of January 21, 1710, *ibid.*, 368 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 372 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 339 *seqq.* The College was opened in 1725 with six pupils. *Corriere d'Italia*, June 12, 1927.

⁴ See above, p. 362.

⁵ Briefs of April 18, 1714, to Joh. Anton Knebel von Katzenelnbogen, Bishop of Eichstätt; May 15, 1714, to Queen Mary of England; September 4, 1717, to the Elector Max Emanuel; July 15, 1718, to the suffragan of Ratisbon, *Op.*, Epist., 1956, 1968, 2254, 2302.

⁶ Clement XII., March 31, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 429 *seq.*

⁷ Briefs of October 15, 1707, to Philip IV., to Cardinal Tournon and to the Archbishop of Manila, *ibid.*, 436 *seqq.*; LAFITAU,

It goes without saying that this source and centre of missionary activity was not excluded from the Pope's solicitude. Propaganda counted at that time forty-seven pupils, amongst them some Swedes,¹ but provision for the health of the students left much to be desired. Experience at the German College had taught the Pope the importance of some resort for periodical relaxation for the young men of the college. He set apart the sum of 4,000 scudi for the purchase of a villa, but when the munificence of Cardinal Ottoboni spontaneously provided one, the Albani Pope spent the 4,000 scudi in founding a burse at Propaganda for an Albanian subject.² Clement XI. erected a college for Albanians at St. Demetrio Corona, in the province of Cosenza.³ As a matter of fact the Pope showed special preference towards the separated Churches of the East. Every year, on the feast of St. Athanasius, he celebrated Mass at the Greek College; he also considerably increased its income.⁴ He often conversed

Clément XI., I., 149 *seq.* Even among the Tartars of South Russia a college of some sort was started (LAFITAU, I., 118). When M. Ripa, a missionary in China, selected some young Chinese in order to educate them for the priesthood, Clement XI. said (according to a letter of Propaganda of August 15, 1715): "Questa sua condotta è l'unica per stabilire la religione cristiana in cotesto vastissimo impero e farla da forestiera cittadina." M. RIPA. *Storia della fondazione della congregazione e del collegio dei cinesi*, I., Napoli, 1832, 209 *seq.*

¹ *Bull.*, XXI., 324, § 3.

² Brief of June 27, 1708, *ibid.*, 322 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, II., 247 *seqq.* Reply of September 15, 1708, to the letter of thanks of the Bishops of Albania in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 566. In it Clement XI. says of the Albanians "Haerere animo Nostro veluti cum vita et sanguine haustam singularem quandam voluntatis propensionem ac plane benevolentiam". A Brief of August 18, 1708, frees Propaganda from the parochial rights of a neighbouring parish priest. *Bull.*, XXI., 335.

³ A. LORECCHIO in *Nuova Antologia*, CCXXXVIII. (July, 1911), 154-6. There already existed an Albanian college in Palermo.

⁴ NOVAES, XII., 251. Cf. Brief of June 4, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 66.

with Eusèbe Renaudot, the famous orientalist, and induced him to draw up memoranda on the missions of the East.¹ He ascertained the religious situation in Albania, his family's presumed country of origin, by means of a visitation which was followed by a national council.²

There exists a visitation report from the year 1711, which gives an insight into the religious conditions in Smyrna and the Greek Isles.³ In accordance with a testamentary disposition of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani of Genoa (*ob.* 1621), these islands had to be visited every ten years. Clement XI. entrusted this task to the Dominican Giovanni Vincenzo Castelli, who set out on his journey in July, 1709. As a Genoese, Castelli experienced some difficulty in obtaining a passport for a journey that was to give him but little satisfaction. In Sira, amongst the 2,660 inhabitants, there were 2,500 Catholics of the Latin Rite, but in Milo, out of 1,500 schismatics, there were only forty Catholics and in Metelino only one, a Catholic physician. In Chios, the papal envoy succeeded in healing a schism among the 4,000 Catholics. The latter did not possess a single church in the whole island. The Sultan granted freedom of worship to the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews, but not to the Catholics of the Latin Rite, who had to be content with the chapel of the

¹ A. DELPUCH in *Bessarione*, 3 series (1906-7), I., 223 *seqq.*; II., 227 *seqq.*

² “* Notizie dello Stato di Albania e dell’operato di Msgr. Vincenzo Zmaievich arcivesc. di Antivari visitator apostolico dell’Albania. Esaminata nelle congregazioni di Propaganda a. 1703-1704.” *Barb.*, L., 216, Vatican Library. *Concilium Albanum provinciale sive nationale habitum anno MDCCIII Clemente XI. Pont. Max. Albano*, editio II., *lat. et epirot. posteriorum Constit. Apost. ad Epiri ecclesiam spectantium appendice ditata* (1868). *Cf. Coll. Lac.*, I., 283 *seqq.*

³ “* Relatione della visita delle chiese nell’Isole dell’Arcipelago fatta da Msgr. Castelli, presentata alla Congregazione di Propaganda (1711);” Propaganda Archives, Rome, *Visite*, 39. An abridged report of the visitation of Archbishop Giustiniani of Naxos, 1698, is in FORTEGUERRI, 320 *seqq.*

French Consul and that of the Dutch Consul who was a Catholic. In order to lessen the hatred between the Latins and the Greeks, Castelli suggested that the Catholics in Chios should once more adopt the Julian Calendar as had been done by their fellow-Christians in all the islands except those of Chios, Sira and Morea, for he thought it was mainly the difference in the date of Easter that was responsible for this enmity. The Julian Calendar was also followed at Smyrna. Besides the Catholics there were 10,000 Jews, 5,000 Greeks, 1,000 native and 1,000 foreign Armenians at Smyrna. Whilst there, Castelli lived at the convent of the reformed Franciscans where the Bishop, Daniel Durante, also resided. The care of the Catholics was entrusted to six Franciscans and four Capuchins, whose school was well attended, and to four Jesuits. Sermons were preached in four languages on all the Sundays of Advent and Lent and on the chief holy days, viz. in French, Italian, Greek, and in Turkish for the Catholic Armenians. Castelli relates that religious instruction was given on all Sundays; in the schools the children were taught reading, writing and a little grammar. Religious just then were under the protection of the Dutch Consul, a Protestant who, besides frequently bestowing alms on them, guarded them against the arbitrariness of the Turks. The school of the Capuchins enjoyed the protection of the French Consul.¹ In the islands of Greece and in the Levant in general, the Jesuits had establishments at Constantinople, Smyrna,

¹ According to Giustiniani's report of 1698 (above, 368, n. 3) at Naxia, the Metropolitan See, Jesuits, Capuchins and Observants were at work among 450 Latins; there were also some Dominican Tertiaries, but without a rule. The Visitor gives a bad account of the secular clergy. Giustiniani confirms the number of 4,000 Catholics in Chios; but there were very few on the islands, viz. in Paro 10, in Nio (Ios) 87, in Milo and Thermia 20, in Sira 100, in Andro 250. At Santorin there were French Jesuits among 490 Latins with four churches and a Dominican monastery; at Sira a Bishop, some Capuchins and more than 100 churches, at Micone one Latin church.

Thessalonica, Chios, Naxos, Euboea, Santorin, Trebizond, Saida, Damascus, Siphanto, Serpho, Therasia and Paro.¹

Apart from the accounts of these visitations, there exists a whole series of Briefs which show how much the Albani Pope had at heart the welfare of the Christian East. He could not but be particularly interested in the mighty Russian Empire which, under Peter the Great, was beginning to win for itself a place in the community of European nations. The Tsar's keen interest in western culture likewise gave rise to the hope that he would bring about a union with the Western Church. Peter I. deliberately encouraged these hopes forasmuch as he needed Catholic Austria as a bulwark against the Turks, and Catholic Poland as an ally against Sweden, for the Pope's word would carry great weight in his favour both at Warsaw and Vienna.² To the Carmelite Conrad of the Ascension he said in 1705 that he hoped to see a fraternal union established between East and West before he died.³ At Vienna he assisted at the Latin services and told the Jesuit Wolff, who had asked him whether he was in favour of reunion, that personally he had no objection to it.⁴ However, these bright hopes of the Catholics were destined to receive a rude shock. At the end of a banquet at Polozk on July 11th, 1705, the Tsar visited the church of the Basilians who were united with Rome. Among other things he questioned one of the monks about a statue of St. Josaphat Kuncewicz. When the latter described the murderers of the Archbishop as schismatics, the still semi-intoxicated potentate got into such a fury that he plunged his sword into the body of the

¹ CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jésus*, V., Bruxelles, 1851, 5-7. On the situation in Smyrna, Thessalonica, Chios, Santorin, cf. TARILLON in *Lettres édifiantes*, I., Paris, 1780, 1-78. Briefs with full powers for the Jesuit missions in Greece, the Aegean Islands, Armenia, Persia, and Syria in *Synopsis actorum*, 427 seqq.

² PIERLING, IV., 127.

³ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138 seq.

Basilian, and four other monks, who had hastened to his assistance, shared the same fate either at the hand of the Tsar or those of his companions.¹ Peter I. tried to make amends by assisting at Mass in the College of the Jesuits a few days later and by sounding the praises of SS. Ignatius and Xavier as he stood before their statues. On October 20th [31], 1706, he granted religious freedom to the Roman Catholics and gave permission for the erection at Moscow of a college and a stone church ; he also granted to missionaries bound for the East permission to travel through Russia.² In the following year he dispatched Kurakin to Rome, but the latter only discussed political matters, leaving the question of ecclesiastical unity untouched. By command of the Tsar, the Jesuit Brigg was also in Rome at this time, but without authority to conclude a union.³

Peter's seeming friendliness towards Rome came to an end when, at the battle of Poltawa in 1709, he defeated his enemies, for he now felt that he could dispense with the Pope's services. Long before this Clement XI. had entertained no illusions as to the sincerity of the crafty prince, though the proffered hand of friendship could not be rejected.⁴

During his stay in Paris in 1717, Peter visited the Sorbonne on June 3rd and listened to some lengthy lectures on the subject of the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. The Sorbonne was at that time Jansenistic in its ideas, so the opportunity seemed a favourable one for the foundation of a Gallican Patriarchate on Russian soil. The Tsar requested the Doctors to address themselves to his Bishops, two of whom, viz. Theophanes Prokopowitch and Stephen Jaworski

¹ *Ibid.*, 190 ; THEINER, *Monuments*, 412.

² PIERLING, IV., 200.

³ *Ibid.*, 202 seq. ; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 407 seqq. Clement XI.'s letter of thanks to the Czar in *Op.*, Epist., II, 2236.

⁴ " Non considera N. S., se siano totalmente sincere le intenzioni del Czar in mostrare di volere reunire al grembo di s. Chiesa li suoi vassalli, ma confida etc." Paolucci to the Nuncio Davia, in PIERLING, IV., 418.

sent written answers.¹ Clement XI. died before further developments took place.

Cardinal Kollonitsch devoted special attention to the conditions of Russia and to the Christian Churches of the East.² For the benefit of the Uniat Ruthenians he conceived a plan which has been revived in recent times. Since the Eastern Churches possessed neither missionary nor teaching Orders, but only contemplative ones, Kollonitsch thought of inducing a number of Jesuits to adopt, for the time being, the Greek Rite, so as to enable them to teach and preach. Gonzalez, the General of the Order, was ready to fall in with the plan and the Prefect of Studies at the Greek College, Lorenzo Lucchesini, with Professor Niccolò Comneno Papadopoli of Padua gave it their support. Propaganda itself was not averse to it. The Inquisition, however, declared that Canon Law forbade the passing from one Rite to another and that there was no reason to depart from this ruling.³ The Pope praised the zeal of Cardinal Kollonitsch⁴ but looked for other means to assist the Ruthenians. Leo Kiszka, their Metropolitan, had long been thinking of calling the Ruthenian Bishops to a Council. On March 20th, 1716, he named the Polish nuncio president of the future synod.⁵ Four years later the assembly met at Zamosc, when Clement XI. congratulated the Bishops and exhorted them to obey the Polish nuncio, their president.⁶ In spite of his ardour

¹ *Ibid.*, 237, 250 seq.; FERET, *La Faculté de théol. de Paris*, Ep. mod., VI. and VII., App., Paris, 1910 (Reprint of the negotiations); PICHLER, II., 164 seq. On the attempts at reunion, cf. IO. FR. BUDDAEUS, *Ecclesia Rom. cum Ruthena irreconciliabilis*, Ienae, 1718.

² HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, IV.⁶, 87.

³ L. NILLES, *Symbolae ad illustrandam Hist. Ecclesiae orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani I.*, Oeniponte, 1885, 1-82.

⁴ May 9, 1705, *Epist.*, 270.

⁵ *Ius pontif.*, II., 336.

⁶ Brief of July 19, 1720, *ibid.*, 337, *Op.*, Epist., 2402. Brief of April 5, 1709, in favour of a Ruthenian Confraternity at

for reunion the Bishop of the Ruthenians of Northern Hungary, Hodermarski, who had been in office since 1704, was compelled to resign in 1715, the reason being his former participation in several military expeditions.¹ The reunion with Rome of the Rumanians of Transylvania must also be ascribed to Kollonitsch. At their Synod at Karlsburg [Alba Iulia] the Rumanian Bishops wrote to Clement XI. on November 8th, 1701, that eight years had already gone by since, on the initiative of the Jesuits, negotiations for the Union had been set on foot at their Synod of Karlsburg, where the Union had been agreed upon in 1697 and a representative dispatched to the Emperor and to Kollonitsch. In point of fact 200,000 Rumanians, with 2,000 priests, accepted the Union. Rome was content with ratifying all that Kollonitsch had done without giving it a solemn approval by a Bull or some such document. The Union of the Rumanians with the Roman Church continued in spite of the difficulties of the Hungarian civil war which was soon to follow.² On February 3rd, 1721, Clement XI. established a bishopric for the Rumanians of Transylvania at Fogares.³

The Catholics in Turkey had to undergo great sufferings owing to the intrigues of the schismatics who, in their quarrels with the Catholics, had recourse to the Porte to settle their religious differences. Under threat of fines, imprisonment and banishment, the Turkish pashas exacted obedience to their decisions in religious questions. The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was condemned to the galleys and the Syrian Patriarch to imprisonment and to be beaten with rods. The Pope, on his part, did all that lay in his power to render the lot of his followers more tolerable. He prayed

Lemberg, *ibid.*, 262. Acts of the Synod in *Coll. Lac.*, II., 3 *seqq.* Cf. J. PELESZ, *Gesch. der Union der rutenischen Kirche mit Rom*, II., Würzburg-Wien, 1881, 420-445; H. LÄMMER, in *Decreta concilii Ruthenorum Zamosciensis animadversiones theol.-canon.*, Friburgi, 1865.

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, IV.⁶, 86.

² NILLES, *Symbolae*, I., 125, 164, 288.

³ *Bull.*, Prop. App., II., 3 *seqq.*

for the intervention of the French King, of the Emperor and the Doge of Venice,¹ and sent the able Carmelite, David of St. Charles, to Constantinople.² Some of the Christians apostatized, but there were also examples of heroic deaths for the faith.³ The French ambassadors, Ferriol, D'Alleurs and Bonnac deserved well of the Catholics.⁴ Bonnac obtained permission for the Franciscans to restore the dome of the Holy Sepulchre. The Pope recommended to his special solicitude the Christians of Albania and the Aegean Isles⁵; he also wrote on behalf of the Holy Land to the Emperor Joseph, Louis XIV. and Ferriol.⁶

The former Nestorians in the province of Amida, for whose benefit Innocent XI. had established a Patriarchate of the Chaldeans at Diarbekr in 1681, were also harassed by the schismatics. On the basis of the reports of the Capuchin missionary, John Baptist of Orleans, Clement XI. was in a position to praise their steadfastness.⁷ Their Patriarch, Joseph II. Tel-Kepha, was able, in 1711, to announce a return of less disturbed times, whilst his zeal for the spread of the Catholic faith earned him the highest recognition.⁸ However, ten years later, the schismatics stirred up the Turks who began so violent a persecution that even the Capuchin

¹ To Louis XIV., November 22, 1701, to Leopold I., November 26, 1701, to the Doge, April 8, 1702, *Op.*, Epist., 88, 100, 118.

² *Ibid.*, 118. LAFITAU (*Clément XI.*, I., 91), calls him "L'homme peut-être de son siècle le plus propre pour une semblable légation".

³ *Op.*, Epist., 474; heroic death of the convert priest Cosmas, *ibid.*; LAFITAU, I., 173 *seq.* Cf. *Martyre de Der Gourmidas*, Armenian Archpriest of Constantinople, November 5, 1707, in RABBATH, I., 126. On "Gomidas", cf. H. RIONDEL, Paris, 1929.

⁴ To Ferriol, August 1, 1705, and February 8, 1708, to D'Alleurs, September 20, 1710, and January 27, 1714, to Bonnac, August 12, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 286, 474, 718, 1934, 2356.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2356.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, I., 171 *seq.*, 175.

⁷ December 9, 1702, *Op.*, Epist., 144.

⁸ May 21, 1712, *ibid.*, 1686.

missionaries were obliged to flee to Aleppo; all that the Pope could do was to praise the constancy of Patriarch Joseph III. in a Brief.¹ The Franciscan John Galliego was looked upon as the Apostle of Damascus. In 1715 he was reported to have brought back five hundred families and some large villages in 1719. Since the conversion of the Greek Patriarch, Cyril V. of Damascus, the number of Catholics increased from day to day.² The converted Jacobites of Syria, together with their compatriots, had constantly to fight for the rights of the Patriarch. Thanks to the diplomatic intervention of the Holy See, the Uniat Patriarch was able to return to Aleppo, but in the following year the schismatics took him in chains to Adana. After his death in 1706, Propaganda once more dispatched the Carmelite David of St. Charles, with the necessary funds for the Porte, for the purpose of procuring their freedom for the Catholics of Aleppo. The Archbishop of Ninive became Patriarch in 1707.³ The Church of the Maronites suffered from internal difficulties; they had deposed their Patriarch, James Avad, and elected another, of the name of Joseph, in his place. The Pope did not approve of these arbitrary proceedings; a papal Legate called a synod at which James was reinstated.⁴ A Brief of June 24th, 1714, praised the Maronites for their submission,⁵ which was in no

¹ January 24, 1721, *ibid.*, 2420. On the persecution at Aleppo, 1701-2, see RABBATH, I., 108 *seq.*; *Antonianum*, I. (1926).

² To the Patriarch, January 9, 1716, and May 21, 1718, *Op.* Epist., 2122, 2294; LEMMENS, 27.

³ FORTEGUERRI, 225 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, IV.⁶, 147; RABBATH, I., 108 *seqq.*; extract from the diary of the Carmelites, Aleppo, *ibid.*, II., 31 *seqq.*

⁴ Brief of June 20, 1713, *Coll. Lac.*, II., 424; Decree of Propaganda, March 20 and May 8, 1713, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 425 *seq.* Cf. T. ANAISSI, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, Romae, 1911, 197-203.

⁵ *Ius pontif.*; II., 302. On the Maronite Patriarch it says: "qui unicus inter omnes Orientis antistites non sine praecipua vestrae gentis gloria legitime a vobis eligitur et ab hac S. Sede canonice confirmatur, quando reliqui omnes a non habentibus potestatem pari facilitate deputantur ac deponuntur," *ibid.*, 302.

small measure due to the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza, a future Cardinal.¹ The division nevertheless continued ; in 1721, Clement XI. sent as his Legate Gabriel Eva, Abbot of Mount Lebanon, bestowing at the same time high praise on the Maronites' steadfastness in the faith.² The Legate succeeded in restoring harmony. The Capuchins also laboured amongst the Maronites on whose behalf the Emir of Aldalla founded, in 1704, a hospice at Salima for the religious instruction of the people.³ The Christian slaves had to share the sufferings of the Christian tribes of the Turkish Empire. At the beginning of his reign, Clement XI. praised Cardinal Kollonitsch for having spent large sums of money for their redemption.⁴ Especially hard was the lot of the Christian captives under the Tartars in the Crimea. They were set at liberty when they became old and incapable of work, that is to say, they were allowed to die of hunger. The Jesuits in those parts resolved to build a hospital and to collect money in order to ransom captive children who were in danger of losing the Christian faith. The Pope furthered these plans by recommending them to the Kings of Spain and Poland.⁵

Like the Catholics under the Turkish Sultan, those in Persia were exposed to so many vexations on the part of the heretics and schismatics, chiefly those of Armenian nationality, that the continuance of the mission there seemed very doubtful. The Bishop of Ispahan, Elias, informed the Pope

¹ LEMMENS, 29 ; LIGARIO OLIGER, *Vita e diarii del card. Lor. Cozza*, Quaracchi, 1925, 217 *seqq.*, 248 *seqq.* ; EUTIMIO CASTELLANI, *Atti del rev. P. Lor. Cozza*, II., *ibid.*, 1924, 112-174 ; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, III.², 1172 *seq.* Briefs before the outbreak of the conflict to the Patriarchs Stephen Peter and Peter Gabriel in *Op.*, Epist., 116, 276.

² Briefs of January 29, 1721, *ibid.*, 2422. Cf. on the conflict the Briefs of January 31, 1711, June 30, 1713, and August 28, 1714, *ibid.*, 1484, 1866, 1996.

³ FORTEGUERRI, 301.

⁴ January 15, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 34.

⁵ January 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 1936 *seq.* The Jesuit Duban specially interested himself in the prisoners. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V.⁵, 10.

of this state of affairs on the occasion of a journey to Rome. Clement XI. thereupon appealed to the Shah of Persia himself, to the Signoria, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and to the Emperor, with a view to a redress.¹ Having obtained the support of these three European Powers, the Pope, in 1719, addressed another letter to the Shah in favour of the persecuted Armenians and the Capuchins of Tiflis in Georgia.² The house and the church of the missionaries had been levelled with the ground. There too the instigators of the persecution were the schismatical Armenians, the Archbishop of Etzmiadsin and a certain Minas Vartabied.

The Pope also appealed on behalf of the Capuchins of Tiflis to Vartanch, King of Iberia,³ himself a refugee at the court of the Shah of Persia. Vartanch showed some inclination towards reunion with the Roman Church and Clement XI. made use of this favourable disposition. Through Louis XIV.'s influence he endeavoured to make it possible for him to return to his kingdom,⁴ and he addressed to Vartanch a comforting Brief.⁵ At a later date the King of Iberia himself wrote to the Pope⁶ of his desire to reunite his people with the See of Rome ; at the same time he begged for help against the Turks. For another section of the population of the Caucasus, the Mingrelians, Clement XI. endeavoured to induce the Lazarists to undertake missionary work.⁷

The influence and esteem in which the Roman Church was held in the East are sufficiently proved by the fact that a desire for reunion with Rome made itself felt over and over

¹ February 18, 1705, *Op.*, Epist., 260 *seqq.*

² January 3 and February 18, 1719, *ibid.*, 2322, 2334.

³ September 14, 1720, *ibid.*, 2410.

⁴ To Louis XIV., April 13 and July 26, 1714, *ibid.*, 1594, 1986.

⁵ August 17, 1714, *ibid.*, 1994.

⁶ November 29, 1722, in THEINER, *Monuments*, 548 ; according to Forteguerra the Pope made no reply to the desire for union from Georgia as the King had meanwhile embraced Islam.

⁷ To the Superior of the Congregation, Jean Bonnet, May 6, 1715, *Op.*, Epist., 2074.

again amongst the oriental Patriarchs. Samuel Capassulis, the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, sent the Franciscan John Joseph Mazet to Rome as the bearer of his profession of faith : in a solemn consistory, on April 28th, 1713, the Pope received his abjuration.¹ On April 11th, 1703, Clement XI. had invited the Patriarch to become reconciled with Rome² ; the final step was again due to the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza.³ As the convert was exposed to the attacks of the schismatics, the Pope recommended him to the protection of the Emperor, Louis XIV., Venice and D'Alleurs.⁴ The Armenian Patriarch, Alexander, entertained relations with the European missionaries and wrote to Rome in a way which raised hopes of his own conversion. Clement XI., who had dispatched five Dominican missionaries to Armenia in 1701,⁵ sent him a profession of faith for his signature⁶ ; at a later date Alexander became a persecutor of the Catholics.⁷ Several other Bishops of the Christian East became reconciled with Rome during the reign of Clement XI., as for instance Archbishops Macarius of Tripolis and Parthenius of Amida,⁸ Bishops Parthenius of Heliopolis, Silvester of Beirut and Anastasius of Nicosia in Cyprus.⁹ Some Coptic priests and deacons, amongst them Macarius and Abdelmasich, expressed a desire for reunion with the Church of Rome.¹⁰

¹ *Op.*, Orat. consist., 86 ; Brief of June 20, 1713, *Ius pontif.*, II., 314 ; *Op.*, Epist., 1862 ; LAFITAU, II., 83.

² *Op.*, Epist., 166. Cf. LEMMENS, 21.

³ OLIGER, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seqq.*

⁴ *Op.*, Epist., 1846 *seq.*

⁵ To the Shah, April 20, 1701, *ibid.*, 52.

⁶ HERGENRÖTHER, IV.⁶, 150 ; Brief to Alexander, March 15, 1710, *Ius pontif.*, II., 276 ; *Op.*, Epist., 694.

⁷ LAFITAU, II., 32.

⁸ Briefs of July 16, 1701, and September 9, 1717, *Op.*, Epist., 74, 2285.

⁹ Briefs of July 16, 1701, February 7, 1702, and July 5, 1715, *ibid.*, 74, 116, 2080.

¹⁰ Sagripanti's letter of congratulation in the Pope's name, July 10, 1705, *Synopsis actorum*, 433.

Rome was well aware of the fact that no unconditional credence could be given to the assurances of the Orientals. An exhortation to fidelity and sincerity addressed to the convert Patriarch of Alexandria, and Propaganda's directions not to grant pecuniary aid to the Bishops of Egypt until the union had been brought about, are facts which speak for themselves.¹ On the other hand not a few Orientals showed steadfast perseverance. A splendid example was furnished by the Armenian Mechithar of Sebaste. Through the influence of the Jesuits Mechithar had embraced the Catholic faith at the age of twenty and for its spread he founded, on September 8th, 1701, at Constantinople, a Congregation which was at first called after St. Anthony and later on after himself. To escape the persecution of the schismatics, the little band fled into Venetian territory, viz. to Modon in Morea, and, when Modon fell to the Turks, to Venice, in 1715. They adopted the Rule of St. Benedict. On September 8th, 1717, the uninhabited island of San Lazzaro was handed over to them. They laboured successfully among their compatriots as missionaries and writers.²

For some time already there had been a prospect of the reunion of the Abyssinian Church with that of Rome. In 1700 Innocent XII. had sent thither the Franciscan Francis of Salem, who died on the way.³ The new Superior of the Mission, Joseph of Jerusalem, met with a very friendly reception at Gondar from the Emperor Jassu (1682-1706) who made profession of the Catholic faith on February 2nd, 1706, and dispatched Father Joseph to Rome with a letter in which he paid a glowing tribute to the dignity of the Pope.⁴ From Clement XI.'s reply it would appear that

¹ *Ius pontif.*, II., 316; FORTEGUERRI, 341 seq.

² KALEMKIAR in *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1122-1137; MINAS NOURIKHAN, *Le serviteur de Dieu abbé Mekhitar de Sebaste, sa vie et son temps*, Venezia, 1922; SARGISEAN, in *Riv. stor. Bened.*, 1906 seq.

³ *Ius pontif.*, II., 191.

⁴ Translation in FRAY MATHEO DE ANGUIANO PREDICATOR CAPUCHINO . . ., *Epitome historial y conquisto espiritual del*

Joseph of Jerusalem held out serious prospects of the reunion of the Church of Abyssinia with Rome.¹ Clement XI. immediately sent Father Joseph once more to Abyssinia with some companions. For years nothing was heard of them ; it was only in 1709 that a report dated April 7th, 1708, reached Rome, in which Father Joseph explained that he had not been able to penetrate into Abyssinia as he had been arrested at Sennaar. On receipt of this news Clement XI. admonished Jassu's son, Dodemanut (Takla Haimanot), to follow in his father's footsteps and urged him, as he urged the Abuna, to give ear to the missionaries.² Three Franciscans succeeded in reaching the longed for country. New papal Briefs of March 15th, 1712, were intended to pave the way for them.³ The Negus, Yostos, allowed them to preach and to administer the Sacraments privately ; however, when the Abyssinian monks stirred up a rising, his successor, David III., put the missionaries to death in 1717. Amongst these Martyrs was one German, Liberatus Weiss of Konnersreuth. Innocent

imperio Abyssino en Etiopia la alta o sobre Egypto, Madrid, 1706, 101 seqq. Cf. *Lettera del re di Etiopia al P. Clemente XI. et al card. Sacripanti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, f. 39 ; *Hoher und fruchtbarer Palmbaum des h. Evangelii, das ist tiefe eingepflanzter Glaubenslehre in das Herz des Hohen Abessiner-Monarchen, erwiesen in einem Diario oder täglich und ordentlicher Reisebeschreibung der mühsamen Verrichtungen jener apostol. Glaubenssendlingen aus dem Orden des H. Seraph. Vaters Franzisci der Reformirten, so Anno 1700 von der Päpstl. Heiligkeit Innocentio XII. von Rom aus bis zu dem Grossmächtigen Abessiner-Kayser Adiano Saghed Jasu . . . Seind geschickt vorden, welcher denn auch 1702 den 2. Febr. das Glaubensbekenntnuss in ihre Händ abgelegt hat. Neben unterschiedlichen Anmerkungen und Beschreibungen deren Länder, Städt, Sitten der Menschen u. u. von P. F. THEODORO KRUMP, Ord. Min. S., Missionario apostolico Aethiopiae, Augsburg, 1710. Cf. L. WILKE, *Im Reiche des Negus vor 200 Jahren*, Trèves, 1914.*

¹ March 8, 1704, in ANGUIANO, 107 ; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 77 ; *Op.*, Epist., 206.

² *Op.*, Epist., 642 s. ; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 80 seq.

³ *Op.*, Epist., 1632 s. ; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 92.

XII. had spent 50,000 scudi on the Abyssinian mission¹; Clement XI. showed his solicitude for the Abyssinians by assigning to them, in 1721, the Hospice of St. Stephen, near St. Peter's, for the training of their clergy. When Joseph of Jerusalem returned to Rome, he was accompanied by seven young Abyssinians, of whom one died on the way and the others entered Propaganda. From Cairo, Fr. Joseph had sent two Abyssinians to the Eternal City, one of whom became a priest, the other a subdeacon.² The idea of training young Orientals in the West for missionary work in their own countries, was repeatedly examined under Clement XI. In 1700 Louis XIV. founded burses for twelve Armenian youths at the Jesuit College of Louis the Great in Paris.³ Since the time of Gregory XIII. there existed a similar College in Rome for boys of Jewish or Mohammedan extraction: Clement XI. assigned it to a Society of priests called "the Pious Workers".⁴

If hope of a Catholic king for the ancient realm in eastern Africa was not abandoned, it was even less so in the case of the pagan territories on the opposite coast of the Dark Continent.⁵ The old Congo mission had a Christian king, Peter, to whom Pope Clement XI. sent a blessed crown, a valuable rosary and a Brief. Queen Maria and the Queen Mother, Anne, received Briefs thanking them for their efforts on behalf of the Christian religion. The King of Matamba, the Dukes of Bamba, Sondo, Batta and the Prince of Sonno were similarly rewarded.⁶ The Capuchin Francis of Pavia was

¹ NOVAES, XI., 173.

² ANGUIANO, 100.

³ RABBATH, I., 538.

⁴ January 2, 1712, *Bull.*, XXI., 466 *seqq.*

⁵ On the African mission (according to Forteguerra), *cf.* J. SCHMIDLIN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XVI. (1926), 123 *seqq.*

⁶ All the three Briefs of July 2 (5), 1707, in *Ius pontif.*, VII., 78 *seqq.*; *Op.*, Epist., 412 *seq.* *Cf.* ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 647 *seqq.* Capuchin stations were: Loanda, Sogno, Masagan, Bengo, Dante, Cachanga, Singa, Matamba. Out of 30,000 religious, in 57 provinces and 7 custodies, with 1,650 convents, there were 3,000 Capuchin missionaries with 183 missions. ANGUIANO, 177.

the bearer both of Briefs and presents, as the Congo mission was chiefly entrusted to the care of the Capuchins. When they were expelled from the Congo, the Pope interceded for them with the King of Portugal.¹ The Fathers had also extended their sphere of activity in Angola. There was no lack of sympathy for Christianity on the part of the negroes, unfortunately the Portuguese officials lacked understanding for the mission, which they gravely injured by their bad example, their oppressions, cruelties and slave hunting. Sonzo in Angola, as well as Aiuda and Arda had Christian kings. In 1700 the King of Arda reports that he had two Portuguese Augustinians who, with his help and support, had built a church and hospice and had converted many of the natives. Propaganda accordingly sanctioned the erection of an Augustinian mission there. On the other hand the request of the King of Overo for priests for his abandoned and neglected Christians had to be passed on to the Prefect of Angola.² The Capuchins laboured with great zeal in the Portuguese islands of Madeira, São Thomé, Cape Verde and at Caceo where they had taken refuge when driven from Sierra Leone by the English.³ At Cape Verde the Christians were well looked after; on the other hand those of São Thomé were ignorant and without priests.⁴ The coast of Guinea was allotted to the French Dominicans. In 1700 Godfrey Loyer went there with four companions; in 1706 he was made Prefect of the mission, when he was reinforced by a contingent of five other Dominicans.⁵

¹ March 28, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 2342.

² FORTEGUERRI, 358 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 354, 392.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 352; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 372; “*Relazione dell’ arrivo e buona grazia col quale furono ricevuti li missionarii Domenicani nel regno di Ghinea nell’ Africa dal Re di quel paese espressa in una lettera del 14 sett. 1701 dal Fra. Gottifredo Loyer al suo superiore generale,” in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 264, Papal Sec. Archives. For Loyer’s journey to the Ivory Coast, see T. FR. EHRMANN, *Gesch. der merkwürdigsten Reisen*, IX., Frankfurt, 1793.

Prospects were much more favourable for the missionaries in the wholly pagan parts of Africa than in those districts such as Northern Africa, a land dominated by Islam, where they had no opening for their activities among a native Christian population. There their activity was almost entirely limited to preserving the faith of the Christian slaves and to reclaiming such as had abandoned it. Various Orders applied themselves to this task. In Morocco, the Franciscans laboured amongst 1,200 slaves in their hospices, churches and hospitals. Difficulties were not wanting. In 1706 the Prefect of the mission reported that the Ruler of Morocco had slain many slaves with his own hand and had even threatened the missionaries.¹ At Tripoli, in 1691, all the Franciscan missionaries, except one, died of the plague, but when, in 1714, the Caramanli family came into power, better prospects began to open for the mission.² At the beginning of the century the Bey had allowed the missionaries to build a beautiful church, where they could worship with the fullest liberty. The Pope gave them 1,000 scudi for the hospital.³ The Capuchins laboured at Tunis.⁴ The Spanish Mercedarians, under a Vicar Apostolic, were working in Algeria in five hospitals, instructing the young and ransoming slaves.⁵ As the alms for the redemption of slaves flowed less abundantly the Pope, at the request of the Trinitarians, admonished the Bishops and Superiors of Orders to make at least two liberal contributions towards this object each year.⁶

The Franciscan Missionaries obtained excellent results,

¹ LEMMENS, 14. The antiquary, Luzietti, Rome, in his catalogue 1906, No. 214, advertised a manuscript : " Attestati e documenti originali riguardanti D. Lorenzo Bartolomeo Luigi Troiano principe di Marocco ossia Mulei Achmet che fu solennemente battezzato in S. Pietro in Vaticano nel 1704."

² LEMMENS, 17.

³ FORTEGUERRI, 344 (according to the report of 1704).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 347.

⁶ Briefs of May 25, 1709, and September 14, 1713, *Bull.* XXI., 347 seq., 577 seq.

though not among the Mohammedans of Upper Egypt, but amongst the Copts. Between 1690 and 1723 the number of Catholics rose from five to five hundred at Girgeh and to three hundred at Achmim.¹ The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria manifested a desire for union with Rome, but the Franciscans made only a few conversions in that city.² Thanks to the zeal of the Jesuits Sicard and Brévedent, the situation improved in Cairo.³ Deceived by false rumours, Propaganda had dispatched some Franciscans to Nubia, where they found neither Abyssinian fugitives nor Mohammedans to convert; accordingly the missionaries left for Fasano and Burno in order to assist Sultan Lozurfa, who had been baptized, and his Christian subjects.⁴

Of all the missions of Asia, China caused the Pope the most anxiety. At the beginning of his pontificate Christianity was still making good progress in that vast empire. In Peking the Jesuits made 500 converts annually and in the provinces often a thousand; the confraternities and the reception of the Sacraments bore eloquent witness to their zeal and piety.⁵ Besides the Jesuits, the Franciscans preached at Schantung, Kuantung, Kiangsi and Fukien; the Dominicans at Fukien and Tschekiang; the Augustinians at Hunan; Priests of the Mission from Paris at Yünnan and Setschuan; since 1711 there were also three Lazarist missionaries of Propaganda at Peking.⁶ The total number of Chinese Christians at the time amounted to 300,000.

¹ LEMMENS, 22.

² *Ibid.*, 21.

³ SCHMIDLIN, 371. Letters of Sicard (1714-1722), in RABBATH, I., 131 *seqq.*; *Lettres édifiantes*, V., Paris, 1730.

⁴ *Op.*, Epist., 71. FORTEGUERRI, 350 *seq.*; MORONI, XCVIII., 278; ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 482 *seq.* " *Relazione dell'operato de' PP. Missionarii apost. inviati da Innocenzo XII. nel regno di Fungi, scritta dal P. Fra Pasquale de Montella li 10 maggio, 1701," in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 264, Papal Sec. Archives.

⁵ NOEL, S. J., Report of 1703 to his General, in *Lettres édifiantes*, XVII., Paris, 1781, 160 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 391.

⁶ SCHMIDLIN, 391; LEMMENS, 128 *seqq.*

Japan remained closed to the missionaries.¹ The Sicilian secular priest Sidotti, who in spite of all prohibitions, dared to set foot on the coast in 1708, was immediately arrested ; he died in prison in 1715.² On the other hand Tibet, which had remained inaccessible for so long, seemed willing to receive the Gospel. Five Italian Capuchins, starting from Bengal, penetrated to Lhasa ; they were followed in 1712 by five others, in 1714 by six, and in 1719 by twelve. Orazio della Penna, the Prefect, founded a monastery with the permission of the King and a safe-conduct from the Dalai Lama and converted not a few Buddhists. The Jesuits, Desideri and Freyre, who arrived in 1715, had to be recalled by their General.³ In 1714, Clement XI. thanked the King for the favour he had shown to the missionaries.⁴

The Pope addressed more Briefs of thanks to yet another Asiatic ruler, viz. to Hussein, Shah of Persia. The Shah had written to Innocent XII. that he desired the friendship of the Christian Princes and that he would favour the missionaries. When this letter arrived Innocent was already dead. Clement XI. thanked the Shah and recommended to him the Bishop of Ispahan, who was returning to Persia with presents from the Pope.⁵ Previously to this the Pope had sent five Dominican

¹ SCHMIDLIN, 395. It is not true that the Dutch merchants, on landing in Japan, had to trample the Cross under foot ; see SCHURHAMMER in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXVIII. (1929), 68 seq.

² MARNAS, *La religion de Jésus ressuscitée au Japon*, I., 59 ; H. THURSTON, in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 569 seqq. ; CVI., 20 seqq. ; FRAY AGOSTIN DE MADRID, *Relación del viage que hizo el abad Don J. B. Sydot desde Manila al imperio del Japón embiado por N. S. P. Clemente XI.*, without place or year [Madrid, 1717]. On Sidotti's labours for a missionary seminary in Manila, see the Briefs of October 8, 1707, in *Op.*, Epist., 438 seq.

³ SCHMIDLIN, 390 seq. ; MÜLLBAUER, 360 seq. ; JANN, 386 seqq. ; HUC, 4 seq. ; LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission de Tibet*, I., Paris, 1905. On Ippolito Desideri, see *Riv. Europea*, VII., 3 (1876), 289 seqq. A report on Tibet, written by him, *ibid.*, 121 seqq. Cf. JANN, 391 seq.

⁴ January 6, 1714, *Op.*, Epist., 1928.

⁵ February 18, 1705, *ibid.*, 260.

missionaries to the Armenians who were under Persian suzerainty—for these the Pope also sought the favour of the Shah and the Patriarch.¹ These recommendations, which the Pope renewed several times,² had their effect; the Shah intervened in favour of the missionaries.³

More fortunate than the mission in Persia was that in India. Outwardly Goa retained all its old splendour,⁴ but at Pondicherry the Pope's Legate, Tournon, received most unfavourable reports about its clergy.⁵ The most flourishing of all the missions in India was that of the Jesuits at Madura, where, in 1703, there were eleven stations, eight missionaries in charge of 150,000 Christians and 7,781 baptisms. At Aur there were 30,000 Christians; at Tanjaur, in 1701, Carvalho fell a victim to the pagans. Between 1713 and 1714 the persecution started afresh, as also at Marava in 1711 and 1714.⁶ The Jesuits had missionary stations at Pondicherry, Carnate and Mysore where Da Cunha baptized eighty-two adults between 1709–1710, but in 1711 he received mortal injuries at the hands of the Brahmins.⁷ Laynes distinguished himself as Bishop of Meliapur. In 1700 the Carmelites were given back the diocese of Malabar, viz. that of the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle⁸; in 1718 they went to Bombay. Bombay had been acquired by England in 1661 as part of the dowry of Charles II.'s consort, but with the stipulation that the Catholics there would be allowed freedom to practise their religion. In the place of the Portuguese Franciscans,

¹ April 20, 1701, *ibid.*, 52.

² April 17, 1703 (for the Archbishop of the Armenians of Naxivan), July 15, 1705, November 25, 1713, and August 17, 1714, *ibid.*, 166, 282, 1629, 1994. The bearer of the first letter of recommendation, of 1705, one Ory, unfortunately turned against the Catholics. Brief of March 2, 1709, *ibid.*, 590.

³ NOVAES, XII., 180.

⁴ FORTEGUERRI, 176.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 144. Cf. JANN, 346.

⁶ MÜLLBAUER, 236 *seqq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 238–247.

⁸ FORTEGUERRI, 153 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUER, 311 *seqq.*

the English brought Italian Carmelites to the town. In 1720 the Pope conferred on the Vicar Apostolic of the Mongolian Empire, the Carmelite Bishop Maurice of St. Teresa, jurisdiction over Goa, as long as the Archbishop of Goa was prevented from exercising it by the East India Company.¹ French Capuchins, with Surat and Ahemedabat as their bases, attended to the needs of the scattered Catholics of the neighbourhood. In 1703 Propaganda sent Italian Capuchins to Madras and Pondicherry.² Both they in Meliapure, and the Theatines in Golconda found it hard to make converts.³ Four secular priests and as many Jesuits laboured in Bengal, but the brunt of the work was borne by the twelve Augustinians who, with Hugly as their centre, had raised the number of Christians to 60,000, spread over twenty-three parishes.⁴ In the Empire of the Mogul, the mission made no progress under Aurengsib.⁵

Meanwhile most of the Churches of the Further Indies encountered heavy storms. Conditions were more peaceful in Siam. The defeat of the French in 1688 had lessened even the prestige of the missionaries and raised the self-reliance of the natives, so that the missionaries saw themselves obliged to confine their attention to the old Christians and to their seminary for priests. The King, however, showed himself very well disposed at the beginning of the new century.⁶ In Tongking, besides the two Vicars Apostolic, twenty priests, amongst whom there were ten secular priests, seven Jesuits and two Dominicans, were able for a time to carry out their work in complete tranquillity.⁷ In 1712, however, the priests

¹ JANN, 352. A Brief of October 5, 1717, informs the Archbishop of Goa of the nomination of the Vicar Apostolic and of his powers. *Op.*, Epist., 2262.

² FORTEGUERRI, 147.

³ *Ibid.*, 177 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 173 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 179; LAUNAY, I., 453.

⁷ FORTEGUERRI, 142 seq. In 1715 there were six Dominicans and 15,000 Christians there. SCHMIDLIN, 389, n. 1; A. M. WALZ,

of the Paris Seminary were thrown into prison and expelled, the churches burnt down, Christians murdered or compelled to apostatize. This was repeated in 1717 and 1720.¹ In Cochin-China also many churches were destroyed, two priests of the Paris Seminary and three Jesuits were imprisoned, but in 1704 they were allowed to return to their churches and missions.² On July 25th, 1702, the Vicar Apostolic informed Rome of the opening of the persecution. The Pope sent the Bishop of Tilopolis to act as his adviser; accounts of the Christians who had died for their faith were to be dispatched to Rome so that their memory might be kept alive.³ One important decision was that which empowered the Bishops to visit the parishes of the Regulars.⁴

Conditions in the Philippine Islands were extremely satisfactory. Five hundred Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits carried on their work among the two million population of the archdiocese of Manila and the dioceses of New Segovia, New Cáceres and Cebù.⁵ Special praise was bestowed by the Pope on Archbishop Didacus Camacho y Ávila of Manila,⁶ for his personal share in missionary activity. He had obtained an important decision

Compendium historiae ord. Praedic., Romae, 1930, 374. M. GISPERT, *Hist. de las misiones dominicanas en el Tunghin*, Ávila, 1928.

¹ PACHTLER, 263 *seqq.*; HENRION, II., 455 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 389 *seqq.*; LAUNAY, I., 455 *seqq.* “*Memoriale dei procuratori delle missioni nel Tonchino sulla necessità di restabilire in quel regno i padri della Compagnia essendò pontifice Clemente XI.,” Brera Archives in Milan, A D XV., 9 n., 35.

² PACHTLER, 196; HENRION, II., 481 *seqq.*; LAUNAY, I., 402; SCHMIDLIN, 389. According to Forteguerrri (143 *seqq.*), in 1697 there were only fourteen missionaries there: of these six were from Paris, four were Jesuits, and three natives.

³ Brief of January 22, 1704, *Op.*, Epist., 196.

⁴ January 30, 1705, *Ius pontif.*, II., 237.

⁵ FORTEGUERRI, 309 *seq.*; LEMMENS, 121 *seqq.* Briefs in favour of the Augustinian Hermits in the Philippine Islands, April 5, 1701, in *Ius pontif.*, II., 203, 205. Cf. SCHMIDLIN, 395; ASTRÁIN, VII., 738 *seqq.*

⁶ October 18, 1707, *Op.*, Epist., 438.

in Rome about the government of the missionaries.¹ In their seven hundred so-called "Doctrines", Dominicans, Franciscans Observant, Augustinians and Jesuits were bound to recognize his right of visitation in all that appertained to the cure of souls and the administration of the Sacraments. From the Philippines the Jesuits had carried Christianity into the Marian Islands: ten priests were working there in 1702.² Encouraged by letters of recommendation from the Pope to Louis XIV., the King of Spain and the Archbishops, two French Jesuits, Duberron and Cortil, took possession, in 1710, of the Western Caroline or Palau island of Sonsorol where they were murdered.³ Since the conquest by the Dutch, the existence of the mission in the Moluccas had become impossible and by 1722 the mission of the Dominicans of Solor and Timor was on the decline.⁴ By order of Propaganda some Theatines went to Borneo in 1706, in order to preserve the mission from total extinction.⁵ On their way thither, Martelli penetrated, in 1702, as far as Sumatra. As a result of the Dutch conquest, very few Catholics remained there: the same applied to Java. Martelli, under English protection, settled at Banculla and a colleague of his did so at Banselli.⁶ In Ceylon, the Dutch had expelled all priests, with the exception of three natives; these were in charge of 300,000 Catholics with 400 churches.⁷ In the Maladive

¹ January 30, 1705, *Ius pontif.*, II., 236.

² ASTRÁIN, VI., 834; VII., 761; FORTEGUERRI, 306; SCHMIDLIN, 396.

³ ASTRÁIN, VII., 764; SCHMIDLIN, 397; *Lettres édif.*, XV., 321 *seqq.* STÖCKLEIN, *Weltbott*, n. 450. The discovery of eighty-seven new islands raised exaggerated hopes; a number of Briefs in *Op.*, Epist., 160, 210, 212, 312, 338. Cf. S. RUGE, in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1885, n. 324, p. 4786.

⁴ FORTEGUERRI, 309 *seq.* Cf. BIERMANN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 41.

⁵ FORTEGUERRI, 311 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUER, 357.

⁶ FORTEGUERRI, 312; MÜLLBAUER, 358.

⁷ FORTEGUERRI, 314; SCHMIDLIN, 387. Among the priests of Goa, Vaz and Gonzales distinguished themselves particularly. SCHMIDLIN, *ibid.*

Islands, Christianity was destroyed by a Mohammedan Great-Mogul who introduced Islam by force.¹

In the immense territories of South America, individual Orders and missionaries continued to labour with zeal and success for the spread of the Christian religion. In 1702 the Jesuits of Paraguay numbered in their Reductions 114,599 Christians, in 1710 there were 249 missionaries. The greatest number of conversions were obtained amongst the Chiquitos, the Bolivia of to-day.² Amongst the Moxos, in the North-East of Bolivia, the Jesuits possessed sixteen Reductions with 30,514 souls.³ In 1702 Cipriano Barace suffered martyrdom there, after he had baptized 40,000 natives.⁴ The Capuchins worked side by side with the Jesuits and Dominicans on the Marañon, and in Venezuela, in the territories of the Llanos and Piritus.⁵ In Peru, which was in a moral decline, the Jesuit missions were the only ones which retained some importance.⁶ Creuilly distinguished himself among the French Jesuits in Cayenne. He laboured both among the old Christians and as a missionary among the negroes and Indians. In 1708, Lombard made use of Catechists to assist in the work and established the flourishing Reduction of Kuru. The Jesuits of Cayenne counted as many as 80,000 baptisms.⁷ Martinique

¹ FORTEGUERRI, 316 ; MÜLLBAUER, 286 seq.

² ASTRÁIN, VI., 663, 670 ; VII., 490. FORTEGUERRI (60 seq.) estimates that there were about 90,000 Christians in the twenty-nine Reductions. Cf. SCHMIDLIN, 401.

³ ASTRÁIN, VII., 352 : “ *Relazione della missione apostolica de los Moxos nel regno di Però fatta da Giesuiti e del frutto in essa raccolto, esposto a Clemente XI., 1703, dal P. Ildefonso Messia, preposito provinciale,” in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 265, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ ASTRÁIN, VI., 566 seq.

⁵ SCHMIDLIN, 405 ; FROYLAN DE RIO NEGRO, *Relaciones de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos de Venezuela* ; ASTRÁIN, VII., 401 seqq.

⁶ *Ibid.* On October 5, 1712, the Pope expresses his joy to the Archbishop of Quito that paganism has almost disappeared from Peru. *Op.*, Epist., 1764.

⁷ SCHMIDLIN, 406 seq. ; FORTEGUERRI, 43 seq.

Guadeloupe and part of Haiti were the Dominicans' sphere of activity. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Martel displayed wonderful zeal for the conversion of the negroes and native pagans. The Capuchins laboured in Haiti, but in 1703 they handed over to the Jesuits the Cape mission there.¹ In Brazil, besides the Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits and Carmelites at Pernambuco (Olinda), the Oratorians were also engaged in missionary work²: in 1718 we hear of fifteen Aldeas of the Capuchins, twelve of the Carmelites and five of the Mercedarians.³

In Mexico, where the Franciscans had made for themselves so glorious a name, they established four Colleges at Querétaro, Guatemala, Zacatecas and Mexico, which served as centres for the conversion of the pagan tribes of the country.⁴ The greatest amongst the heroic missionaries educated in these colleges was Antonio Margil, who up to his death, in 1726, laboured during forty years amongst the Christians and heathens. In 1706 he wrote that among the Talamancas of Panama more than 80,000 Indians had been baptized. He founded another mission in the northern part of the country and in Texas.⁵ The Franciscan mission, which made it possible for Christianity to penetrate gradually into New Mexico,⁶ did not originate from the colleges, whilst the mission of Florida perished as a result of the wars with England after 1702. French secular priests also laboured

¹ SCHMIDLIN, 407; J. DE RUZIC, *Documents sur la mission des Frères Prêcheurs à S. Dominique*, Lorient, 1912; J. B. LABAT, *Nouveau voyage aux Indes de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1722. By royal command, Labat erected fortifications and defensive works on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. WALZ, *loc. cit.*, 364.

² FORTEGUERRI, 76 *seqq.*; GIUSEPPE DA CASTROGIOVANNI, *Notizie stor. della missione Cappuccina di Rio de Janeiro*, 1650-1910, Catania, 1910.

³ *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, I.², 724.

⁴ Cf. the present work, XIII., 297 *seqq.*

⁵ LEMMENS, 243 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 243.

successfully in Florida.¹ Besides the Franciscans, the Jesuits deserved well of the Indians of Mexico. Their work consisted chiefly in the christianization of the inaccessible and mountainous country of Nayarit where, in spite of Christian surroundings, paganism still survived. About ninety missionary posts, each with two, three, five or six secondary stations, maintained themselves in the north of Mexico. More to the West there were stations at Cinaloa and Sonora, and towards the East in the district of Parras and in the wild territories of the Tepehuanes, at Topia, Tarahumara and in the North in the mission of Pimeria.² In 1712, the Mexican province of Chiapas was the theatre of a rising. By order of a woman who claimed to have visions and who pretended to be Our Lady, three Dominican missionaries, one secular priest and one Franciscan were murdered by the Zendal Indians.³ California was served by the Jesuits,⁴ who in 1702 reopened their mission to the Iroquese. In 1714 the English put an end to their work among the Abenakis.⁵

Clement XI.'s vision and zeal, which embraced the whole world, has been fully recognized by all his biographers.⁶ Truly his word went forth not only to the near East, but to India, China, Persia and America.

¹ *Ibid.*, 239 ; FORTEGUERRI, II *seq.* ; SCHMIDLIN, 412.

² ASTRÁIN, VII., 302.

³ Report of Gabriel de Artigo to Cloche, General of the Dominicans, in *Miscell. di storia ecclesiastica*, I. (1903), 249 *seqq.*

⁴ ASTRÁIN, VII., 254 *seqq.*

⁵ SCHMIDLIN, 415 ; FORTEGUERRI, 13 *seq.* ; ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1895. A *Brief of October 12, 1709, to the King of Spain on Protestant Bibles in American languages, disseminated by the English, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 265, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ LAFITAU, II., 167 ; A. SANDINUS, *Vitae pontificum Rom.*, II., Ferraræ, 1763, 703.

CHAPTER VII.

DECISION OF THE QUESTION OF THE CHINESE RITES—THE LEGATIONS OF TOURNON AND MEZZABARBA—THE MALABAR CUSTOMS.

IN the missionary sphere Clement XI.'s most important intervention was the decision of the controversy over the Chinese rites. It was a decision of lasting importance for Benedict XIV. did no more than confirm it, a decision also which affected the missions of the Far-East in a vital manner. If we are to grasp the full significance of the problem, and in order to complete what has been said already, a few preliminary observations on the importance of the Chinese missions, the veneration of ancestors and the contradictory tendencies of the missionary Orders cannot be omitted.

(1.)

The missionary activity of the Jesuits is not without a certain element of tragedy. It began in the East Indies as a sequel to Portuguese colonization, but the expectation of support from the secular power was destined to be cruelly thwarted. Francis Xavier "fled", as he himself put it,¹ from the Portuguese sphere to Japan, where the harshness of European officials towards the natives could not overthrow what he built up so laboriously. In Japan his brethren in religion presented themselves without relying on the assistance of the Western Powers, though still as Europeans, and this fact was enough to render them suspect of being no more than the pioneers of Portuguese and Spanish lust of conquest. Persecution ensued, leading to a glorious Martyr Church but likewise to the end of the Mission. There seemed to

¹ *Monumenta Xaveriana*, I., 511; *cf.* 476 *seq.*, 510.

remain but one policy, and in China it was adopted : it was that upon entering the foreign realm the missionary should cease to be a European as far as this was possible, and become a Chinese with the Chinese. But this very policy involved the missionaries in the worst complication of all. Before long it was said that they sacrificed their Christianity to their predilection for China and that they continued to do this in open rebellion against the Holy See. Thus began the controversy about the Chinese customs, the famous dispute over the rites which constitutes perhaps the most sinister accusation against the Society in the whole of its history.¹

The plan to secure a firm foothold among the population of China before all the other peoples of the Far-East must be traced back to Francis Xavier. Xavier's endless journeyings

¹ A satisfactory history of the dispute about the rites has not yet been written, nor is such a history possible at present. After the prohibition of 1710, the Jesuits were no longer permitted to publish the documents on their side, whereas their adversaries did not trouble themselves about the prohibition. The best account we have for the present is the article of Joseph Brucker in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2364-9, which is based on an examination of manuscripts. On the beginnings of the dispute we must specially mention, besides what MAAS has written (see below, p. 397, n. 3), the account of BIERMANN (*cf.* the present work, XXIX., n. 2). The whole dispute, up to 1800, is treated by A. THOMAS [Planchet ?] in a biased manner : *Hist. de la mission de Pékin*, Paris, 1923. One of his principal sources is designated by Thomas as M.C.M. That is *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, IV.-VI., Paris, 1865, which at the time, because they had been published against the ecclesiastical prohibition, had to be withdrawn (new edition of the vols. relating to China, Paris, 1911-12). The sources of these *Mémoires* are, besides a few letters in the Archives of the Lazarists : *Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine*, 7 vols., Paris, 1733-1742 (by the Jansenist, VILLERMAULE) ; *Memorie storiche dell' em. Msgr. cardinale di Tournon*, 8 vols., Venezia, 1761-2 ; *Réflexions du secrétaire de la Propagande* on the Memorial of Tamburini, General of the Jesuits. The book by JANN limits itself essentially to extracts from Papal decrees.

are not explained by the natural *wanderlust* of the Navarrese, nor exclusively by his duty, as Superior, to visit his brethren wherever they were ; on the contrary, their main object was to find out where the evangelization of the East might best be started from. He soon realized that, for the time being, it was impossible to hope for the collaboration of native priests. The native population with which he came in touch at Malacca and in the Moluccas, offered no better prospects—everywhere he found the same character—soft, dreamy, with little energy, and with this little could be done. Then he learnt that in Japan there existed a different type of people and when he saw them, he felt that report had exaggerated nothing. But the Japanese themselves kept pointing to the Chinese as to their masters and teachers. Thus, at the price of infinite exertions, the conclusion was reached that with China the whole of the Far East would be won for Christ, that China was the fulcrum for the lever of the Gospel. Francis Xavier even singled out the point where contact should be established with these civilized peoples of the Far East, viz. their interest in the European sciences.¹

However, the very first attempt to put this plan into execution encountered a tremendous obstacle in the expression of one side of the Chinese character which, in itself, is worthy of all praise. Reverence for parents and for all lawful authority constitutes the heart and centre of the Chinese people's

¹ He had suggested that entry into Japan and prestige with the Japanese should be procured by means of astronomical accomplishments : "Incredibile est, talium rerum explicatio quantum valeat ad conciliandos Iaponum voluntates" (to Ignatius of Loyola, April 9, 1552, *Mon. Xaver.*, I., 738). Cf. STREIT, *Bibl. Missionum*, IV., XI. : "The great significance of St. Francis Xavier for the mission work in Asia lies in the masterly manner with which he surveyed at a glance the whole vast continent and saw which were the strategic points . . . in the great, outstanding talent with which he organized his missionaries, the countries and peoples, the mission stations, and all that was necessary for the mission."

ethical notions. Up to quite recent times it was customary to read publicly, twice a month, throughout the Empire, extracts from an imperial edict which were then commented upon. In the first place this edict inculcates filial piety: "that virtue is the first and the greatest commandment in China."¹

Now veneration of deceased parents was regarded as an essential part of filial piety.² Wooden tablets were set up, described as the seat of the ancestors' souls, before which people bowed, burnt candles and incense, offered meat and other kinds of food, and burnt paper money for the benefit of the deceased in the next world. The mandarins and the caste of the *literati* had to perform similar ceremonies in honour of Confucius. If these customs were to be prohibited, there remained no possibility of winning China as a whole for Christianity. One of the best sinologues of modern times and himself at one time a Protestant missionary in China, realized time and again, in the course of religious discussions, that the pagans' trump card was the allegation that the Christians did not honour the ancestors; as for St. Paul's saying that parents must provide for their children, and not the other way round, it could not be quoted without raising such a storm of indignation as to make it impossible for the missionary to make himself heard.³

Here, then, the missionaries found themselves faced by an insurmountable obstacle; if the veneration of ancestors was prohibited, the best they could hope for was to win over a few individuals for Christianity. This led the real founder of the Chinese mission, Ricci, and his followers, to ask themselves, whether it would not be possible to tolerate most of the externals of these customs. Of course the Christians could not hold that the wooden tablets were the seat of the soul, or that money could be forwarded to the dead. But did this apply to all the other customs? The missionaries felt that the Chinese scholars would best be able to enlighten them about their meaning and significance. What the opinion

¹ LEGGE, *The Religions of China*, London, 1880, 104.

² *Ibid.*, 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 256, 258.

of the *literati* was appears from the answer of the Chinese tribunal of rites to a question put to it by the Emperor Kanghi in 1701: that tribunal declared that to prostrate before Confucius was the same thing as honouring him as a teacher and exemplar of men; it did not signify that one prayed to him for riches, talents or honours¹; in other words, a prostration before Confucius was simply an expression of courtesy and gratitude, not a religious observance.² The Jesuits accordingly felt that they might tolerate an inclination to the ground before the coffin of a dead person, or before the tablet bearing Confucius' monogram on the occasion of a graduation. There can be no doubt that the common people expected wealth, progeny and other favours from the ancestors in return for the honours paid to them,³ but the classical writings of the Chinese were believed to contain a passage which seemed to assert that such was not the primitive meaning of these marks of honour; why then should they not permit these ceremonies in their original sense? And once they had gone thus far, could not the offering of food at funerals, food which was afterwards consumed at a solemn repast, be viewed simply as the expression of a wish for communion with one's deceased parents? All the more so as the Chinese word for these offerings does not mean the same thing as our word "sacrifice".⁴ For the rest the Jesuits did not permit the

¹ L. WIEGER, in *Dict. apologétique*, I., Paris, 1914, 529 seq.

² The modern Chinese Republic, by a decree of February 7, 1914, has also declared the rites to be purely civil customs. Translation of the respective decrees [they are self-contradictory] in *Études*, CXXXIX. (1914), 470 seq.; appreciation of them, 461 seqq. Cf. TH. GRENTROP, *Ius missionarium*, I., Steyl, 1925, 152; WIEGER, *loc. cit.*

³ Description of the superstitious customs in OTTO MAAS, *Die Wiedereröffnung der Franziskanermission in China in der Neuzeit*, Münster, 1926, 86-102.

⁴ "The Chinese character "tsi" covers a much wider meaning than our term "sacrifice" . . . The most general idea symbolized by it is . . . an offering whereby communication and communion with spiritual being is effected." LEGGE, 66.

solemn offerings in honour of Confucius, but they tolerated those made before the tablets of the ancestors.

That with these concessions they had stepped on doubtful ground appears from the very fact that the intention was merely to *tolerate* these practices and to allow even the most harmless ones only *provisionally*. The declarations of the *literati* to which appeal was made in the first instance, could not be admitted without reservation, for the Chinese scholars adhered to Tshuism, viz. rank materialism ; as late as 1522 they were commanded to explain the classical books in a Tshuistic sense. According to those materialists Confucius' soul had long ago faded into nothingness ; nothing remained of him except the syllables that made up his name, and his memory, and the same was equally true of the ancestors. With notions such as these it goes without saying that nothing could be hoped or asked for from the ancestors.¹ All the same it must be borne in mind that the atheism of the *literati* was the official teaching which they had to maintain by order of the State, rather than their real personal conviction.² As for the broad masses of the people, theirs were by no means simply the ideas of the scholars. As practised by the ordinary Chinese, the veneration of ancestors and the offerings to the dead were undoubtedly acts of religion.³

¹ WIEGER, *loc. cit.*

² NOEL-CASTNER, *responsio*, n. 124 and 202, pp. 29, 49.

³ To this day the missionary in China meets with the objection : If I become a Christian, I shall not get anything to eat after my death. É. BECKER, *Le R. P. Joseph Gonnet*, Ho-kien-fu, 1900, 28. The best authority on the question of the rites, Joseph Brucker, says that in the opinion of the Roman authorities, the rites were tainted with superstition to such a degree as to render a purification impossible : " The Holy See did not touch on the purely theoretical questions, as, for instance, what the Chinese rites were and signified according to their institution and in ancient times. In this, Father Ricci may have been right ; but he was mistaken in thinking that as practised in modern times they are not superstitious or can be made free from all superstition. The Popes declared, after scrupulous investigations,

The Jesuits did not tolerate the customs observed in the veneration of ancestors from the very beginning of their work in China, but their very hesitation created such a bad impression that during the persecution of 1616 grave accusations were proffered against them in writing on the subject.¹ A little later the Jesuits seem to have regarded the rites as pretty indifferent; the disputes about them only began with the arrival of the Franciscans and the Dominicans.²

On the other hand the first missionaries gave very serious consideration to yet another question. As they became more intimately acquainted with the religious life of the Chinese, the Jesuits were astonished at finding in their canonical books which had come down from the remote past, so pure a conception of God as no other pagan people possessed. The Chinese had no Olympus and no mythology like those of the Greeks, the Romans and the Hindus. They believed in a Supreme Being, conceived as a person, ruling the world, foreseeing all things, meting out reward and punishment. To offer sacrifice to him was the Emperor's prerogative, the ordinary man of the people could not presume to perform such an act of worship. It is true that besides this Supreme Being, the spirits of the mountains and rivers, that the ceremonies in honour of Confucius or ancestors and deceased relatives are tainted with superstition to such a degree that they cannot be purified." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII., 39.

¹ " *Hos [ritus] utpote necdum sibi bene perspectos, subito approbare non sunt ausi. Quin etiam omnem in eo diligentiam fecere, ut ii, qui s. fidem recens susciperent, neophyti, quantum possibile esset, sacris potius Ecclesiae ritibus assuefierent, et eosdem cum profanis permutarent." The accusation complained that " barbari ingressu homines docuerunt, ut nemo defunctis maioribus funeralia munera offerret, postea vero hac de causa exagitati modum loquendi commutarunt." CASTNER, c. I.

² *Ibid.* On August 18, 1637, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits writes from Peking: " Magnum strepitum Fratres [the Friars] nunc excitarunt Manilae cum suis 15 (13) interrogationibus circa puncta, in quibus minor erat difficultas et nos omnes consentiebamus." *Ibid.*

and those of great men, were likewise the objects of imperial veneration ; the people were permitted to offer public homage to the tutelary spirit of each village and every family was commanded to venerate its ancestors. But all these spirits were subordinated to the Supreme Being, so that apart from later Taoistic and Buddhistic infiltrations, the primitive religion of China may properly be said to have been monotheistic.¹

The first Jesuit missionaries accordingly adopted for the designation of the true God the names by which the Chinese designated the Supreme Being, just as the Apostles, acting on the precedent of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, did not hesitate to make use of the Greek word Θεός to designate the true God. But in Japan conditions were otherwise, for there none of the indigenous divine names seemed applicable to the true God,² so that use was made

¹ The texts from the holy books in WIEGER, *Histoire*, II seqq., 107 seqq. " Il ressort avec évidence de ces textes, que le Souverain d'en haut, le Ciel, dont ces anciens parlent ainsi en l'an 2002, était pour eux un être personnel et intelligent. Il est clair aussi, par les attributs qu'ils lui donnent, qu'ils le considéraient comme le maître universel, non comme le législateur de leur race seulement "(*ibid.*, 14). " Thus the two characters show us the religion of the ancient Chinese as a monotheism." Cf. LEGGE, II. At this day the Chinese peasant knows this supreme being under the name of " Laotienye ", but he does not invoke it (L. TOURCHER [missionary in South-East Tscheli], in *Études*, CXXV. (1900), 790 seq.). Cf. LEGGE, *loc. cit.* H. ALLEN GILES, professor of Chinese at Cambridge, writes in *Encyclop. Britannica*, VI.¹¹, 174 : " The earliest traces of religious thought and practice in China point to a simple monotheism."

² There Francis Xavier had at first made use of the Japanese " Dainichi " for the name of God, but taught by a painful experience, he chose the expression " Deusu " instead. Gago then replaced another fifty " dangerous " terms by Latin words. G. SCHURHAMMER, *Das Sprachenproblem in der japanesischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Mitt. der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, XXIII., Tokio and Leipzig, 1928.

of the Latin word *Deus*. But when Ricci's Chinese books came into the hands of some Japanese neophytes, they felt some misgivings about the use of the Chinese names. Ricci's successor, Niccolò Longobardi, took their objections into account, though with a view to uniform action by the missionaries Ricci had issued an ordinance on the divine names and on the veneration of ancestors which had received the approval of the Visitor Valignani in 1603. All difficulties had not been thereby removed, for though the words "Shang-Ti", viz. Supreme Lord, and "Tien", viz. Heaven, as used in the Chinese canonical books, undoubtedly designated the Supreme Being, the *litterati* were nevertheless bound by the State to teach crass materialism, the so-called Tshuism or Neo-Confucianism. These expressions were accordingly applied by the *litterati* to the material sky, so that their use by the Christians was liable to cause misunderstandings; as a matter of fact the expressions "Shang-Ti" and "Tien" were eventually replaced by the expressions "Tien-Chu", viz. Lord of Heaven, by order of Rome. For the rest from Ricci's time onwards the Christians generally used the expression "Tien-Chu" to designate God.¹

An ordinance issued by Ricci's successor Pasio, on September 23th, 1611, occasioned further prolonged discussions on the question of the divine name. In 1614 Sabbatino de Orsi wrote a dissertation on the name of "Shang-Ti"; the matter was discussed at Macao and afterwards submitted to Rome where theologians such as Lessius, Lorinus and Gabriel Vasquez pronounced in Ricci's favour. After the cessation of the persecution of 1616, Juan Rodriguez, who had been a missionary in Japan, raised opposition to the practice hitherto followed whilst Longobardi

¹ Cf. H. HAVRET, S. I., *Tien-Tchou "Seigneur du ciel"*, in *Variétés Sinologiques*, n. 19, Shanghai, 1901; the same in *Études*, LXXXIX. (1909), 399-409. In Chinese literature the expression had already served to designate several divine personalities of Buddhism and Taoism, especially of Indra (*ibid.*, 546). On the dispute about the names, see K. PIEPER in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 10 *seq.*

rejected all Chinese names of God, even Tien-Chu, and proposed to replace them by the Latin *Deus* trimmed in Chinese fashion so as to make it "Ten-Su"; even for such words as "soul", "spirit", he wished to draw upon the Latin language and to revise Ricci's books in that sense. He was prevented from doing this by the decision of two Visitors and of the General, Vitelleschi, himself. As Longobardi would not remain quiet even then, he was reprimanded in 1623 by order of the Visitor, Diaz the elder. But even so the Superiors of the Order did not take a light view of the dispute. Diaz the elder ordered a whole volume compiled by Rodriguez against Ricci's views, to be thoroughly examined in 1627 and 1628, and at the beginning of 1628 a consultation of some nine or ten Jesuits took place at Kiating. It decided in favour of retaining the practice hitherto followed, but Longobardi's strong opposition, even to the expression "Tien-Chu", was reserved to the judgment of Palmeiro whose arrival as Visitor was then expected. In 1629 Palmeiro had made a thorough examination of the questions then pending. He forbade the suggested European names of God as barbarous for Chinese ears and sanctioned the Chinese text of a formula to be used at emergency baptisms for which Marini, the Procurator of the Missions, likewise obtained the approval of the Roman Inquisition. For the sake of peace Palmeiro also forbade the names "Shang-Ti" and "Tien", and the General concurred with the prohibition until the question should have been further examined. This concession merely encouraged Longobardi to press for the condemnation of the term "Tien-Chu". Under the influence of Rodriguez he resumed his correction of the earlier Christian books in his own sense, until he was stopped by his Superiors. In spite of renewed refutations even Palmeiro began to incline to Longobardi's views, but when a fresh meeting of missionaries in 1633 pronounced in favour of retaining the divine names and the customs hitherto observed, he left the decision to those missionaries who were familiar with the Chinese tongue. Palmeiro's successor, Diaz the elder, once more permitted the use of the expressions "Shang-Ti" and "Tien".

The disputes among the Jesuits were thus disposed of. To prevent any future outbreak the Superior of the Chinese Vice-Province ordered Longobardi's writings to be burnt. But after Longobardi's death some fragments of these writings fell into the hands of the Franciscan Anthony of St. Mary and they caused the controversy to flare up once more.¹

The above-named Friar had arrived in China in 1633 in the company of the Dominican Bautista de Morales, whose brother in religion, Cocchi, had settled in the Province of Fukien the year before. In 1634 each of the new-comers was reinforced by one Franciscan and one Dominican, when they too began missionary work in China.²

It was natural that the members of the older Orders should pursue the traditional line of conduct of their respective Institutes. They accordingly preached in the open street, crucifix in hand; they tore down in broad daylight an edict of persecution against the Christians, in fact they would have felt a scruple to act otherwise.³ The Jesuits' careful avoidance of whatever might prove a stumbling block for the pagans they regarded as shameful cowardice. Though they observed the outward marks of courtesy in their epistolary commerce with the younger Order,⁴ they did not refrain from severe blame.⁵ As early as 1636 complaints reached Propaganda that there were some religious in "India" who preached Christ crucified only after first preaching a triumphant Christ, and who, instead of starting by preaching Christ crucified, began with wordly sciences, such as astronomy and things of that kind.⁶

¹ According to CASTNER, *loc. cit.* Cf. BARTOLI, *Cina*, lib. I, c. 118-122; lib. 4, c. 83-5 (*Opere*, Torino, 1825, XV., 193-203; XVIII., 164-9).

² BIERMANN, 32, 36, 42. Our work, XXIX., 249.

³ BIERMANN, 57 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 39 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. "*Relación*" of the Franciscan GIROLAMO DI GESÙ, in *Archivum franciscanum hist.*, XVIII. (1925), 108 *seqq.*

⁶ "... che invece di cominciare da questa predicazione di Cristo crocifisso, cominciano dalle scienze profane, cioè astronomia

The Jesuits, on their part, had shown kindness to the new-comers,¹ though in view of their experiences on Japanese soil, they did not see gladly the arrival of other missionaries. But it was obviously impossible for a handful of Jesuits to evangelize the whole of the Island Empire. However, when the question whether the help of other religious should be invited, was examined by a meeting convened for that purpose, the decision ultimately reached was to the effect that the time for such a step was not yet. The new-comers would fall into the same errors into which they themselves had fallen and in view of the developments which had taken place since then, those mistakes would be fraught with more grievous consequences than before and might even entail the ruin of the whole mission.² In China also it was impossible to deny that the thirteen or fourteen Jesuits were unequal to a task with which a thousand missionaries would not have been able to cope. But there too it was felt that the situation was very far from being sufficiently advanced to justify the dispatch of a vast number of missionaries to that country.³ As a matter of fact the Jesuits alone, on account of their cautious conduct, had been able to get a firm footing in China, though many others had sought to establish themselves in that country. As for preaching in the street, crucifix in hand, they feared the very worst results from such action.

Thus divergences of opinion among the missionaries supplied the motive power in the evolution of the ritual dispute, and

ed altre." Decree of Propaganda, October 21, 1636, in *Collectanea*, I., 25, n. 86.

¹ BIERMANN, 33, 54; cf. 56, 75.

² "Viniendo otros religiosos, han de dar primero los yerros que nosotros dimos, que serán aora peores, y no harán mas que deshazer lo que nosotros aora comenzamos." Quoted in *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, XVI. (1923), 395. Cf. DELPLACE, II., 17, 76 seq.

³ "Erat in hoc ingens equivocatio," KILIAN STUMPF writes at a later date (Dec. 5), "messis utique erat multa, sed nondum alba ad falcem, et pauci intraverant ideo, quod immaturum hoc tempus non sineret plures ibidem conversari."

these differences were further sharpened by petty national jealousies. China came under the patronage of the Portuguese crown whilst the new-comers were Spaniards from the Philippines. The fact that in 1580 Spain and Portugal had been united under the same sceptre had only increased the mutual dislike of the two peoples. In 1600 Clement VIII. decided to consider the prejudices of the Portuguese to the extent of only allowing new missionaries to travel East viâ Lisbon and Goa, but in 1608 Paul V. did away with this restriction in favour of the Mendicants and Urban VIII. did so for all religious in 1633.¹

The conduct of the Mendicants did not meet with the approval of all the neophytes. Thus the Jesuit Matos writes that his Christians would have pressed the Viceroy to expel Cocchi if he had not prevented them.² When Antony of St. Mary arrived at Nanking, the Christians kept him a prisoner for the space of six weeks, at the end of which time he was forcibly taken back to Fukien, not without the complicity of Diaz, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial,³ though this did not prevent the generous friar from subsequently entering into friendly relations with the Jesuits.⁴ The explanation of this initial objection to the Mendicants was the latter's rigid demands from the neophytes and their occasional disparaging remarks about the older missionaries. They said that Ricci and the Jesuits had deceived the new Christians when they told them that certain Chinese customs were permissible; they themselves, so they averred, had been sent by the Holy See for the purpose of uprooting these errors.⁵

¹ Decrees of December 12, 1600, June 2, 1608, and February 22, 1633, *Bull.* X., 631 *seqq.*; XI., 501 *seqq.*; XIV., 320 *seqq.*

² BIERMANN, 40.

³ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴ Cf. his letters of 1653, 1654, and 1660 in *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, IV., 497 *seqq.*

⁵ “ *Neophyti etiam graviter contra eos conqueri coeperunt, tum de nimio eorum, ut ipsis quidem videbatur, rigore, tum de eo, quod minus honorifice quandoque de missionariis Societatis loqui auditi essent, dicendo: P. Riccium fuisse deceptorem, venisse

It was in 1634 that the new missionaries became acquainted for the first time and quite by chance, with the customs observed by the Chinese in the cult of the ancestors. They immediately commanded their Christians to refrain from such practices and after they had assisted at a ceremony in honour of the ancestors, their convictions that these observances were of a superstitious character, even as practised by the Christians, was further strengthened and consultations with the Jesuits of Fudshou failed to induce them to change their mind. With every formality of the law they drew up a statement on the cult of the dead and the concessions of the Jesuits, based on the depositions of eleven Chinese Christians, and after a second interrogation, they formulated their opinion in a written document. These acts were to be submitted to the Archbishop of Manila, for the above-mentioned Brief of Urban VIII., of February 22nd, 1633, commissioned the Bishops to give judgment in the disputes between missionaries; however, Antony of St. Mary fell into the hands of the Dutch and only reached the Philippines in 1637.¹ There the account of the conduct of the Jesuits called forth a storm of indignation. Archbishop Guerrero of Manila dispatched to Rome a memorial on the subject drawn up by the Dominicans, together with a covering letter of his own in which he expressed his displeasure. However, a copy of the letter came into the hands of the Jesuit Visitor, Emmanuel Diaz the elder, who made his own comments

in Chinam, ut doceret idololatrias, et a reliquis Societatis missionariis decipi neophytos; se vero a Pontifice missos esse, ut hos errores detegerent et idololatrias istas exstirparent. . . . Hinc non sanis solum, sed etiam moribundis sacramenta negabant, eo quod, cum viverent, consuetis ritibus progenitores suos coluissent. His et similibus dictis et factis, quae in litteris circa annum 1636 ex China scriptis recensentur, maximum sibi omnium Sinarum odium conciliabant." CASTNER, *c.* 2.

¹ BIERMANN, 43-51; *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, IV., 51. The two judicial examinations took place between December 22, 1635, and January, 1636, and between January 21 and February 10, 1636.

on each of the grievances. On the initiative of the Jesuits both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Cebù, who had subscribed to the first letter, now wrote yet another letter to the Pope in which they eulogized the Jesuit missionaries and stated that their first communication was based on inaccurate information and that they accordingly withdrew it.¹ For the time being the other accusations also failed to impress Rome. In 1645 the rites were indeed condemned, but after the decision of 1656 the Jesuits in China were of opinion that their line of action had Rome's approval.² Renewed complaints against them under Clement IX.³ and Innocent XI.⁴ led to no action by the Roman authorities. The tension between the Orders found its sharpest expression in the book of the Dominican Navarrete, a work which became an inexhaustible mine for the Jansenists' endless attacks on the Jesuits in China.

Meanwhile the Chinese mission made an immense step forward : 1692 saw the publication of the edict of the Emperor Kanghi permitting the free preaching of the Gospel in China. Thus the long-closed doors of the empire seemed to open wide to the Gospel. That which in Ricci's days would have been regarded as the dream of an extravagant imagination, had become a fact, thanks to the inflexible tenacity of the

¹ " * . . . ea, quae ante biennium scripserant, omnino retractant, asserentes, se priores litteras scripsisse ex minus fideli relatione sibi facta a non satis aequis rerum aestimatoribus, adeoque se id religioni ducendo, nunc PP. Societatis a tam indignis querimoniis vindicare et eorundem Patrum innocentiae et veritatis patrocinium pro viribus suscipere, ita ipsa litterarum verba sonabant. Binarum autem harum epistolarum exemplaria Macaum ad P. Visitatorem pariter submissa ibidem in archivio collegii asservata sunt " (CASTNER, *c.* 2). Cf. the present work, XXIX., 250.

² Cf. the present work, XXXI., 163 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 409 *seqq.*

⁴ " *Tentata itaque res fuit sub Innocentio XI., qui tamen contra antecessorum suorum decreta nihil movere passus est." CASTNER, *c.* 3.

Jesuit missionaries, and the great aim of their toil for the future, viz. a Chinese Constantine who would bring to the feet of Christ the whole of the mighty empire and with it the entire Far East, seemed to have been brought into fascinating proximity. When Innocent XII. restricted the boundaries of the dioceses of Peking and Nanking and erected further Vicariates Apostolic in China, he gave as his reason the fact that since the imperial declaration so many Christian communities were constantly arising, that two Bishops could no longer cope with them.¹

However, these brilliant prospects soon vanished into nothingness. Barely one year after Kanghi's edict one of China's Vicars Apostolic took the step which led to the definitive condemnation of the rites and so to the destruction of the older Chinese mission. Whilst the question of the rites was quiescent enough in the Far East itself, it was being discussed all the more passionately in Europe. In their work for the ruin of the Society of Jesus, the Jansenists began by seeking to destroy their good name, and for this purpose Navarrete's book on the Chinese rites provided an excellent handle.² From it Antoine Arnauld drew material for some of the most venomous writings against the hated Order and a spate of pamphlets spread the accusations over the whole of Europe.

In this way the ground was prepared for a fresh examination of the question of the rites. Rome could not remain silent when, a year after Kanghi's edict, the Vicar Apostolic of Fukien, Charles Maigrot, of the Paris Society of Foreign

¹ JANN, 261.

² *CASTNER (*c.* 4) says: "*Cum praecipuus adversariorum finis esset, ut sese contra Societatem vindicarent ac eam per universam Europam gravissime infamarent et ita vel exstinguerent, si possent, vel saltem in omnium aestimatione suspectam redderent, id inprimis egerunt, ut quidquid proponerent, quamprimum ubique variis in terris evulgarent cum acerrimis expostulationibus, exclamationibus et invectivis, ut ita populus, qui ipsam rerum substantiam minus penetraret, horrificis speciebus exterreretur.*"

Missions, forbade the Chinese rites in his Vicariate and in 1697 submitted the affair to Rome through his representative Charmot.¹

Innocent XII. was obviously resolved to have the question subjected to a most searching examination. This appears from the choice of the three Cardinals whom he charged with the affair and who were wholly free from any suspicion of favouring the Jesuits; they were Casanata, Noris and Ferrari.² Marescotti, who was eventually added to their number, took exactly the same view as Casanata.³ Innocent XII. did not personally dislike the Jesuits; in his last illness he asked for the assistance of the Jesuit Baldigiani who, with five others, had to represent the interests of the Jesuits before the cardinalitial Congregation dealing with the rites.

Up to this time nothing was known in China of what was going on in Rome. The missionaries deemed themselves protected against Maigrot's decree by the decision of

¹ Cf. the present work, XXXII., 648 *seq.*

² "La grande affaire des Jésuites sur les honneurs que leurs chrétiens rendent à Confucius dans la Chine, se renouvelle avec plus de chaleur contre eux que jamais, et la faveur de leurs parties est déjà allée jusque-là, qu'ils ont obtenu de la congrégation que les trois cardinaux qui leur sont de notoriété publique les plus opposés, fussent nommés les seuls commissaires pour examiner cette affaire: les cardinaux Casanate, Noris et Ferrari ou de Saint-Clément. Ce dernier, quoique Dominicain, est, dit-on, celui dont ils doivent moins craindre la prévention contre eux. En effet, je le crois pieux et sincère. L'on fait sonner fort haut la faveur et la protection de MM. les supérieurs des Missions étrangères, et l'on assure qu'elle est fort ouvertement déclarée contre les Jésuites. Leurs parties là-dessus commencent à crier victoire" (L'abbé Chanterac à Fénélon, 25 April, 1699, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, X. [1852], 16). *CASTNER (*c.* 4) says of the three Cardinals: "de quibus aliunde notorium erat, eo studio partium trahi et malevolum erga Societatem animum passim demonstrare."

³ *CASTNER (*loc. cit.*): The three Cardinals obtained "ut iisdem adiungeretur Em^{us} Marescottus, qui sc. partes Em^{mi} Casanate aliunde semper tuebatur".

Alexander VII.; nothing was known of the steps taken by him in Rome as Maigrot kept them secret. It was only at the close of 1698 that a French ship brought the news of the Roman negotiations and of the impending danger. The Jesuits of Peking judged it useless to add yet another memorial to the many they had already submitted; they accordingly hit on the idea of invoking the testimony of the Emperor Kanghi on the point in question.¹ They drew up the text of a decree in their sense, that is, one stating that the veneration of Confucius and the cult of the ancestors were ceremonies of a purely civilian significance, and for this document they did in fact obtain Kanghi's sanction.²

On December 3rd, 1700, the document was dispatched to Europe by four different routes. But long before that time Innocent XII. had ceased to live. Baldigiani had given him spiritual assistance up to the last.³

(2.)

Under the new Pope, Clement XI., things seemed at first to take a more favourable turn for the Jesuits. The triennial Assembly for which each Jesuit Province is bound to send a delegate to Rome, was due in 1700. They might well have interpreted it as a happy omen that at the end of the deliberations Clement XI. received the delegates most graciously and spoke of the world-wide activities of the Order in terms of the highest praise.⁴ Whereas formerly the Jesuits had complained that the difficult negotiations had been unduly hurried, the new Pope expressly promised them sufficient time for matters to clarify. He invited them to summon from China some one who would advocate their

¹ *CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

² BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2375.

³ *CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

⁴ * . . . benevole admodum a Pontifice excepti sunt, qui coram illis Societatis per totum mundum dispersae labores eximie commendavit. *Ibid.*, c. 5.

cause. The negotiations on the question of the rites remained at a standstill in Rome for a period of four months; they were only resumed in February, 1701, when the same qualifiers exposed their views as before, but on this occasion in presence of the Pope himself; the examination proceeded in this fashion during two months.

The Jesuits took advantage of the interval before the final decision to defend their standpoint by means of various publications.¹ Their efforts appear to have been not altogether unsuccessful. The Pope informed the Cardinals that they must not base their judgment on reports which had been laid before Cardinal Casanata, but on authentic documents; he also gave orders that the Jesuits and their advocate Sardinius should be informed of the subjects discussed. One of the three qualifiers, the Franciscan Varese, was allowed to speak openly in favour of the accused in presence of the Pope on May 1st, 1701, and their friend Cardinal Sperelli could risk to accuse the majority of the Cardinals charged with the examination of prejudice against the Jesuits. In the course of an audience with the Pope, Cardinal Forbin Janson, who was accompanied by Sperelli and Nerli, said that the Chinese mission would be ruined if they yielded to the prevention of the enemies of the Jesuits. Thereupon Clement XI. replied: "We shall not destroy them."²

Since Antoine Arnauld had begun to exploit the works of Navarrete³ as a quarry for his attacks against his best hated opponents, the question of the rites had become a party question. About the middle of 1701 a rumour spread throughout Europe that the Jesuits had already been condemned in Rome, that all of them had to abjure the Chinese idolatry,

¹ [Montecatini], *Monumenta Sinica*, 1700 [Naples], and other writings. Cf. Rivière, I., 24; Malatra, *Vera Sinensium sententia de tabella*, Naples, 1700. *CASTNER, c. 5.

² * . . . fore, ut Pontifex Sinensem missionem perderet, obsequendo factiosorum aliquot, qui Jesuitis adversantur, conatibus. Cui Papa hisce verbis respondit: Non la perderemo (Castner, c. 5). All that follows is after Castner.

³ Cf. our work, XXXI., 409.

that their ringleaders would have to expiate their misdeeds by seven years imprisonment. Besides libellous publications, illustrations were also broadcast showing Confucius as the chief god in the midst of idols, or the Jesuit Grimaldi enthroned among the mandarins and spurning the other missionaries.¹ In the first days of May, however, a new series of meetings of Cardinals on the question of the rites had been opened.

The negotiations took a more and more unfavourable turn for the Jesuits, so that the Pope, in order to give them some sort of breathing space, allowed the Cardinals to begin their holidays earlier, i.e. already in September, 1701. Thus the inquiry was held up until November. To the Pope's joy Kanghi's declaration on the rites arrived quite unexpectedly in Rome at this time. On the basis of this imperial manifesto, he thought, the dispute would surely be settled; many people shared this opinion. Even the opponents were non-plussed at first when Kanghi's declaration was printed outside Rome and 700 copies were distributed in the city. The effect was further increased by a letter of the Augustinian Bishop Alvaro de Benevente, titular Bishop of Ascalon and Vicar Apostolic of Kiangsi, who was emphatically in favour of the Jesuits on the question of the rites. His letter, however, only came to the knowledge of the Jesuits towards the end of April, 1702, when they gave it the widest possible publicity. One can understand that, in spite of the prolonged negotiations, Clement XI. found it difficult to arrive at a decision. On December 3rd, 1701, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, he went to the professed house of the Jesuits to say Mass and to recommend the decision of the question to the prayers of the community. On December 5th he declared in consistory,² that he had decided to send Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon to the Far East as Legate *a latere*, to settle the dispute. On February 1st, and again on June 13th,

¹ Other tendentious pictures in THOMAS, 148 *seqq.* The supposed illustration of the interior of a Jesuit church in Peking (*ibid.*, 147) is from the notorious *Annales de la Société des soi-disants Jésuites*, III., frontispiece.

² *Op.*, *Orat.*, 10.

1702, in presence of the Pope, Tournon conferred with the Jesuit Le Comte who was in Rome for the purpose of defending the rites.¹ On May 16th he went to Naples to confer with the King of Spain about the best way to his destination, with Spanish assistance ; on July 4th he embarked for China but without having in his possession a papal decision on the burning question. However he was given the widest faculties, in the use of which he was not tied to the usual forms, nor impeded by the privileges of the religious Orders ; he was empowered to dispose at will of missionaries and Vicars Apostolic, to preside at synods, to receive appeals even when they were directed to the Holy See, nor was he bound to exhibit any credentials.² Papal letters recommended Tournon to the Kings of Portugal, France and Spain.³ He was also armed with a letter for the Emperor of China, special Briefs to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of India accredited him as Legate, so that as far as they were concerned, he needed no further credentials of his mission.⁴ Avoiding Portugal, Tournon sailed on a French boat.

Meanwhile the discussions of the question in presence of the Pope had been concluded in Rome, on March 30th.⁵ On May 17th, 1702, the Cardinals deliberated once more whether a decree on the rites should be issued. The answer was in the affirmative. Clement XI. charged Cardinals Marescotti, Ferrari, Noris, Gabrielli and Sperelli with the

¹ All the above, according to CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

² JANN, 400 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

⁴ All the Briefs of June 20, 1702, in *Op.*, Epist., 124-132.

⁵ *CASTNER, *loc. cit.* ; *Atti della Congregazione del S. Officio 12, I., 1702, coram SS. ; *Memor. di 12 congregazioni tenute avanti SS. 15, I., 30 ; III., 1702 ; “ *6 Congregazioni particolari radunate per stendersi il breve con detta risoluzione con la memoria della nuova udienza da S. B. alli P. Fr. Noel e G. Castner . . . e discussione delle nuove ragioni fatte nella congreg. del 17, I., 1704.” Result of the Congregation (June 19) and intimation (September 4), in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 235, Papal Sec. Archives.

drafting of the decree; the complaint of the Jesuits that three of these five were avowed opponents of theirs was cut short by the Pope on August 11th, with the remark that he himself made the sixth.

In France efforts were made to hasten the decision by spreading a rumour that the delay embittered the whole of the French clergy and constituted an obstacle to the conversion of the Huguenots. When questioned by the royal confessor, La Chaize, more than over eighty French Bishops declared that these rumours were false, and a number of them spoke in favour of the Jesuits on the question of the rites. Cardinal Kollonitsch, in his capacity as Protector of Germany and Primate of Hungary, acted in like manner in the name of both these countries.¹ The Archbishop of Paris, Noailles, in particular, insisted that a definitive judgment on the question of the rites was necessary as the only means of confuting the Protestant calumnies that the Roman Church tolerated idolatry in China.² After a voyage of nine months the Jesuits Francis Noël and Caspar Castner, whose dispatch as Procurators of the Jesuits in China Clement XI. had demanded shortly after his accession,³ arrived in London and on December 30th, 1702, in Rome. They also represented the Bishop of Macao, João de Casal, the Archbishop of Nanking, Alexander Louis Ciceri, the titular Bishop of Ascalon and Vicar Apostolic of Kiangsi, Álvaro de Benevente, and the Bishop-Elect of Andrevilla and Visitor of the Vice-Province of China and Japan, Charles Turcotti. Ciceri and Turcotti were Jesuits, Benevente was an Augustinian. On January 12th, 1703, the Pope graciously received the two Procurators; the discord among the missionaries, he observed, gave him great pain, he knew well that the differences of opinion had their roots in the fact that they pursued opposite

¹ *CASTNER, c. 5, towards the end. Some quotations from these testimonies of the Bishops in CASTNER-NOEL, *Resp.*, 16-18.

² *Letter to Clement XI., July 21, 1701, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 120, p. 26 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* t. 234.

³ See above, p. 410.

courses¹; accordingly the Procurators should draw up as soon as possible a short synopsis of the documents they had brought with them; he himself would examine this summary. The drawing up of this summary was not without its difficulties, because the newcomers from China were unacquainted with judicial formulas and the habits of the Curia. On February 15th the Pope again urged them to make haste; thereupon the Jesuits called upon the services of an advocate of the name of Ursaia who was well versed in these matters. On February 24th the summary was ready, and on March 15th it was followed by a memorial. On March 27th both documents were handed to the Pope, who once again promised to make a personal study of the contents; he added that he had carefully read the letters of recommendation of the Chinese Bishops.

Meanwhile the opposition in China had also dispatched a spokesman to Rome, who arrived there on March 9th. He was Arthur de Lyonne, titular Bishop of Rosalia and Vicar Apostolic of Sutshuen, who on his journey from Paris to Rome, had spoken everywhere in bitter terms of the Jesuits, for which he was reprimanded by Clement XI. at his very first audience. About June 20th, the Pope announced that he would refer the question of the rites once more to the Inquisition; to the objection of the Jesuits that the Cardinals of that tribunal were for the most part prejudiced against them, he replied that he could not act otherwise without offending the Cardinals. Fifty copies of the memorial and the summary of the Jesuits were printed and distributed among the Cardinals of the Inquisition.

Up to the beginning of the following year the opposite side made no answer to these writings. That party took the standpoint that the affair had been decided before the arrival of the Procurators; under Cardinal Casanata the situation had become sufficiently clarified, in other words,

¹ " *Dixit scire se, inter missionarios esse animorum dissensiones, quae sibi plurimum displicerent, item probe se scire, diversitatem sententiarum inter illos potius ex dissensione animorum provenire." CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

no notice should be taken of the fresh objections. As a matter of fact, when the Jesuits called upon the Cardinals of the Inquisition at the end of August, 1703, they found that these were not fully acquainted with the new defence. When January 17th was fixed for the resumption of the sittings of the Inquisition, the question to be decided in the first instance, was as follows: Whether and in what form the draft of a decree which had been determined fifteen months earlier, should be completed and published. To this Clement XI. would not agree. They should decide in what form the decree of 1702 was to be published, but they should also form an opinion on the documents recently handed in by the Jesuits.

On January 17th, 1704, Cardinals Carpegna, Nerli, Panciatici, Ferrari, Sperelli, Gabrielli and Ottoboni met once more in congregation; Marescotti, Spada and Noris were absent; the latter was mortally sick and died on February 23rd. Cardinal Nerli made a decided defence of the Jesuits. It was resolved to put off a final decision for about a month; the further command of the Congregation, that they must reply to the recent writings of the Jesuits, put the latter's opponents in no slight predicament for they had spread the rumour that the Pope had forbidden them to make a reply. At last, five months later, on June 18th, two documents bearing the signatures of Lyonne and Maigrot were handed in,¹ though, in reality, both had been composed by Maigrot two years earlier. Their publication, about the middle of June, came very awkwardly for the Jesuits who were forced to draw up their refutation during the great heat of the summer months, when exhausting work is almost impossible in Rome. A delay until the beginning of September was granted them; they worked day and night and on the 9th of the month their answer was in print.² The work bearing

¹ NOEL-CASTNER, *Memoriale*, 3 (below, p. 417, n. 2).

² *Responsio ad libros nuper editos Ill. DD. episcoporum Rosaliensis et Cononensis super controversiis Sinensibus, oblata SS. D. N. Clementi PP. XI. a PATRIBUS FR. NOEL et GASP. CASTNER, S.J. . . . mense septembre, 1704.*

Lyonne's name is directed against Kanghi's decree on the rites; that document, we read, was no real decree, doubts were raised about its text and its translation, whilst the usual accusations against the practices of the Jesuits were repeated. Towards the end more particular reference is made to the memorial of the Jesuits of the previous year; in particular an attempt is made to undermine the authority of the Bishops to whom they appealed. The second work, by Maigrot, offers nothing new; the arguments link up with a short account of the Jesuits in Peking, which is to be found in the appendix of the first pamphlet of Noël and Castner. These two Procurators of the Jesuits, in their reply, had followed up the assertions of their adversaries one by one, and, as these were a tissue of Chinese texts, the reply was likewise a detailed commentary upon those texts.

Meanwhile new evidence on the meaning of the names and ceremonies in question had been received from China. At the end of February, 1704, the Jesuit Pelisson forwarded some, and on April 18th more information came viâ London and Leghorn, and in May or June the Portuguese Assistant received further documents on the subject and more was promised which had been brought from China by the Jesuit Fontaine; this arrived on August 12th.¹ It was accordingly decided at the beginning of August to collect these testimonies in a new summary and to expound them in a memorial. By the end of August 500 copies of the new publication were in print.²

The very first testimony is signed by the Mandarin Vitus Pao, "the second man in the mathematical tribunal, according to Father Grimaldi," by seventeen other Mandarins and by yet another forty-nine persons, most of them graduates. All these are Christians of Peking and give their evidence under oath. After a survey of the state of the question, they

¹ *CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

² *Memoriale et summarium novissimorum testimoniorum Sinensium in prosecutione causae Sinensis . . . SS. D. N. Clementi Papae XI. oblatum a PP. FRANCISCO NOEL et GASPARE CASTNER, S.J. . . . die 27 augusti, 1704.*

emphasize the intimate connection between the question of the rites and the maintenance of Christianity in China. Maigrot's edict had grieved the Christians in Fukiën, had prevented the infidels from being converted and encouraged them to insult Christianity. If the matter were brought before the tribunals, how could Christianity continue to exist in China? ¹ In order to conjure the peril, they attest on oath before the throne of the divine Majesty, that Confucius was not honoured as a divinity but only as a teacher, and this in order to thank him for his magnificent teaching. This veneration was free from the slightest suggestion that anything was being asked or expected from him.²

In like manner they attest on oath before the throne of the divine Majesty that the veneration of the ancestors had been introduced in order that their posterity might show them filial piety and gratitude and remember the longer that they had received from them the benefit of existence and upbringing. Nothing is asked from them, nothing is expected from them. The names of the ancestors were written on tablets in order that the children might remember the voice and features of their parents after their death. The tablets of the ancestors revived in their hearts filial piety and gratitude, which might otherwise fade away with the lapse of time. The meaning of the funeral rites was the same.³ It is true there are rites tainted with superstition, because not all the Chinese observed the genuine rites of the Empire.

¹ "Quo decreto animos christianorum Fokiensium [according to their account] fuisse summopere percussos atque afflictos, infidelium vero pedes veluti compedibus constrictos, ne ad s. fidem suscipiendam deinceps accederent, eorumque linguam e contra veluti duplo magis quam antea solutam ad maledicendum divinae legi. Et sane si huius decreti capita deferrentur vel ad tribunalia subalterna ipsius loci, vel ad superiora proregis utriusque . . . et ad ipsum imperatorem quonam, pacto posset s. lex hic amplius consistere?" *Summarium*, n. 1 E, p. 2.

² "Ceterum in dictis ritibus nullum inesse petitionis aut expectationis vestigium." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*

But if a man refuses to honour Confucius, they say of him that he has fallen away from the teacher, and if he does not make use of the tablets of the ancestors, they say of him that he has blotted out the memory of those who had gone before him; such men were regarded as irrational animals and as men devoid of obedience, honour, affection, intelligence, and if they are accused of such a crime condemnation and punishment are sure to follow.¹ They concluded with a request to be allowed the use of the words Tien and Shang-ti.² Numerous other testimonies came from the Provinces of Nanking, Kiangsi, Hukuang, Fukien and Kuangsi.³ The contents of all these testimonies agree with those given above.⁴ A remarkable explanation of the ceremonies used at the

¹ " Ut qui non veneratur Confucium, dicatur defecisse a magistro, qui non adhibet progenitorum tabellas, dicatur oblitterasse progenitorum memoriam, et ideo uterque accensendus sit brutarum animantium numero." *Ibid.*, 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, No. 2: Testimony of the heir apparent and of five pagan *literati* on Ricci; No. 3: Petition of the Christians of Nanking to the Pope, signed by a Jesuit who had formerly been a Mandarin of the mathematical tribunal, and by four candidates for the mandarinship and fourteen for the bachelorship; another petition by *literati* from two towns, signed by a "summus litterarum examinum praeses", besides sworn statements from two towns. No. 4: Two testimonies of *literati* from Nanking. Altogether testimonies under eleven headings, pp. 1-76. All these depositions are certified by a notary to be true.

⁴ A pagan *literatus* from Siang Tan (Hukuang) writes, for example (*loc. cit.*, 53): "In cultu caeli habetur gratiarum actio, habetur postulatio seu oratio, in cultu autem Magistri [Confucius] seu magistrorum et maiorum non habetur oratio nec petitio." Also in Hukuang, 41, pagan *literati* (*loc. cit.*) testify that: "Quando reverentiae exhibentur avis defunctis, fiunt eae secundum id, quod in libro Chum Jung (a Cu Su Confucii nepote composito) dicitur: serviendum mortuis, sicut serviretur vivis, serviendum defunctis, sicut serviretur iis, si etiamnum superstites essent. His duobus verbis determinari potest finis oblationum et rituum, quae fiunt in China."

solemn veneration of Confucius was drawn up by the Christians of Hukuang and pronounced accurate by forty-one pagan *literati*.¹

¹ The day before a pig, a goat, and other animals are killed ; the president assists at the offering and observes what the butcher is killing. This rite is called examination of the animals, because the president ascertains whether they should be used or not, just as at the invitation of a distinguished guest the dishes are examined beforehand, whether they be chosen and pure. If this is not done a grave fault is committed. On the day of the sacrifice, at dawn, the *literati* of the place assemble in the gymnasium and appoint the duties which each one has to perform, after which they line up in two rows ; just as pupils do before their living master, walking to and fro in order to serve and honour him. Incense, candles, wine and food are set before the table of Confucius. In China the same thing is done when a guest is invited : incense is burnt and candles are lit as a sign of respect. The governor presides at the offering ; in a metropolitan city it is the prefect of the imperial treasury, in towns of the first and second rank, the governor of the town. First of all they stand on the lower steps and do reverence by bending their hands and heads to the ground : as Confucius has the dignity both of teacher and king, the ceremony of rendering homage by bowing the head is performed in the lower parts of the hall, this to mark his dignity and excellence. Afterwards they go to the upper part, before the altar of Confucius, where they offer wine, food, and a silk cloth. For here in China, when a distinguished guest is invited, the people must present wine, food, and other gift with their own hands, in token of respect. Afterwards some wine is poured on the ground. This ceremony is also performed at the reception of distinguished guests. The silk cloth is afterwards burnt or buried, to signify that no one else must dare to use it. The president drinks the wine and receives the meats that have been offered. Afterwards he distributes what remains of the pork and the other meats among the *literati* and Doctors. This is done in the same way as when the Emperor distributes the dishes and beverages of his table to show his generosity. After that the hog's bristles and the hairs of the goat and the blood are buried. All these ceremonies described above are intimately connected with the ceremonies prescribed for the honouring of the living. As

The opponents of the Jesuits considered a thorough examination of these testimonies unnecessary—at any rate they did not desire one. Lyonne and Maigrot had handed in their memorials as late as possible, but insisted that the question of the rites should be decided before the autumn holidays. This meant a drawback for the Jesuits as they would lack sufficient time to test their arguments. On August 28th the apologia of Noailles and Castner left the press and on September 4th the cardinalitial Congregations were resumed for the examination of the question of the rites. However, in consequence of a complaint by Cardinal Carpegna on the inordinately short time, they were postponed until September 11th. But even so, in the opinion of the Jesuits, the time limit was too short ; Cardinal Sperelli advised them to send in a new defence before September 11th, as its examination would take up so much time that it would be impossible to arrive at a decision on the question of the rites before the autumn holidays. As a matter of fact, the new defence was ready before September 9th ; the Pope had expressed a wish to take cognizance of it a few days before the Congregation of the 11th, hence the work went on day and night in order to comply with this request. The opponents of the Jesuits brought their completed memorials to the session of September 11th, but the Pope referred to the defence which the Jesuits had handed in to him two days before and explained that it was against all justice to push that document aside unexamined. It must be printed and accordingly the defenders of the rites must be granted a time limit of ten days. At the next Congregation, on September 25th, the definitive decision was then put off until after the autumn holidays.

All through October Clement XI. devoted to the study of the question of the rites one whole day each week and several hours every day. From the very first the Pope had followed regards the offerings to the dead, they are all made according to this ceremonial, for all the offerings are made in the same way as if those to whom they are made were still alive. They have no other object in view. NOEL-CASTNER, *Summarium*, 63 seqq.

with the greatest attention the development of this affair, and at least at the beginning had been in favour of the defenders of the rites. He knew quite well, and he said it openly before the Jesuits, that these disputes were largely due to petty jealousies.¹ On March 27th he gave a most kindly reception to the Jesuits who presented their first defence, which the Pope promised to read. On August 26th the Pope observed that he would himself decide the dispute ; let the Jesuits be of good heart, the greater part of the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic were on their side. On September 11th, 1704, when Castner took the liberty to observe that their opponents were less concerned for a reform of the rites than for the humiliation of the Jesuits, the Pope replied that that was also his conviction.²

What consequences a condemnation of the rites would entail was no mystery to the Congregation. A contemporary publication,³ asserts that every good Catholic must wish that the Chinese rites should be found harmless and should not be condemned, as such a condemnation would lead to the utter destruction of the faith in those countries ; a load must fall from the heart of every good son of the Church, when he hears that in China the Emperor, the learned, the canonical books and the sworn testimony of the Christians attest the purely civil nature of the rites. The Emperor was a Tartar, hence a foreigner, and as such he would not dare to go against popular feeling in the appreciation of the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors. But even if the Emperor and the learned had given their explanations in order to clarify doubtful passages of the canonical books and to assimilate

¹ See above, p. 414.

² “ *Rogavi dein Suam Sanctitatem, ut dignaretur etiam attendere, quod multi ex adversariis satis clare ostendissent hactenus se forte potius intendere et quaerere infamiam Societatis quam reformationem rituum Sinicorum ; hoc quidem imprimis sibi persuasum esse, Sua Sanctitas reposuit.” CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

³ *Alcune riflessioni intorno alle cose presenti della Cina, Biblioteca di S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, *Cod. A. E.*, XI., 76, pp. 8-11.

them to Christianity, such an action would only prove that they had come to the knowledge of the true God through the writings of the Jesuits. There was reason to fear that besides the religious consequences of the condemnation, others also would ensue. Why do the heretics show such keenness in their newspapers for the condemnation of the rites? is it not because the condemnation would provoke the anger of the Emperor and lead to the expulsion of the missionaries, when the Chinese trade would pass into the hands of the heretics as has happened with the Japanese trade? Many of those who love the Church as their Mother are grieved at the thought that, with the condemnation, satisfaction would be given to the Jansenists, the first accusers in the affair, by sacrificing to them the reputation and good name of the Society of Jesus, which was the object of so much hatred on their part. The eyes of the whole Christian world are greatly offended by this zeal, this tireless effort, this hope of victory in an affair which would bring destruction to that pitiable Christian body.

However, such considerations could not prevent the Pope from likewise trusting the conscientiousness of the opponents of the Jesuits among the Cardinals and to lead him to let things take their course. The decisive sitting of the Congregation took place on November 13th, 1704, at which all the Cardinals of the Inquisition were present, namely, Carpegna, Marescotti, Spada, Nerli, Panciatici, Ferrari, Gabrielli, Sperelli and Ottoboni. The sitting lasted three hours. On November 20th, after the Pope had once more devoted three hours to the study of the question before dawn, three Cardinals, who had not had an opportunity to speak on November 13th, stated their opinion. The strictest silence was enjoined on the result of the sitting; the decision, the Pope declared, did not concern the French but the Chinese, it was enough if it became known in China. When Castner had another audience on December 9th, the Pope observed that the Jesuits might be satisfied. However, when the decree of the Inquisition on the question of the rites¹ became known, the satisfaction

¹ *Ius pontif.*, I., 223-236.

of the advocates of the rites was none too great. Even Maigrot had indeed stated in the conclusion of his prohibition of the rites, that he had no intention to throw stones on those who until then had adopted a different view and practice, since it was not surprising if in a matter of this kind all the missionaries were not of one opinion and that each of them should have adopted that practice which, in the sight of God, seemed to him to be better in accordance with truth.¹ In its decree the Inquisition makes this statement its own.² The differences of opinion, it says, were not surprising in a matter which had been discussed for years and in which divergent declarations had emanated from the Holy See, according as it had been variously informed. The execution of the decree, which the Pope confirmed on November 20th, 1704, was to be left to the Legate Tournon and the Vicars Apostolic in China. They were to proceed according to two fundamental principles: first of all, every semblance of the least breath of pagan superstition must be kept at arm's length, whilst care must be taken to safeguard the honour and good repute of labourers who toiled so strenuously and so diligently in the vineyard of the Lord. These labourers must not be calumniated as if they favoured idolatry, especially as most of that which the decree prohibited was never really permissible, as they themselves admitted.

The decree is a very lengthy document. It gives first of all the text of Maigrot's decree of March 26th, 1693. To each of the clauses of the decree are appended a number of questions. The third part gives the answers to these questions; the fourth and last section gives the information that in the session of the Inquisition of November 20th, 1704, the Pope had confirmed the answers of the Congregation and ordered them to be dispatched to the Legate Tournon who, in conjunction with the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic of the Far East, was to insure observance of the decree by the missionaries and the Christians. Of the publication of the decree in Rome there was no question. Individual dispositions of the decree are as follows: As regards the name of God,

¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

² *Ibid.*, 236.

the expression Tien-chu (Lord of Heaven) must be retained, but it is forbidden to use the words Tien (Heaven) or Shang-ti (Supreme Ruler). The decree bases this prohibition on the fact that for 500 years the atheistic and materialistic *literati* had understood by these expressions either the material sky or some power immanent in it. Now if the Christians were to call the object of their worship Tien or Shang-ti, it would be easy for others to imagine that they paid divine homage to the material sky. Such an ambiguity must be removed. Tablets bearing the inscription " King-Tien ", namely " adore Heaven " cannot be tolerated either inside or outside Christian churches. The question of the original meaning of those expressions in the classical books of China is left undecided by the Congregation. Even its informant, John Francis of Leonessa, grants that many Chinese felt attracted to Christianity when it was shown to them that in the classical books of Old China the true God was known by the names of Tien and Shang-ti.¹ Maigrot, on the other hand, would not hear of such an interpretation.

The reason why the Inquisition attached but little importance to the fact that the Jesuits heaped testimony upon testimony in favour of their interpretation of the expressions in question, appears from its definitive decision : it was not prejudice, as Castner thought ; as a matter of fact, the Congregation was not concerned with the original meaning of those names ; what decided its action was the ambiguity to which their use was liable to lead. The veneration of Confucius and the ancestors presented a much more delicate problem. In this matter the Congregation was stricter than even Maigrot's decree which had led to the negotiations. Maigrot only forbade the solemn veneration of Confucius,² which the Jesuits did not allow either, hence he was seemingly in agreement with his opponents on the lawfulness of the homage paid to Confucius on the occasion of the graduation

¹ " Molti si convertirono in China col vedere ne' loro libri antichi il fondamento di tali assertioni." In NOEL-CASTNER, *Resp.*, 49, n. 200.

² His decree, n. 4, *Ius pontif.*, I., 225.

of *literati*. The decree of the Inquisition discusses the matter in detail. The Jesuits had maintained that Confucius was exclusively honoured as a "teacher", and this may have been so in the case of the *literati*. But the decree of the Inquisition enumerates many facts which seemed to prove that Confucius was generally regarded by the Chinese as a supra-mundane being, not merely as a teacher, and as the highest among the so-called "Xing", that is, "Saints," and that he was venerated as such.¹ The Jesuits argued indeed that by this attribution of "sanctity", the Chinese *literati* by no means intended to ascribe to anyone any superhuman qualities whatever.² The decree grants that this was so as far as the views of the *literati* were concerned,³ but maintains that in general Confucius and the "Xing" were considered superhuman beings.

The decree also gives a detailed description of the annual and monthly ceremonies in honour of Confucius, beginning with the solemn ceremonies and concluding with the less solemn ones.⁴ All these practices were condemned, even the homage paid to Confucius by the *literati* after graduation, a ceremony which the Jesuits regarded as harmless.⁵ The reason why even these ceremonies were condemned is indicated by the remark of the Holy Office that the genuflexions and inclinations before the tablet of Confucius were identical with

¹ *Ius pontif.*, I., 228.

² "Si interpretes gentiles illam sanctimoniam homini attribuant, non ultra humanam dignitatem in sua persuasione eum attollunt, quem ita Sanctum esse dicunt. . . . Cum haec vox [Xing] variam omnino et amplam significationem habeat, nec revera aliud apud Sinas indicet quam eximiam aliquam excellentiam: ita imperator et res omnes ad imperatores spectantes passim Xing appellantur." NOEL-CASTNER, *loc. cit.*, n. 517, p. 121.

³ "Licet apud Sinenses atheos praefata dictio Xing in allatis textibus perfectissimum et sapientissimum virum . . . significare videtur." *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ius pontif.*, I., 229 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

the other forms of the cult of Confucius.¹ They were superstitious on other occasions, hence they must be considered as such in the latter circumstances also, even if the intention of the *literati* were not tainted with superstition. The Congregation deals even more fully with the veneration of the ancestors than with that of Confucius. On this point the main difficulty lay in the fact that this veneration took place before the tablets of the ancestors, hence the question arose whether the Chinese believed that the souls of their ancestors were present in these tablets, or whether the tablets were regarded as mere memorials of the ancestors and as replacing their bodily presence. "It would seem that at least at this time the former alternative must be admitted," the Inquisition declared.² To say the least "many Chinese imagine or believe that the souls of the ancestors come to the feast and enjoy it", although "not a few, so it would seem, reduce everything to an imagined or doubtful presence, approach and partaking (of food), as may be deduced from the Chinese ritual books".³ However, even though all this may be granted, the use of the tablets of the ancestors remained at least suspect, and since the Congregation was determined to suppress every semblance of superstition, a prohibition of these tablets was inevitable. On this point also Maigrot had only spoken of solemn ceremonies; the Congregation went further and forbade even the less solemn ceremonies and even the semblance of sacrifices or offerings on the graves of the dead. The tablets of the ancestors were allowed if they bore nothing beyond the monograph of the departed and if every danger of scandal was precluded. With regard

¹ " . . . genuflectunt . . . prout in aliis proxime relatis ritibus seu oblationibus minus solemnibus." *Ibid.*, 229.

² "Quae quidem tabellae, saltem his temporibus ideo fieri videntur, ut . . . defunctorum animae quodammodo in eis resideant." *Ibid.*, 230.

³ "Non pauci tamen ad imaginariam vel dubiam potius quam realem spirituum praesentiam . . . haec omnia, ut etiam ex libris et ritualibus sinicis colligitur, reducere videntur." *Ibid.*,

to the ceremonies on the graves, Tournon, the Bishops and the Vicars Apostolic were authorized to allow whatever was not tainted with superstition.¹ Maigrot had asserted that Martini's account of the question of the rites, on which Alexander VII.'s decree was based, was inaccurate in many of its particulars; the Congregation declared that it did not intend to express an opinion on that point.²

(3.)

At a later date Clement XI. wrote³ that the missions must be free not only from formal superstition, but from the very suspicion of such a thing. He had no fear that with the prohibition of the rites an obstacle had been created to the spread of the faith, on the contrary, the freer the field was from weeds, the more fruitful it would be; the stronger the concord among the missionaries, the greater would be their influence. For all that the prohibition of the rites was a decision of incalculable consequences. Things were forbidden to the Chinese Christians which, in their estimation, were demanded by decency and good manners, and on the basis of an interpretation which was at variance with that given by Emperor Kanghi and the Chinese scholars. If the result was not to prove a downright catastrophe, the execution of the Roman decisions demanded the utmost tact and caution. Unfortunately the general opinion was that Tournon was not endowed with these qualities.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 235.

² *Ibid.*

³ To the King of Portugal, January 4, 1716, *Ius pontif.*, II., 318.

⁴ In the account of the journey and of the sojourn of the Legate at Peking, we follow the diary of Kilian Stumpf, a Jesuit of Peking, "**Compendium Actorum Pekinensium*", 1705-6 (concluded, October 30, 1706). MS. in possession of the Jesuits, also in *Cod. Barb.*, XXXII., 147, Vatican Library. After the preliminary remark "*incipiunt haec acta a mense aprili, quo Illmus*

In a letter of February 27th, 1702, which reached Peking on January 17th, 1704, Tournon informed the Superior of the Jesuits in China, Philip Grimaldi, of his mission, and expressed a desire to find on arrival in China a letter waiting for him, with suggestions with regard to the attitude he should take up in China. The news of the early arrival of a papal envoy was hailed with great joy by the Jesuits. Grimaldi sent to the harbours of Canton and Fukiën the desired letter in which he explained the situation and the difficulties whilst leaving it to the Legate himself to decide upon the best line of action. On his arrival at Canton on April 8th, 1705, after consulting

et R^{mus} D. Carolus Thomas Maillard de Tournon . . . cum patribus S. I. Pekini degentibus agere coepit usque ad 28 aug. 1706 incl., quo Pekino discessit ". The " *Compendium Actorum* " is a report for the General of the Jesuits. Stumpf was Notary Apostolic. In a " *Expositio eorum, quæ Exc^{mus} et R^{mus} D. Patriarcha . . . anno 1706 Pekini per se, vel per interpretes suos egit cum christianis suadendo et respective iubendo et minando, ut abstinerent a ritibus patriis circa imperii Sinensis magistrum Confucium, proavos defunctos et praecipue circa tabellas defunctorum " (MS. in possession of the Jesuits), he takes from the " *Compendium Actorum* " the acts of Tournon indicated in the title and authenticates them expressly and in detail by putting his signature to them as Notary Apostolic. Paragraphs 14 and 15 are authenticated by Antonio Thomas and paragraph 17 by Peter Jartoux who was also a Notary Apostolic. The *Expositio* was examined by four Fathers and found to be in agreement with the facts. Except Gerbillon, who died on March 25, 1707, all the others, including the Vice-Provincial, Joseph Suarcz, subscribed to the *Expositio* and attested it to be in accordance with truth. With the exception of the chapter on the question of the rites, Stumpf's *Compendium* has been printed in a French translation as a *Mémorial envoyé en Europe par le Père Thomas, Vice-Provincial des Jésuites en Chine*, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, XXVI., Paris, 1783, 296 seqq.; III., Paris, 1843, 167-181. We follow the Latin original. Cf. *Borgh. lat.*, 201: " *Relazione d. cose succedute in Cina dal 1 Aprile, 1705, che giunse Msgr. Patr. de Tournon Visit. Ap. a Macao sino al 12 Gen., 1708," Papal Secret Archives. R. C. JENKINS, *The Jesuits in China and the Legation of Card. Tournon*, London, 1894.

with the Superiors of the various religious Orders, Tournon decided not to inform the court of his legatine dignity for the time being, but to devote his attention at first to the ordering of the mission. However, soon after, as a result of further consultation with his travelling companions from Europe, he altered his plan and ordered the Jesuits of Peking to inform the Emperor through their Procurator, Beauvillier, that the Patriarch of Antioch, the Superior of all the missionaries, the Apostolic Visitor, had arrived and desired to be presented to the Emperor. Tournon refused to listen to any remonstrances against his plan, as a matter of fact thereafter he never again asked for any Jesuit's advice.¹ Henceforth his right-hand man was the Piedmontese Lazarist Luigi Antonio Appiani, who had been authorized by Propaganda to erect a seminary for native priests in China. Appiani had set out from Rome for the East on February 10th, 1697, but when after a long journey through Persia he arrived at Canton on August 14th, 1699, he soon realized that for the time being his plan could not be carried out ; he accordingly worked as a missionary in Setshuen. In February, 1705, he went to Canton to await the Legate and after Tournon's arrival became the latter's inseparable companion.²

The Patriarch's resolve to present himself before the Emperor proved fatal to the mission as it made the Emperor's intervention in the missionary questions inevitable.

Kanghi was away at the time in Tartary. The Jesuits addressed several questions to him by letter. The first two elicited no clear answers to Tournon's wishes, the third met with a negative answer and only the fourth met with the imperial approval ; it was to the effect that the Legate should be conducted to Peking with every mark of honour and in all comfort, at the expense of the Supreme Prefect and Viceroy of Canton. Tournon, who met everywhere with a splendid reception, completed his journey on a large, commodious ship which, however, made but slow progress. He had left Canton on September 9th but November came

¹ STUMPF, **Compendium*, § I.

² THOMAS, 179 seq.

and still Kanghi impatiently waited for him at Peking, whether because he was anxious to see so distinguished an envoy as soon as possible or that he thought that by honouring him, he would himself win honour with the Western Powers. The hardships of a winter journey made the Emperor anxious, hence he had inquiries made at Shan-tung about the middle of November and on 27th of the same month one of Kanghi's sons, one of the Viceroy's sons, two mandarins and a Father from each of the three Jesuit houses were ordered to set out to meet him. They found Tournon ill and his ship caught in the ice. On December 4th the Legate reached Peking by the overland route. He put up at the Jesuit establishment adjoining the imperial palace where he was at once greeted by the Emperor's orders by two mandarins of the third degree. When the Legate's physician died on December 12th, Kanghi offered a piece of ground for the burial because Tournon had refused the offer of a grave in the Jesuit cemetery, an act that boded no good. The Emperor had the funeral secretly watched to ascertain whether the ceremonies would go beyond what had been tacitly conceded to the Jesuits. What he was told displeased him somewhat, but he did not betray his feelings and received the ailing Legate with so much pomp that everyone wondered and an eye-witness expressed the opinion that no foreign envoy had ever been thus honoured.¹ Nor was this the last of the marks of honour. At the beginning of January, 1706, the Emperor set aside some presents for the Pope of which the Jesuit Bouvet was to be the bearer. On January 4th, in place of Tournon, who was ill, one of his companions was invited to take part in the royal chase. An enormous impression was created when, on the occasion of the festival of the Chinese New Year, a long line of bearers, headed by the first eunuch and several mandarins, brought the choicest presents to the Legate's house. On February 26th, at the close of the New Year festivities, Tournon was invited to watch the display of

¹ “*Scribere possum, non reperiri in Sinensium historiis ulli advenae tantum honoris et benevolentiae impensum fuisse.”

STUMPF, § 2.

fireworks at the imperial palace and at the conclusion the Emperor detained him for the night, when two mandarins of the third class were made to mount guard. In May the Emperor granted the Legate's wish to seek his restoration to health by the use of hot springs. When on his return Tournon relapsed into his old complaint Kanghi inquired daily about the sick man's condition. At his farewell audience on June 29th he again treated him with exquisite courtesy and invited him to inspect on the following day the splendours of the imperial residence. This was followed by a visit to the park of the hereditary prince. Many people found it intolerable that the Emperor should show such regard for a foreigner.¹ However, in spite of all the pomp and splendour with which Kanghi surrounded the Legate, he did not overlook more important things. Unknown to himself Tournon was most closely watched and the imperial decree of 1692 on the rites was soon to influence their mutual relations.

During the period of waiting for the arrival of the papal Legate the Jesuits of Peking had drawn up a petition to him in which they suggested that two or three well-informed missionaries should be chosen from the camp of those who favoured the rites and from that of their opponents before whom some of the better instructed Christians would be questioned on the subject of the rites, and that similar action should be taken throughout the country. Tournon's reply was that a decree had already been issued by Rome and if the Superiors of the Jesuits would carry out everyone of its clauses, the dispute would be at an end and an explicit condemnation would not be necessary for the time being.² The Jesuits replied that they did not dare to modify on their own authority anything that had been decided by the Holy See. The Jesuit Antoine de Beauvillier was of opinion that both sides should state in writing and in due form the reasons for their view. However, nothing came of the suggestion as Maigrot, the leader of the opponents of the Jesuits,

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, § 3.

announced that he had already dispatched all his material to Rome.

For the rest Tournon took a number of preliminary steps towards a definitive settlement of the question of the rites. From the Jesuit Visdelou who, in opposition to his brethren in religion, was an adversary of the rites, he accepted with due legal formality a summary of the objections against the practice of the Jesuits and ordered him to inform Beauvillier of any other objections he might have against them. However, in a disputation with the Spanish Jesuit Raymond, Beauvillier cut so sorry a figure that the discussions were not continued. When the Jesuit Bouvet wrote a dissertation on the word "Tien" as a name for God, he sought the expert opinion of the first scholar of Peking on its significance in Chinese, whilst he submitted it to the judgment of the Bishop of Peking, Bernardino della Chiesa, from the theological standpoint. In spite of the emphatic protest of della Chiesa, Tournon forbade the publication of the work, and he also refused to allow a tablet with the words "King-Tien" to be transferred from an old church in Peking to a new edifice.¹

The Emperor seemed to notice none of these things; but he took umbrage at some minor modifications. He kept a sharp lookout and became suspicious. On December 25th, 1705, two mandarins called on Tournon to inquire whether the Patriarch, whilst still in Europe, had been informed of the imperial declaration on the rites. The answer was that no one had called in question the fact of the declaration, but that some people were of opinion that the Europeans in Peking had given the Emperor an account of the state of affairs which was neither straightforward nor complete. If that was the case, the mandarins urged, the Legate himself should make a full statement and, in fact, let them know his opinion on the imperial declaration. In their alarm at such a request the Legate's familiars, Mariani and Appiani, began to signal to the Legate by inarticulate sounds and with their hands and feet, and Mariani said aloud that Tournon should excuse himself on the plea of his health which

¹ *Ibid.*

did not allow of his discussing the question. The Legate said he would give an explanation in writing. Thereupon the mandarins left the room to give him time to write, but returned before long. Yielding to the pressure of his advisers, Tournon had not written anything, but gave some information about the nature of his instructions; with regard to the imperial declaration he observed that it was not the business of the Jesuits to offer suggestions to the Emperor, and that Europe had been amazed at their boldness.

On the following day Appiani sought at first to keep the mandarins at arm's length on the plea that Tournon had taken a dose of physic, but when they nevertheless succeeded in getting access to him, they insisted on a written explanation of the motives which had brought the Patriarch to China. Tournon complied with this request but without as much as mentioning the imperial declaration and the dispute among the missionaries. In a solemn audience on December 31st the Emperor himself repeated the mandarins' questions and promised to supply any information that might be required. In his reply Tournon once more omitted all reference to the dispute over the rites or the meaning of the classical books.¹

On January 1st, 1706, the mandarins called again, but all they were told was that when Tournon's health permitted it, he would attend to the matter. On the following day the Jesuit Kilian Stumpf took the liberty of openly speaking his mind to the Patriarch. The Legate, he pleaded, should not refuse to listen to the Emperor's explanations on the meaning of the Chinese rites and texts. It was impossible to ignore the Chinese and to seek a solution of questions of this kind from Europeans of whom not one had passed an examination for the Chinese baccalaureate. Even the adversaries of the Jesuits were obliged to rely on evidence supplied by the Chinese. The Legate replied that it was of course necessary to rely on Chinese evidence, but only on that of the dead, for the living were flatterers whose testimony was prompted not by the exigencies of truth, but by those of self-interest.

¹ STUMPF, § 3.

This was Visdelou's principle who was for deciding the controversy solely on the authority of the books.

Meanwhile time went by without any progress being made. The Jesuits felt that Bernardino della Chiesa, Bishop of Peking, should be instructed by the ailing Legate to settle the less important questions, and in particular to pronounce judgment in due form on the documents in the archives of the Jesuits. However, Tournon declared that he wished to reserve judgment to himself on all questions but asked that suggestions should be made to him on particular points. Thereupon the Jesuits requested that the imperial declaration be examined together with other documents, a list of half of which, to the number of forty-five, they produced. The Legate accordingly ordered Maigrot to come to Peking within four months to give evidence on the imperial declaration. Thus the decision was once more put off for another four or five months, though the matter did not rest in the meantime. The Chinese New Year provided the Christians with an opportunity for calling upon the Legate. On this occasion Tournon, using Appiani as his interpreter, spoke to them for the first time on the subject of the rites, with the result that on February 28th laments were heard in all the three churches of Peking. For the moment the Jesuits remained silent, they took counsel with the Bishop of Peking who told them that for the time being the Patriarch had given no binding decision ; for the rest, he said, many Christians were quite unreliable ; before the Legate they said one thing and another elsewhere and Appiani's captious questions and his little presents could extract from them any reply he might wish for.

On March 7th the Christians laid their difficulties before the interpreters Appiani and Frossoloni, who told them that an imperial ordinance granted complete liberty to the Christians ; however, when it was discovered, that an ordinance to this effect did not exist, they stated their grievances in a petition. Frossolini told them to go, reproved them for disobedience and tore up the petition. Such an act was not calculated to calm the Christians. On March 21st, as the

Patriarch was giving his blessing to some strangers from a distance, about a hundred Christians came in likewise, fell upon their knees and held up five petitions. Tournon asked them whether they had submitted them to the Jesuits; when they replied in the negative, he told them that he would accept nothing without the Jesuits' signature; for the rest, what did they want? An old man from among the crowd replied that Appiani had bidden them destroy the tablets of their ancestors whereupon Tournon called out with a loud voice that the old man was telling lies. Tournon then asked for the petitions and tried to tear them up, but as his hands were still too weak for this, he asked the Jesuit Gerbillon who was present to do so in his place. Gerbillon begged him not to attempt such a thing; however, the Patriarch threw the petitions on the ground, trampled on them and forbade their bearers to enter his house in the future. The conduct of the Legate called forth enormous indignation, so much so that some of the Christians resolved to denounce him to the tribunal of the rites for having trampled under foot a document bearing the name of God and that of the Emperor.

The Jesuits came to hear of this intention on March 24th and it took them a fortnight's effort to persuade the faithful to desist from their plan.¹

In other ways also things seemed to take a bad turn. On March 16th the Emperor questioned Gerbillon on the Patriarch's intentions and when the Jesuit gave an evasive answer, he said: "Does that man not yet understand that all the adherents of your law will fall away if he attempts to abolish the rites?" The Jesuit Kilian Stumpf discussed this remark with Frossolini and added that one of the nobles, a Christian from his youth, had sought to induce his family to apostatize in order to preserve them from the Emperor's wrath which would certainly be enkindled against the contemners of the rites. Frossolini replied that Tournon had taken up so intransigent an attitude on the question of the rites only since the middle of the month and as the result

¹ *Ibid.*

of information from his procurator in Rome, viâ Manila, to the effect that a decree had been formulated against the rites. "Then why not wait for the arrival of the decree?" Stumpf observed; "if it forbids the rites, the Jesuits, out of obedience to the Holy See, will not be afraid to sacrifice their lives among the heathen; but why drive the mission to destruction on the sole authority of doubtful rumours?"

With a view to further pressure upon the Christians, Appiani and Frossolini represented to them that they had perjured themselves when they forwarded to Rome a sworn guarantee that in regard to the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors, the Chinese did not hold the superstitious notions which many missionaries ascribed to them. They had perjured themselves since many Chinese entertained such superstitious ideas. However, the oath only referred to the generally accepted view in China, which did not exclude exceptions, a fact, which for the rest, had been expressly admitted. For all that some timorous souls allowed themselves to be alarmed so that they accused themselves of perjury in confession. When a catechist of the name of John Lu was about to receive Holy Communion, someone whispered into his ear whether he had confessed the perjury which Appiani and Frossolini described as a grave sin. Lu allowed himself to be intimidated and confessed to Appiani who demanded a written account of the incident which he then handed to the Legate. In their indignation at such conduct the other Christians renewed the oath previously taken. Lu himself studied the formula of the oath once more when he discovered that it did not differ from what he had written and he attested the fact in another memorial. As the Patriarch repeatedly refused to receive that document, he ended by laying it at the foot of a crucifix in the Legate's house, but he was compelled to flee in haste, to escape from the blows with which he was threatened.

Meanwhile the chief witness for whom everyone was waiting, Maigrot, had not yet arrived though interrogatories of Chinese Christians on the burning question were held under the presidency of Appiani. This prompted the Jesuits

to break the silence they had hitherto observed. They represented to the Patriarch that one of their number should likewise be present at these examinations seeing that Appiani was a declared opponent of theirs, who had rendered them suspect to the Christians and one moreover, as Tournon himself knew, who did not understand Chinese very well. This third petition met with an ungracious reception from the Patriarch and when Stumpf attempted to present a fourth on June 3rd he was not allowed to do so.

On June 29th Tournon was received in solemn audience by the Emperor. When questioned by Kanghi he repeatedly assured him that he had no further official communication to make but requested the Emperor to give him his own commissions for the Pope. Thereupon the Emperor told him that he should inform the Pope that the Chinese had been strong adherents of Confucius for 2,000 years and the Europeans had enjoyed complete tranquillity in China since the arrival of Ricci ; however, if in the sequel the Christians departed from Confucius even on a single point, the Europeans were not likely to be tolerated much longer in the empire.

On the same day Tournon informed the Emperor of the arrival of a man of mature years and manners, one distinguished by the episcopal dignity and by his virtues, acquainted with the literature of China as well as with its conditions, for whom the Patriarch had specially sent in order that he might give the Emperor information on the points on which the missionaries were not all of the same opinion. Maigrot's arrival marks the opening of a new phase in the story of Tournon.¹

The Emperor was anxious to have a personal discussion with Maigrot. On July 22nd a mandarin arrived from Tartary, where Kanghi was at the time, to invite Maigrot to journey thither accompanied by Guetti, Appiani and Angelita from among Tournon's suite, and by the Jesuits Gerbillon or, since the latter was still unwell, by Anthony Thomas, Parennin and Beauvollier. Maigrot failed to shine in the discussion

¹ STUMPF, § 3.

of August 2nd, 1706.¹ He admitted at the very beginning that he understood very little of the Chinese books and he had great difficulty in making himself understood, so much so that the Emperor asked the Jesuit Parennin to act as interpreter. When Kanghi asked Maigrot to interpret the four Chinese inscriptions which had been placed above the Emperor's head, he only interpreted one of them correctly. This explains his conduct previous to the journey to Tartary. On July 1st he had been ordered by the Emperor to indicate in writing the points on which Confucius was at variance with the Christian law and to specify the reasons of this divergence.

Maigrot showed at first some reluctance; eventually he wrote a paper in which he found fault with the sacrifice which the Emperor was wont to offer to Heaven. This constituted an offence that lashed the mandarins into fury. When further pressed by the mandarins to give the reasons for his statements, Maigrot refused and made a written avowal of ignorance. As a matter of fact previous to the opening of the discussions, Gerbillon and Thomas had sent the

¹ Described in detail in STUMPF, § 3. Cf. WERKMEISTER, in *Murr Journal*, VI., 168. As a relic of Maigrot's Chinese studies, the Vatican Library preserves: CAROLI MAIGROT, ep. Conon., vicarii Apostolici Fokiensis, *de religione Synica dissertationes quatuor in tomos VIII. distributae*; NEUMANN in *Deutsche Morgenländ., Gesellschaft*, 1850, 235-242. In these studies Maigrot was assisted by two Chinese *literati*, but in his judgment on the meaning of the rites he did not follow them, but the Dominican Vara. Cf. the *Appeal of the Augustinian Bishop Álvaro de Benevento to Tournon, April 13, 1707 (State Archives, Munich, *Ies. in gen. fasc.*, 16, n. 279): Maigrot's ignorance "denuo patuit, cum iudicaretur coram iudicibus regiis, simul cum duobus literatis Fokiensibus, qui olim fuerunt eiusdem Ill. D. Cononensis in literatura Sinica magistri, nam praesente ipso asseruerunt, quod iam annos antea eos dicere audivi, vid. se non docuisse praedictum Dominum libros Sinicos in eo sensu, quem ipse tenebat, nam talem sensum non ab illis, sed a Patre Vara Dominicano ipse usurpaverat, nihil ad haec Ill. Domino opponente". (French text in *Anecdotes*, II., 238 seq.)

Patriarch a written protest in which they stated that in the negotiations with the Emperor the question was not whether this or that was permitted to the Christians, the only question was whether this or that was the meaning of the Chinese texts and customs. The Emperor had himself spoken in this sense when he declared that he left it to the Pope to decide what was or was not lawful.¹ On his part Tournon had commanded all Superiors to forbid their subjects to enter into disputations with the Emperor. Previous to the delegates' departure for Tartary on July 28th, he repeated the order not to discuss religion before the Emperor, not to say anything that might injure the mission, and not to commit themselves to anything in a way that would make a retreat impossible.² On August 10th Appiani was back in Peking with bad news for Tournon. An imperial ordinance declared that Maigrot was an ignorant person, that the Emperor had no subjects who did not venerate Confucius and the ancestors, that against his better knowledge Maigrot asserted that he did not know whether his 5,000 Christians in Fukiën practised the veneration of ancestors, that the disputes among the missionaries turned the Chinese away from Christianity, that instead of building up religion in China, such contentions destroyed it. The chief point of a second ordinance was to the effect that if the missionaries infringed the laws of the empire, there were laws by which they could be punished. A further decree of August 27th confirmed the previous ones.

The negotiations about the rites were thus at an end. In his indignation and disgust at the discord in the Christian camp, the Emperor, who had been so well disposed at first,

¹ “*Eodem die [July 1] P. Gerbillon et die 5 [?] P. Antonius Thomas protestatus est scripto, non agi coram imperatore, an haec vel illa sint licita christianis, sed an sit hic vel ille sensus textuum et rituum Sinicorum, et S. Maiestatem coram dixisse D. Patriarchae, se declarare sensum imperii, an ille concordet an discordet cum lege christiana non curare, idque discernendum relinquere SS. Pontifici.” STUMPF, § 3.

² *Ibid.*

now withdrew for good.¹ At one time he had expressed the wish that the Chinese should become Christians,² from now onwards he became increasingly averse to Christianity. Numerous other mistakes of Tournon had contributed their share to this result.³ On his arrival in Peking everybody was naturally eager to learn why the Legate should have undertaken a perilous journey of 9,000 miles to come to China.

On December 26th, 1705, the mandarins pressed him to state in writing the purpose of his journey. Tournon consented to do so; however, the document drawn up by his order merely stated that he desired to establish good relations between Peking and Rome, and that it would be a good thing if someone in Peking were charged with the duty of supplying information and if the same person acted also as Superior of all the missionaries in China. The Emperor was so eager to know the contents of the document that he asked to see it even before there was time to make a neat copy of it, but he was greatly disappointed that Tournon should have given no other reason for his journey. He observed that such a Superior as Tournon desired might of course

¹ *Ibid.*, § 4.

² " Ipse [imperator] dixit, se cupere, Sinas fieri christianos, et si ita [contra ritus Sinicos] agat D. Patriarcha, debere se scribere ad SS. Pontificem, non stetisse per S. Maiestatem, quominus late cresceret religio, neque sibi imputandam causam, si funditus evertatur " (*ibid.*, § 5). Kanghi knew the Christian doctrine very well: " *Circa Dei nostri ideam identidem instructus est a religionis Societatis Iesu ipsi assistentibus et praecipue, ipsomet petente, a P. Ferdinando Ferbiest, et non semel legit Sinico et Tartarico idiomate librum Matthaei Riccii de vera Dei ratione, in quo Dei idea elegantissime et scitissime proponitur, impugnando pariter errores aliarum sectarum, et quod est magis, bis proposita est a P. Antonio Beauvollier in duobus libellis imperatori oblatis, respondendo ad proposita in aliis libellis ab Ill. D. Cononi datis, et post eorum omnium inspectionem praedictum decretum imperiale emanavit, quod totum Romae nondum constat " (Appeal of Álvaro de Benevente) (French text in *Anecdotes*, II., 240).

³ *STUMPF, § 4.

be appointed, but he should be a man who had lived in China for at least ten years. Now it so happened that Tournon misunderstood a remark of the mandarins and wrongly concluded that his demands had been granted, whilst he interpreted what the Emperor had really said as a refusal. Under pressure of sickness or, perhaps, in consequence of an exaggerated conception of his dignity, the Legate now broke into loud laments that he was refused to-day what had been granted yesterday. The Jesuit Pereyra sought to calm him, but Tournon ordered him to be silent and demanded that his words should be translated. However, as soon as Appiani complied with the order, the mandarins became infuriated by such an insult to their Emperor ; they left and went into another room in which to vent undisturbed their wrath against the barbarian from the West. Pereyra and Gerbillon stayed with Tournon and ventured to represent to him, with all humility, that conduct such as that of the Legate was out of place in Peking. Thereupon Tournon poured the vials of his wrath over Pereyra and as the latter was about to give a calm reply, he was seized by the arm and conducted to the door. It is characteristic of Tournon's mentality that he expressed his contempt to Pereyra for the fact that the latter had laboured for the space of thirty years for a pagan Emperor. The Emperor contented himself with administering a severe rebuke to the interpreter Appiani through one of the chamberlains, but there was no longer question of the proposed appointment of a Superior for all the missionaries in China. Kanghi commanded the Jesuits to explain to the Legate that none of their number would accept such an appointment. As a matter of fact they informed Tournon that they would not allow themselves to be promoted to such a post by any imperial order ; they declared at the same time that they were not responsible for the failure of the Legate's plan—Tournon had actually laid the blame on the Jesuits.

At the audience of December 31st, 1705, the Patriarch expressed a wish to have someone in Peking who would attend to epistolary correspondence with the West. Kanghi replied that one of the Europeans who had long been at

court might be designated for this task, but Tournon said that he would have to choose a man whom he could trust. The remark displeased the Emperor in whose opinion all his servants were men that could be trusted, seeing that their only rôle was to act as the unreasoning instruments of their master. Tournon's second demand was likewise rejected and when he asked the Emperor's leave to buy a house in Peking he had no better luck with his third request. He became involved in even greater difficulties when the question arose of dispatching the presents which Kanghi had destined for the Pope on January 1st, 1706. The Emperor allowed Tournon to entrust the transport of these precious objects to a member of his suite, namely the Auditor Sabinus Mariani, but when one of the mandarins observed that Mariani knew no Chinese, he changed his mind and designated the Jesuit Bouvet not only as Mariani's interpreter but as a formal imperial envoy, to whom alone the mandarins were to hand the presents and to whom alone Kanghi committed his messages for the Pope, together with a letter accrediting him. It would seem that Tournon felt that he owed it to the Holy See and to himself as a papal Legate, not to tolerate interference by the Emperor in arrangements made by himself. Accordingly he kept silence for the moment but handed the keys of the chests containing the presents to Mariani. On the other hand Bouvet was of opinion that any tampering with imperial orders would have the worst consequences, hence on his arrival at Canton he insisted on Mariani complying with them. When Tournon was informed of this occurrence, his anger knew no bounds; Mariani should throw the presents into the sea rather than consign them into the hands of Bouvet, he exclaimed; as for the latter he would have him dealt with by Gerbillon, the Superior of the French Jesuits in Peking. Gerbillon saw that another storm was brewing; even before he received Tournon's order he wrote to Bouvet to leave the question of the presents in the hands of Mariani; if the Emperor's anger was roused they would endeavour to calm him.

The situation had developed thus far when fresh shocks

complicated it still further. Whilst the Patriarch was seeking to restore his health by a visit to the hot springs, the Jesuit Stumpf, accompanied by a mandarin, called on him on June 1st, 1706. Tournon told the Jesuit to leave him alone with the mandarin; to the latter he spoke of his desire to open his heart to the Emperor. To this Kanghi readily assented, but a sudden and serious indisposition of the prelate necessitated the postponement of the audience so that on June 20th Kanghi sent a mandarin to whom Tournon was invited to confide whatever he had intended to communicate to the Emperor. The Legate replied that unless a strict imperial command ordered otherwise, he could only open his mind to the Emperor himself as the matter concerned the monarch's person and family. Now according to Chinese ideas this was a serious offence for it was an unheard of thing in China that a visitor from a foreign land should presume to offer weighty advice to the Emperor. As a matter of fact Kanghi was indignant, but Tournon was even more angry when he received a command not to keep his secret from the Emperor much longer. In loud tones and without regard for his alleged secret, which could only be made known to the Emperor, he now began to vent his resentment in fits of anger; it was the Emperor's concern even more than his own, he exclaimed, that Bouvet should pose as an ambassador and that the Portuguese suffered no one to enter His Majesty's service who had not come to China viâ Portugal. The *entourage* of the Legate was not slow in realizing how much unpleasantness he was likely to create for himself by such remarks; none of them were prepared to interpret them until at length Appiani consented to do so. However, the mandarins refused to deliver such a message by word, with the result that they were engaged until one hour before midnight in drafting a written formula.

The Jesuits appealed to the Bishop of Peking to calm the angry man whilst Tournon's *entourage* also made fresh efforts to appease him; but all was in vain; the Patriarch replied that he was bound to safeguard the service of the Holy See and forced his reluctant chancellor to put his seal to the document.

At court the revelation of the Legate's secret was awaited with great eagerness, but no sooner had the heir to the crown cast a glance at Tournon's communication than he exclaimed : " This foreigner deserves death ! Is not Bouvet our real ambassador ? Yet his own servant seeks to rise against him ; or is it possible to accept his servant as an ambassador of the Empire ? " The Emperor himself repressed his annoyance, but his real sentiments were revealed when he asked the Europeans who had long resided in China whether in Europe Tournon would be considered as deserving of death, and whether Mariani would escape capital punishment there ? In a letter to the Patriarch, the Emperor took him to task for his conduct towards Bouvet. As papal envoy, religious questions were his sole concern ; whilst he pretended that his demands about the Portuguese were exclusively prompted by a desire to destroy the very root of the disputes, he himself instigated the worst dissensions ; up to this time the conduct of the Europeans had been excellent, but the arrival of the Legate changed all that ; in future no missionary would be allowed to enter China without a preliminary examination by the mandarins.

The Jesuits had prepared the Patriarch for the decree, hence he received it with expressions of submission, but when the mandarins asked him whether it was not necessary to recall Bouvet, the Legate felt grievously offended. He burst into tears, a circumstance that proved his salvation. The mandarins inquired with great sympathy for the cause of his tears. Tournon replied that he wept because the Pope would lay all the blame on him ; he begged that both Mariani and Bouvet might set out on their journey. After a moving description of Tournon's tears Kanghi granted this request. Gerbillon and the other Jesuits had good reason to congratulate the Patriarch that the storm had passed so happily.

However, tolerable relations with the Emperor were never re-established. Kanghi was embittered against Maigrot and expected an apology of some kind from Tournon for the latter's conduct. The mandarins accordingly advised the Legate to admit, in general terms which meant nothing

in reality and committed him to nothing, that a mistake had been made when a personality like Maigrot was chosen ; but to this Tournon would not consent. The Emperor let him feel his resentment by sundry molestations and when the Patriarch retaliated by insisting on his Legatine rank, Kanghi got more angry than ever and demanded to see his credentials as an ambassador. Again Tournon refused ; Kanghi accordingly ordered the presents for the Pope to be brought back to Peking until the arrival of a properly accredited envoy. This was at first considered as no more than a threat, but when the Legate made no attempt to calm the monarch, the threat was carried into effect in the first days of October. Tournon was ordered to return to Canton. He was allowed to choose the day of his departure, but not to alter it once he had fixed on a date.

(4.)

Tournon's embassy led not only to the destruction of the mission, it was also fraught with the worst consequences for the Jesuits in China.¹ The Legate made inquiries into their life and conduct and in so doing made use of the evidence of corrupt men against whom the Bishop of Peking had to lodge a protest ; he declared the contracts concluded by the Jesuits null and void without giving the Fathers a hearing, and laid on them the blame for every unpleasantness that befell him.² The Fathers also fell in the Emperor's estimation, to the irreparable injury of Christianity, because the insinuations and malicious rumours which Tournon's companions spread against the old missionaries, created suspicions in his mind. One of the persons in Tournon's suite, Guetti, was compelled

¹ *STUMPF, § 4, towards the end, and § 7 where no less than twenty-five accusations against the Jesuits are discussed. Cf. *Lettres édif.*, III., Paris, 1643, 177-181.

² *STUMPF, § 7, and the extremely passionate letters of Tournon to Maigrot and the Jesuits in Peking, in JANN, 424 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*

by threats to reveal what he knew against the Jesuits. The heir to the throne in particular, whom the Christians had reason to fear "even more than fire and sword", gathered evidence against them in the provinces and caused one of his servants to sham conversion to Christianity, in order that he might act as a spy. To the great delight of the bonzes Christianity itself became suspect. The Emperor had so often declared that the Chinese considered the Christian law to be a good one, because they saw how the old missionaries carried out in practice the truthfulness and charity which they preached, but now that they denounced each other, even to the Emperor, the Chinese had been undeceived.

At the moment when Stumpf set down his laments in writing,¹ Tournon had not yet published the papal decision on the question of the rites, in fact Stumpf even ventured to look forward to the publication with a measure of optimism. "If the decision agrees with the decrees of the Emperor," he wrote, "there is a prospect that our holy religion will continue to exist; if not, the only thing for us to do will be to commend this vineyard to the Lord of the vineyard and to prepare ourselves for the storms which we see raging to this day in the neighbouring kingdoms. Let heaven's will be done. But even as the Peking Fathers have fearlessly lived up till now in close proximity to peril, so will they face exile and death without resistance and in complete submission to the Holy See." How happy they would have been if their subsequent story had had nothing worse to chronicle than martyrdom and banishment!

The Emperor made the missionaries feel his displeasure in acute fashion. Maigrot was arrested at Peking and on December 17th, 1706, he was banished from China. The same fate befell the Vicars Apostolic of Kweitsheu and Yünnan, Visselou and Le Blanc. The vials of the imperial wrath were especially poured over Tournon's interpreter, the Lazarist Appiani (*obit* 1732); after lingering in prison for close on twenty years he recovered his liberty in 1726, after Kanghi's

¹ **Compendium*, § 6.

death and at the prayer of Benedict XIII.¹ On December 18th, 1706, the Emperor published a decree to the effect that only those missionaries would be allowed to stay in China who could produce a so-called "Piao" or official permit.²

However bitter Kanghi's resentment against Tournon may have been, he was never betrayed into uttering one word against the Pope.³ He sent two embassies to him, first the two Jesuits Barros and Beauvillier and later on two other Jesuits, Fathers Provana and De Arxo. In view of the fact that the authenticity of the imperial decree on the rites had been called in question, these envoys were to take with them an authentication under the imperial seal. However, the first two ambassadors never reached Rome at all for they perished in a shipwreck in January, 1708, whilst Provana and Arxo were indeed entrusted with a papal letter for the Emperor but Arxo died on July 29th, 1711, in Spain, on the return journey, and Provana was taken so grievously sick that he was unable to leave Italy. Thus Kanghi obtained no reply at all and this seeming slight to his dignity irritated him to such a degree that he began to meditate a plan for the extirpation of Christianity in China. However, the Jesuits succeeded in calming him.⁴ Meanwhile the only thing Clement XI. could do was to comfort Le Blanc and Appiani by letter.⁵ On March 4th, 1709, he requested the King of Portugal to intervene with Kanghi whilst at the same time he appealed to the Emperor of China himself⁶ and begged him to withdraw his ordinances.

At the time of the issue of these Briefs the Pope knew nothing of the pitiful fate which had befallen his Legate two years earlier. Kanghi had indeed dismissed Tournon with

¹ JANN, 431. On Appiani, see THOMAS, 196, 290, and Appiani's letter of November 22, 1728, *ibid.*, 355-8.

² *Ibid.*, 424.

³ *STUMPF, § 5.

⁴ JANN, 488.

⁵ August 22, 1711, *Op.*, Epist., 1582 *seq.*

⁶ JANN, 594, 596.

every show of honour and had defrayed his travelling expenses.¹ On his arrival at Nanking the Patriarch published on January 25th, 1707, not indeed the text of the papal decree against the rites, but individual clauses of it and that in an even stricter form, inasmuch as he threatened with excommunication those guilty of infraction of the ordinance, a measure from which the Pope had refrained.² This step roused Kanghi's anger once more; he had the Legate arrested and taken to Canton, though in an honourable fashion. From Canton Tournon was transported to Macao, where he was handed over to the Portuguese and thus to his executioners. Shortly after the accession of the new King of Portugal, and at a time when he was still in ignorance of his dispositions, the Pope had requested him to intervene with Kanghi.³ But John V. modelled himself on Louis XIV. and was resolved to go beyond the State absolutism of his predecessor. Tournon's action he regarded as an inroad into his own sphere and a violation of his right of patronage with which he meant to deal with the utmost ruthlessness.⁴ Instructions to this effect were sent to the East, hence Tournon found himself a prisoner as soon as he set foot on Portuguese territory. He was immediately surrounded by a strong body of troops—to do him honour, it was said—but in reality, and in spite of repeated requests to the Commander-in-Chief of Macao, Diego de Pinho Texeira, the soldiers kept an uninterrupted watch over the Legate's palace. Attempts were also made to isolate Tournon from the priests of his suite. One of these, Peter Hervé, was arrested on his way to church and thrown into prison, the others could not be induced to step out of Tournon's house. Access to the Legate was forbidden to almost everybody.⁵ The military judge Lobo da Gama issued a proclamation declaring Tournon's residence a State prison.⁶

¹ *STUMPF, § I, towards the end.

² JANN, 428 *seqq.*

³ March 2, 1709, *Op.*, Epist., 594.

⁴ JANN, 455.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 439.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 441.

On December 3rd, 1708, the Commander-in-Chief, Texeira, forbade all Portuguese to obey the Legate until the royal Chancellery of Portugal should have recognized his Bulls ; anyone acting otherwise would be handed over, in chains, to the tribunal of Goa and his property would be forfeit to the crown.¹ After the Viceroy of the Indies had approved Texeira's measures in September, 1708, and again in December, 1709, the latter passed from words to deeds. Four Dominicans, for the sole crime of having obeyed the Legate, were arrested in church whilst a service was in progress. Arrayed as they were in their sacred vestments, they were taken through the streets to the fortress, to the scandal even of the pagans. Similar treatment was meted out to other religious. A number of missionaries and servants of Tournon were manacled in the market place and removed to prison, the churches were invaded and his adherents dragged out or besieged in them, until they were almost starved to death.² Even worse humiliations were meted out to Tournon by the ecclesiastical superiors who, in obedience to instructions from Lisbon, sought to rid themselves of the inconvenient Legate by questioning the legitimacy of his nomination and by demanding that he should exhibit his credentials to the Bishop through the royal Portuguese Chancellery. To this the Patriarch refused to submit since even papal credentials without the royal *placet* would have been ignored. The Primate of Goa raised the first doubts about Tournon's mission in a pastoral letter of May 12th, 1706. João de Casal, Bishop of Macao, also published the above-mentioned pastoral on June 5th, 1706, and one of his own on July 24th, 1707, in which he declared the censures pronounced by the Legate to be null and void and forbade his flock to recognize him.³ Casal's conduct was all the more surprising as he had previously recognized the genuineness of the Legate's mission. Now he did not even wait for Tournon's arrival in his episcopal city but as soon

¹ *Ibid.*, 447 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 461 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 435, 437, 442 *seq.*

as the Patriarch, on reaching Canton, set foot on territory subject to the jurisdiction of Macao, Casal wrote to ask him for his credentials.¹

The letter of the Primate of Goa was read in all the churches of the city,² whilst Casal ordered his own pastoral to be read in all the parish and monastery churches. He was obeyed by the Superiors of the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Minor Recollects and by the parish priest of one of the Augustinian churches. But the aforesaid parish priest, as well as the Superior of the Jesuits, added a clause to their signature to the effect that they had subscribed by order of their Superiors,³ for the Provincial of the Jesuits, Pinto, refused to admit the genuineness of the Patriarch's faculties.⁴ In the Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan residences, discussions were taking place on the attitude to be adopted towards Tournon.⁵ Nevertheless a considerable number of religious supported the Legate and even persecution failed to shake their determination⁶; as for the opponents, they were excommunicated by Tournon.

The Legate's conduct in Peking can hardly be the subject of praise. Granted that even the ablest diplomatist could not have enforced the prohibition of the rites without giving offence, it must be admitted that Tournon frequently provoked and irritated the Emperor without necessity. On the other hand one can only admire his conduct at Macao. Though pressed on every side and forsaken by almost everyone, he was not to be prevailed upon to make concessions with which he might have bought his freedom. Defenceless though he was, he fearlessly pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the powerful enemies into whose hands he had fallen. He may almost be styled a martyr for the prerogatives of the Holy See, and he himself was conscious of being such a martyr.

¹ *Ibid.*, 435.

² *Ibid.*, 443.

³ *Ibid.*, 437.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 439.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 449.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 449 *seq.*

At Canton and Macao there was no longer question for him of the rites, but of resistance to the *placet* of the State, hence of the rights of the Holy See. There can be no doubt that his early death on June 9th, 1710, was hastened by the sufferings of mind and body which he had undergone during his captivity. For a considerable time he was cut off from all communication with the outside world ; he was not allowed to leave the house and very few visitors were permitted to see him ; at night the doors of his house were barred with chains.¹ If Tournon had not been great in action, he showed himself great in suffering and in enduring. Clement XI. did all he could on his behalf ; in a series of letters he represented to the King of Portugal the enormity of the injustice done at Macao to a Legate of the Holy See,² and up to the time of Tournon's death he continued to demand reparation for these outrages.³

¹ *Ibid.*, 464. It would seem that these reports were exaggerated. Cf. BAHR, 98 *seq.* : " Tournon was received at Macao after his return from Peking by all, clerics and layfolk alike, with all the honours due to his high rank ; in the years that followed he exercised the office and dignity of an Apostolic Legate with complete freedom and was often seen in the city in his sedan-chair, and in particular when on August 11, 1708, news arrived that His Holiness Clement XI. had raised him to the dignity of a Cardinal. Amid the ringing of the bells of Macao, great festivities were held, and his Eminence appeared publicly in a new sedan-chair lined with scarlet material, and he was carried on the shoulders of eight Moors or Kaffirs. . . . However, it cannot be denied that a few months before his death he had to endure much unpleasantness, not from the Christians, nor from the Europeans, but from the pagans and the Chinese who did not understand his high dignity and therefore did not respect him as they should have done. . . . The strong guard which surrounds the House or Palace of the Cardinal began on January 22, 1710 . . . the reason for it was that some men of the suite of the Cardinal, bad and rough fellows, with whom might was right, Moors or Kaffirs, had laid violent hands on a Mandarin . . . "

² Letters of January 25 and July 12, 1710, January 12 and March 14, 1711, *Op.*, Epist., 676, 1478, 1500.

³ Briefs of September 19 and January 10, 1715, *ibid.*, 1590, 2042.

A supreme token of recognition on the part of the Pope of the sorely tried prelate was the bestowal of the red hat upon him shortly before his death. The Spanish admiral in the Philippines had the bearers of the red hat taken to Macao under the Spanish flag so that the Portuguese were unable to interfere with them.¹ Tournon's nomination to the cardinalate had taken place on August 1st, 1707,² and he had expressed his thanks to the Pope on November 30th, 1709.³ When speaking of him at a secret consistory on October 14th, 1711, the Pope eulogized Tournon as one who had been proved by tribulation, as gold is tried by fire.⁴

(5.)

Clement XI. had done all that it was in his power to do for Tournon. At first he was full of confidence in the King of Portugal. When he received information of the expulsion of the Vicars Apostolic Maigrot, Le Blanc and Visdelou, though not of the arrest of the Legate, he appealed to John V. on March 2nd, 1709, to protect the Christians of China.⁵ On the very next day he received news of Tournon's tragic fate. A courier was at once dispatched to Lisbon with a letter in which the Pope once more declared his faith in the King's piety and laid all the blame for the outrageous treatment of the Legate on the royal officials.⁶ John V. did not even deign to acknowledge the letter. On January 25th, 1710, and again on July 12th, on the occasion of the grant of a dispensation, Clement XI. renewed his remonstrances. Again there was no answer. At last on January 17th, 1711, there came one with

¹ JANN, 464, 472.

² *Ibid.*, 423 ; *Op.*, Orat., 30.

³ JANN, 462.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 469 *seq* ; *Op.*, Orat., 58 *seq*.

⁵ *Op.*, Epist., 596.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 598.

the assurance that the King had repeatedly ordered the Viceroy of the Indies to set Tournon at liberty. Relying on this word of a King Clement XI. now really believed that his Legate was again free ; he accordingly charged Tournon with the execution of a fresh decree on the rites dated September 25th, 1710, and this time also he prayed for the King's support. Tournon's letter of November 30th, 1709, thanking the Pope for his elevation to the cardinalate, put an end to all illusions. The Pope replied on August 22nd, 1711, but by that time Tournon had long been dead.¹

The Holy See could no longer look for support from any quarter : Spain was in the throes of the war of succession and Louis XIV. had demanded Tournon's credentials even after the latter's landing at Pondicherry,² so that Clement XI.'s only resource was to remonstrate again, and that with the utmost insistence, with the King of Portugal about the outrageous conduct of his officials.³ Meanwhile appeals against Tournon's measures had reached Rome from China. Several Vicars Apostolic, among them even opponents of the rites, and twenty-two Jesuits, appealed against the Patriarch's prohibition of January 25th, 1707.⁴ Such a step is intelligible enough because Tournon's decree had put the missionaries in a most painful position. With the best of wills it was impossible to do away by one stroke with the observance of the rites by the people, but as Tournon had pronounced immediate excommunication for any concession, the missionaries were bound to fall into worse troubles of conscience.⁵ The Jesuits and the Dominicans of Macao also appealed to Rome. Tournon had excommunicated the Jesuits of that place because of their non-acceptance of his ordinance, and had placed their college and theological seminary under an interdict.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 1580 ; JANN, 457-463.

² JANN, 465.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 450.

In Rome the matter was accordingly discussed anew¹ with the immediate result that the appeal from Macao was rejected on August 8th, 1709. On September 25th, 1710, the Inquisition published a decree² confirming both the Roman prohibition of the rites of November 20th, 1704, and that of the Legate Tournon of January 25th, 1707. The Pope prescribed the observance of these prohibitions under pain of excommunication, thus reinforcing his first prohibition of 1704 in Tournon's sense. No pretext, and in particular, no appeal to Rome could excuse disobedience; detailed instructions on the execution of the decrees were to follow. All publications on the question of the rites were forbidden under pain of excommunication. Previous to this, in March, 1709, the decision of the question of November 20th, 1704, had been published in Rome also.³

The arguments used for the purpose of circumventing the decision of 1704 may be gathered from the letter which Antonio Banchieri, Assessor of the Inquisition, addressed to the Jesuit General, Michelangelo Tamburini, on October 11th, 1710, at the same time as he forwarded to him the decree of that tribunal. Some thought, so we read in the letter, that the decision of 1704 obliged only conditionally, that is, on the assumption that the arguments there alleged tallied with actual facts. It was his duty to state that such an interpretation was wrong, hence he prayed the General to

¹ Cf. **Miscellanea di Clemente XI.*, t. 236: Congregazioni tenute nel Febr., 1709; Scrittura spettante al dispaccio fatto in Cina dopo questa congregazione nel 2 Mart. 1709; t. 237: Congregazione tenuta avanti il Papa 1709, 8 Agosto, da 11 Cardinali; Congregazione 4 ottobre 1709, che non fece alcuna risoluzione; t. 239: Ant. Vaira, Responsio ad memorialia exhibita Clementi XI. a Patribus Soc. Iesu missionis Sinensis; t. 240: Vaira, De ritibus Sinensibus diss. altera; t. 242: Paper on the conflict; t. 243: also; Congregatio coram SS. 4 Agosto e Sett. 1710; t. 244: Congreg. coram SS. 18-25 Sett. 1710; t. 247: Session of the Inquisition, September 11, 1710. Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Ius pontif.*, II., 280 seqq.

BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2380.

transmit to his subjects in China, together with the decree of the Inquisition, this present fuller explanation as having binding force. Tamburini replied on the same day, October 11th, protesting his entire submission and promising to do his best to get his subjects faithfully to carry out the decree. A similar exhortation was addressed on October 17th to the Generals of the Dominicans and the Augustinians as well as to the Commissaries-General of the Franciscans Observant and the *Riformati* who declared their submission on the 18th.¹

It goes without saying that the enemies of the Society made the most of the excommunication of the Jesuits of Macao. The Jesuits, they said, talked a great deal about submission to the Holy See, but no one was less obedient than they if a papal decree happened to be not to their liking. This accusation gave grievous pain to the Fathers themselves. When the delegates of the Order met in Rome in 1710 for the customary triennial assembly, the most important instruction with which the various Provinces charged the delegates was that they should deal most strongly with a reproach that hurt them far more than all the other innumerable accusations and calumnies, for it touched the Order, as it were, in the apple of its eye. Accordingly the assembly unanimously resolved that the General should protest to the Pope, before the whole Catholic Church, in the name of the Order, its firm and unshakable determination to submit to every decree of the Holy See, and in particular to the decisions on the rites dated November 20th, 1704, and September 25th, 1710, and to the declaration contained in the letter of the Inquisition dated October 11th.

Accordingly on November 20th, 1710, the General of the Society, Tamburini, addressed a letter to the Pope in which he promised submission in the most unequivocal terms. If it were possible, he wrote, to think of words more clear and forcible, with which to express his sentiments, it was his will that the words actually used by him should have that

¹ Printed in *Acta causae rituum seu ceremoniarum Sinensium*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1715, 68-71; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 280 seq., note.

meaning, but if any one of his subjects permitted himself to speak in a different sense, the Order rejected him in advance and considered him as a degenerate son.

The memorial of the Procurators to the General was signed by the latter's Assistants in the name of the various Provinces subject to the Assistants and by the Procurators of the Provinces then in Rome. Among the signatures of the Procurators those of Spain, Portugal, Brazil and the rest of South America, Sicily, Turin, Ireland, Galicia, Masovia are wanting—no doubt because the delegates of those Provinces were unable to be present. The Spanish war of succession may account for much in this respect, hence it is not to be wondered at if Malabar and Goa also did not sign expressly. This deficiency is made up for by the subscription of the Spanish and the Portuguese Assistants. The last signature is that of Provana, the Procurator for China.¹ The General forwarded the letter of the Assessor of the Inquisition to the Visitor of China and Japan and the Vice-Provincial of China with orders not to depart from it neither to the right nor to the left.²

In spite of these assurances further papal decrees on the Chinese mission were issued on July 3rd, 1708. Tournon had decreed that no missionary was to enter or leave China, or assume the office of Superior there, without his leave. On March 15th, 1711, Clement XI. confirmed this order of his Legate and extended it to his successor.³ From this it would appear that the idea of a permanent legation to China was being considered in Rome; as a matter of fact ulterior developments may have suggested the advisability of such a step.

The year 1714 came to an end without any steps having been taken in China to promulgate the decrees of 1704 and 1710.⁴ In January, 1715, the Bishop of Peking, Bernardino

¹ The declaration is printed in *Bull. Clementis XI., Romae*, 1725, 517; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 90; JANN, 451 *seqq.*

² *TAMBURINI, November 15, 1710; see Appendix No. 2.

³ *Ius pontif.*, II., 283 *seq.*

⁴ Both *letters are in the possession of the Jesuits.

Della Chiesa, instructed his Vicar-General, Carlo Castorano, to undertake at last such a promulgation, but various objections were made immediately. Castorano made stern representations to the Superior of the Jesuits, Stumpf,¹ and the Bishop on his part wrote in the same sense. Stumpf repudiated the reproach of disobedience; as attested by all their letters to Rome and to the Bishop himself, the Jesuits had always been obedient in the past and were so at this time also. Before Castorano and before the Bishop, Stumpf wrote, he had solemnly declared that he had received the Roman decrees on the rites from the General, that he had accepted them, accepted them now and would accept them in the future, as often as the Pope or the Bishop desired it, regardless of personal danger or the fate of the mission. However, a new imperial decree had been published the text of which was not yet known in Lintshing, where the Bishop resided; after seeing it the Bishop's delegate had consented to a delay until the Bishop should be informed. Had he known but one half of what he had learned from the letter of the Jesuits of Peking, the Bishop wrote, he would have held back more than he had done. On January 17th, 1715, the Jesuits Parennin and Stumpf wrote to Della Chiesa that the reason why it was difficult to publish the papal decrees lay in the fact that it would not be possible to keep the knowledge of such a publication from the Emperor, as the Bishop desired.² Della Chiesa wrote to the two Fathers to defer the publication and in another letter he acknowledged the Jesuits' obedience³ whilst he appealed to Rome to grant a surcease of the publication of the decrees. The Franciscan Commissary Fernandez also wrote to Rome that so far not one of the Vicars Apostolic had made up his mind to promulgate the decrees.⁴

¹ See below, p. 463.

² *STUMPF to Della Chiesa, October 6, 1715; see Appendix No. 4.

³ *TO STUMPF, PARENIN and CONTANCIN, January 25, 1715, *ibid.*

⁴ TAMBURINI'S Memorial in *Anecdotes*, VI., 49.

(6.)

When the situation had thus become hopelessly involved, a man was found in the person of the Lazarist Theodoric Pedrini, bold enough either to unravel the Gordian knot or to cut it. Pedrini was born in 1670 at Fermo. He was possessed of remarkable skill in the confection of musical instruments, more particularly in the construction of the precursor of the modern piano. Tournon judged that he would be the right man for the court of Peking; however, when the Legate set out Pedrini missed the connection and reached China after an adventurous journey viâ Chile, Mexico and the Philippines, only just in time to witness Tournon's death.¹ The choice of such a route was assuredly no proof of outstanding commonsense, however, once his pianos had won for him Kanghi's high favour,² Pedrini felt emboldened to tackle single-handed the solution of the question of the rites. Kanghi had given orders that every Roman decision on the rites was to be brought to his notice, but so far both the Bishop and the missionaries had taken good care not to give him such information. That which others had kept quiet, Pedrini now revealed openly in a letter to the Emperor,³ regardless of the fact that Della Chiesa had made him promise on oath to observe silence on the matter,⁴ and without considering that by speaking he hopelessly compromised his Bishop. At the same time he did not shrink from accusing his brother priests, the Jesuits, before a pagan Emperor. In spite of his avowed opposition to the rites, Pedrini did not forfeit Kanghi's favour for the time being, on the contrary, he was even commissioned to write to the Pope in the Emperor's name.⁵ In so doing he went so far as to insert in his letter the patent falsehood that the rites might be condemned by

¹ THOMAS, II 8, 220.

² *Ibid.*, 229.

³ *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.*

⁴ TAMBURINI, in *Anecdotes*, VI., 177. Cf. *ibid.*, 51.

⁵ THOMAS, 238.

the Pope without risk seeing that Kanghi was not interested in the matter.¹

Pedrinì was looked upon as a confidant of Kanghi, hence his communication impressed Rome and encouraged the Pope to issue a fresh and more stringent Constitution.² The decrees hitherto issued had failed to create harmony among the missionaries. They were acquainted with them and had submitted to them, but for various reasons they hesitated to carry them out as they feared their execution would be the destruction of the mission. Soon it was rumoured that the Pope himself had suspended his ordinance, that the decrees had not been issued in due form, that the decisions only obliged with the proviso that the facts on which they were based were true, that the Pope would issue further explanations, that the grievous injury which would accrue to the mission excused the non-execution of the decrees and that one could still go by the concessions of Alexander VII. The new papal Constitution of March 19th, 1715,³ declared all these arguments null and void.⁴ It confirmed both the Roman condemnation of the rites, the clauses of which were briefly summed up, and Tournon's prohibition; the Bishops were ordered to carry it through. One important disposition was added: no priest was to be allowed to exercise his functions

¹ *Ibid.*, 260, 261, 264. Cf. below, p. 461 note.

² Cf. *ibid.*

³ Constitution "Ex illo die", *Ius pontif.*, II., 306 *seqq.* Commentaries on it in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 245. *Ibid.*, three drafts of the Constitution with the Pope's corrections; votes of the cardinals. *Ibid.*, t. 249-253: documents on the imprisonment and death of Tournon; t. 254: State of the mission in India and China after Tournon's death; t. 255-7: Acts 1711-1720; t. 258: Fatinelli to Clement XI. on the rites and on Tournon, 1707-1716; t. 259-260: Acts of 1699-1713; on the missions of the Capuchins of Madraspatam, of the Dominicans and the Theatines in Tibet, of the Carmelites with the Grand Mogul; t. 261: "Lettere e scritture consegnate a SS. dal card. Fabroni alli 12 Sett. 1716." Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Ius pontif.*, II., 307.

unless he had first sworn to comply with these prohibitions. The decree gave the formula of the oath : all missionaries were to sign it and the signed formulas had to be forwarded to Rome.

Clement XI. had hoped that his decision would clarify the situation but the result was that it became more involved than ever. Acceptance of the new ordinance was greatly hampered by the fact that it was soon learnt that its publication was in part due to Pedrini's inaccurate statements.¹ To this was added the interference of the secular rulers. A month before the arrival of the Bull, the Governor, the Bishop of Macao and the Superior of the Jesuits, had received a royal order from Lisbon not to publish, for the time being, any fresh decrees on the question of the rites. Now the Bishop of Peking had been expressly dispensed by Propaganda from the duty of obeying the King in all that concerned the questions of the rites. Kanghi, too, who was away in Tartary just then, was not indifferent about the new Bull. On being informed of the arrival of some ships from Europe, he at once dispatched an envoy to Canton who, on September 20th, questioned each missionary individually whether a decree on the rites had come from Rome. Now a few missionaries had clandestinely made known the new papal decree, but none of them had the courage frankly to admit the truth before the imperial envoy. The religious said that such orders were

¹ " Attulit haec [navis Lusitana, August 30] epistolas A. R. P. Nostri, praecepti observantiam suis enixe commendantis. Ex his pariter, sicut et ex aliis Romanis non minus certo dolenter intellectum fuit, D. Pedrini clericum, qui Pekini degit, mendacissimis Romae nuntiis persuasisse, nullum in prohibendis ritibus esse periculum, eo quod imperator de iis non curaret : ipsummet Pedrini prohibitionis decreta suae Maiestati singillatim iam proposuisse, nec eam inde commotam, ullumve indignationis signum monstrasse. Ut proinde Roma minime dubitarit, ad praeceptum adeo rigorosum progredi. *Succinta relatio [November 7, 1717] eorum, quae in Sinis contingere circa et post publicatum ibi praeceptum Apostolicum super prohibendis ritibus " (property of the Jesuits). What follows is based on this report.

addressed to the secular priests whilst the latter sought to extricate themselves with evasive answers. The result was that on October 31st, Kanghi published a circular in which the rumours concerning a papal prohibition of the rites were described as malicious inventions: all the missionaries were made to subscribe to the imperial manifesto.

The missionaries' fears of the consequences of the papal decree were justified by the excitement of the Christians when a beginning was made with its promulgation. In the early hours of September 25th a manifesto was found posted up in all the churches of Canton, the author of which declared that he had been a Christian, but that he had found out that the Western Religion was a false one, seeing that it forbade the veneration of the ancestors, hence he urged everyone to cast it off.

In spite of their worst fears all the missionaries of Canton submitted when Cerù, the Procurator of the Proaganda missionaries, to whom the papal Constitution had been forwarded, brought it to their notice, not officially, but in a friendly and informal fashion. All took the required oath and prayed for absolution from any censures they might have incurred.

News of the new Constitution reached Peking in the first days of October. Kilian Stumpf, the Visitor of the Jesuits, requested his subjects to submit to the decision, regardless of the protest of the King of Portugal, and to carry out whatever the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic might enjoin them. On the other hand they should do nothing rash in so important a matter, in which the salvation of thousands was at stake. All those who, with a view to escaping from the straits of conscience which could be foreseen, wished to leave the mission, were free to do so, but he begged all of them to put their trust in God and to remain at their posts, though for the time being they should refrain from exercising their priestly functions until a solution was found. Stumpf submitted his letters to the Bishops for correction by them, if necessary.

In the second half of October, Cerù forwarded printed

copies of the papal decree to the Bishop of Peking¹ who resided at Lintshing in Shantung. Thereupon the Bishop summoned all the missionaries of the province to his residence, whilst he dispatched his Vicar-General, the Franciscan Carlo Orazio of Castorano to Peking for the purpose of promulgating the Bull there. This commission Castorano executed as soon as he set foot in the Jesuit College, but as he was about to proceed with all speed to the residence of the French Jesuits, he was warned not to publish the Bull there just then inasmuch as, by reason of the subscription to the imperial circular, the house was full of suspicious people from the imperial palace ; he would be much safer at the eastern Residence of the Jesuits where he could send for the Fathers individually. However, trusting in Pedrini's assurances, Castorano would not listen to these warnings. The purpose of his visit became quickly known, with the result that he was taken to prison fastened with nine chains for having published a false edict against the customs of the country.

Castorano's arrest was an evil presage. Stumpf spent the whole night writing letters, first to the Bishop, lest the interrogatory to which he too was sure to be subjected should find him altogether unprepared, then to the missionaries of Shantung whom he begged to repair in all haste to Lintshing, to support their Bishop as Della Chiesa was inadequately acquainted with the language of the country.

The Bishop's interrogatory was not long delayed. Della Chiesa admitted that in the course of the preceding years he had on two occasions received decrees from Rome on the question of the rites, but that out of consideration for the Emperor he had not dared to publish them. He had repeatedly informed Rome that these decrees could not be carried into effect in China. During the present year he had received yet another decree, accompanied by severe threats should he refuse to promulgate it. Pedrini had written to the Pope that the Emperor approved the Roman decrees, and that

¹ Cf. *Arch. Francisc. hist.*, XV., 591 ; XXI., 146 ; LEMMENS, 129 seqq.

relying on that fact Castorano had gone to Peking by order of his own Bishop for the purpose of promulgating the Bull. His not informing the Emperor was a crime worthy of death, for which he craved forgiveness. Castorano was subjected to even more searching interrogations, but he carefully avoided avowing his opposition to the rites, though he had always fiercely combated them.

However, it was upon Pedrini that, after Kanghi's return from Tartary, the vials of the imperial wrath were poured out. Although put on his guard, Pedrini went to meet the Emperor at a time when he was still ignorant of Castorano's arrest. As soon as Kanghi caught sight of him he took him violently to task through one of the eunuchs and held him responsible for Castorano's fate. Kanghi ordered all Europeans to appear before him on November 12th when he began by reproaching them in general terms with having made an ill return for his favours. After that the storm burst over Pedrini: how dare he send false information to the Pope? When Pedrini replied that such things were beyond him, that he did not meddle with them, Kanghi asked for the memorial on the rites and on the Jesuits which Pedrini had previously presented to him; he himself read a few passages from the document and gave a summary of its contents. On the evening of the following day Pedrini had to endure further reproaches from the Emperor in presence of all the Europeans; he pleaded guilty and was forgiven but was compelled to put his signature to a disavowal of his previous letter to the Pope. Pedrini's pardon was extended to Castorano as to the less guilty of the two, but the latter was ordered to recover all the printed copies of the last Bull and to send them back to Europe. Castorano contented himself with returning two copies, a circumstance which involved him in considerable difficulties with the mandarins.

As for the missionaries everything now depended on the action of the Bishop of Peking. In his interrogatory Della Chiesa had described the Bull as impossible of execution and he had written to the Jesuits of Peking that he would never have given orders for its promulgation if he had had

knowledge of Pedrini's untruths or had suspected that the Emperor's anger would be roused as it was. A little later, however, he wrote that he could do nothing to attenuate the papal order and when pressed by Stumpf he admitted that Pedrini had certainly deserved the galleys,¹ and that he had explicitly written to Rome that in future no credence should be given to so thoughtless a man ; as for instructions on how to deal with existing difficulties, a blind man was no judge of colours.

With the Vicar-General Castorano the Jesuits insisted that he should give them written instructions whether and how the papal ordinances should be translated, what precautions should be taken when bringing them to the knowledge of the Christians and what customs might be permitted to the neophytes ; let him at least give some guidance by his own practice in the churches of the Jesuits. However, all they could obtain from him was that it was enough to acquaint the Christians with the decree by word of mouth, that the Bishops had no further directions to give since the decrees forbade everything ; at most all that could be allowed was a prostration before the coffin of the dead, but somewhat on one side, so that the inclination should not be immediately directed towards the deceased ! Maigrot had already had recourse to an equally ridiculous expedient when, after prostrating before a coffin, he said that his inclination was meant for one of the ladies present.

If for the time being the Jesuits decided no longer to administer the Sacraments and if, after a while, other missionaries adopted a similar line of action,² the explanation of their conduct must be looked for in the situation in which they found themselves. People in Europe had no idea of the obstinate tenacity with which the Chinese clung to their

¹ Cf. THOMAS, 266.

² " *Atque in illorum sententiam postliminium etiam ex illis concesserunt quidam, qui non uno modo praeceptum apud suos exequi studiose allaborarunt: nam in obstacula occurrentes insuperabilia, ne totam rem christianam pessumdarent, manum retrahere coacti sunt." *Succincta relatio*.

customs as something perfectly natural. The opponents of the Jesuits had asserted time and again that the prohibition of the rites would not injure the mission.¹ But a bitter disillusionment was in store for everyone. Those Chinese Christians who gave up the rites were a diminutive number. The overwhelming majority promised at most with their lips to abandon the rites though without any real intention to do so, at any rate they omitted to mention in confession that they had practised them. Hence there was scarcely any alternative for the missionaries except either to disregard the Bull or to baptize and absolve unworthy subjects.² For the rest, when the General learnt that his subjects no longer administered the Sacraments, he blamed their conduct in

¹ " *Haec [the jealousy] ut Iesuitas pessumdaret, iam viginti annis Europam implevit clamoribus, manuscriptis, impressis libris, contra conscientiam attestando, nullum periculum esse in condemnandis ritibus vocibusque Sinicis, atque ita compulit commissarium Apostolicum ad condemnandum, condemnationem secuta est ruina ecclesiae Sinensis. CASTNER, *Relatio, dedicatio*.

² BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 2383; TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*, 81, 84; "Laureati to Mezzabarba, January 2, 1721, *Anecdotes*, IV., 278 *seq.* *Pauciores reliqui [missionarii], qui sacra ministrare pergunt et occultis adhortationibus maxime intra tribunalis poenitentiae secretum christianos ad decretorum observantiam invitare, non alio id fructu peragunt, quam ut pro mille vix decem reperiant, quibus sacra dispensare mysteria queant, eosque vel famulos dumtaxat suos ac domesticos, vel nullo propinquitatis vinculo colligatos, pauperes atque illiteratos. Aut si qui forte alii, ut divinatorum participes fiant, se decretis oboedituros spondent, faciunt tamen postea nihil minus, sed antiquo patriae more suis pro occasione et loco ritibus funguntur, quia revera gravissimis ex causis supersedere illis non possunt. Ut adeo prae his sinceriores Deumque timentiores se christianos prodant, qui suis irretiti impedimentis, sacrorum communionem malunt non petere, quam sacrilege ea frui, fecte promittentes quae observandi firmum nequeunt habere propositum. Quae omnia multiplici et heu nimis certo ipsorum missionariorum testimonio confirmantur." *Succincta relatio*.

the strongest terms. He did not at once succeed in removing all scruples but by degrees the Jesuits resumed the administration of the Sacraments generally, with the exception of Peking where in consequence of an Imperial decree, great caution was necessary at least in public.¹ Many Propaganda missionaries continued to administer the Sacraments inasmuch as they had made up their minds that they were not bound to ask questions in confession on the observance of the rites once the penitents had been informed of the prohibition, or that they could content themselves with a simple promise of the penitents not to practise the rites in future and that they were not obliged to make sure of the sincerity of such a promise.²

Thus the greatest confusion prevailed in the interpretation of the papal decree even though all the missionaries in Canton³ and all the Jesuits⁴ had sworn to the Constitution. When on April 16th, 1717, the nine highest tribunals decreed the banishment of the missionaries, the destruction of the churches and forcible abjuration of the Christian faith, Kanghi confirmed their sentence. However, he was unwilling to break completely with the Europeans; he assured the Jesuits that the sentence would not be carried out against those who obtained a special

¹ TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*, 73 *seqq.*, 109, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

³ Cf. above, p. 462.

⁴ "Pour ce qui est de la soumission de ses missionnaires à la Bulle "Ex illa die", le général a des preuves convaincantes de leur obéissance prompte et volontaire à l'exception d'un petit nombre, dont on a parlé. Les actes de leur serment lui ont été envoyés; il a eu l'honneur de les montrer à Clément XI., qui les a vus avec une grande démonstration de joie" (TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*, 53). The Jesuit Goville of Canton, in answer to certain accusations, writes: "J'y souscrivis [the oath] avec une entière soumission de cœur et d'esprit"; he can say the same thing with certainty of the other seven Jesuits of the house at Canton, and as for the other Fathers, he has a hundred reasons to believe in the sincerity of their subscription. *Mémoires de Trévoux*, 1735, 2627. Cf. *ibid.*, 1736, 2784 *seq.*

licence, a so-called "Piao."¹ Some further tokens of imperial indulgence towards the Christians raised hopes in Rome for a favourable turn in China, especially as the Portuguese Government also repealed its measures against the execution of the papal decree of 1715 against the rites, and let it be known that it would not object to the appointment of a new papal Legate, provided he journeyed *viâ* Lisbon.²

In these circumstances Rome decided to send out another Legate. For so arduous a task as was the solution of the question of the rites, the ability of the most experienced Roman diplomatist would scarcely have sufficed, yet probably in consideration of the fact that only a young man would be equal to the fatigues of the long sea voyage, the choice for the difficult post fell on Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba who was only 34 years of age. In the consistory of September 18th, 1719, the Pope named him Patriarch of Alexandria and announced his mission; a Brief of September 29th granted him the same faculties as had been given to Tournon.³ A number of Briefs were addressed to the King of Portugal, to the latter's brother, the Marchese de Abrantes, to the Emperor of China, to the Archbishop of Goa and to the Bishops of China,⁴ with a view to paving the way for the Legate.

(7.)

In compliance with Portugal's wishes, Mezzabarba elected to travel *viâ* Lisbon, but he was soon to realize whilst at the court of Lisbon, that his doing so had by no means removed all difficulties. Like Tournon before him, he too was summoned to produce his credentials, and the Legate submitted to the

¹ BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 2383.

² JANN, 490 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 491 *seq.*; *Op.*, Orat. consist., 162 *seq.* *Consultations on Mezzabarba's mission in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 263, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ September 30, 1719, *Op.*, Brevia, 2359-2374.

demand. The Bull was restored to him though with considerable alterations in accordance with the principles of Portuguese Cæsaro-Papalism.¹ On March 25th, 1720, Mezzabarba sailed from Lisbon and on September 23rd he landed at Macao.

The first reports he received there were not encouraging. The year before two missionaries of Tournon's suite had been driven from Macao during a foggy night. The Jesuit Joseph Provana, Kanghi's last envoy to the Pope, had died on the return journey to China. More cheering was the information that two Barnabites who had been instructed to prepare the ground for Mezzabarba, were in fact on their way to Peking with a papal Brief.²

After a solemn reception by the Portuguese authorities and by five mandarins, the Legate set out from Macao on October 7th. On December 23rd, after a stay at Canton from 12th till 29th October, he reached the Emperor's country seat of Chamchunyven, three miles from Peking, where the Emperor was staying at the time.³ Even during the voyage Mezzabarba had a foretaste of the unpleasantnesses that awaited him when Cerù, the Procurator of the Missionaries of Propaganda, who had come to meet him, was arrested

¹ JANN, 500 *seq.*

² [VIANI], *Journal de Mezzabarba in Anecdotes*, IV., 2 *seq.* It is stated there (*ibid.*, V., 274) that a copy of this Journal was found among the papers of a dead Cardinal of Propaganda, and that Mezzabarba had observed absolute secrecy about his legation. Cf. *Giornale della legazione della China, che incomincia dalli 23 di settembre 1720, scritto dal P. Viani Servita, confessore di M. Patriarca nel tempo della sua legazione*, in *Legazione della Cina di Msgr. Mezzabarba Patriarca* (Collezione Vaticana di documenti Gesuitici, vol. 34), printed at Cologne, 1740. The *Journal*, in BAHR's opinion (III), is rather "a slanderous romance" than an impartial report. A companion of Mezzabarba, the priest Bernardine Campi, also left a *Ristretto di memorie del mio passaggio in Cina* (Arch. stor. Lombardo, LI. [1924], 260).

³ [VIANI], *Journal*, *loc. cit.*, II, 13, 47, 92.

under his very eyes and kept under restraint for a few days on the plea of an alleged offence against etiquette,¹ and on several occasions Mezzabarba himself had to undergo a kind of interrogatory before some mandarins. At Canton he was questioned on the purpose of his coming and his aims? Whether Tournon had been really sent by the Pope? How it was that during the whole of the past twenty years the Emperor had never heard anything from any of his envoys to Rome? To the latter question Mezzabarba replied that he himself had been appointed by the Pope to act as a substitute for Provana who had fallen ill in Rome. With this he hinted that he had some communications to make about the rites, for Provana had been sent to Rome in connection with the rites. However, he would not as yet openly declare that he had come to carry into effect the Bull on the rites as in that case he would have found it difficult to see the Emperor.² At the frontier of the province of Kiangsi the Legate met two more mandarins who questioned him on a papal Constitution with various prohibitions. This time too Mezzabarba evaded the awkward question. The mandarins also wanted to know whether the two Barnabites had been really sent by the Pope and they put the same question with regard to two other personalities frequently mentioned thereafter, namely Pedrini and Ripa, who had come to China with Fabri who was already dead, whom the Jesuits had described as Propaganda missionaries and not as direct envoys of the Pope. The Legate acknowledged the two men as papal envoys.³

Mezzabarba underwent his most searching interrogatory at a place thirty miles from Peking. There he expressly stated that the purpose of his mission was to request the Emperor to permit the observance of the Bull on the rites. The manifold difficulties which the Legate was subsequently to encounter began to make themselves felt from this moment.

¹ *Ibid.*, 15-20.

² *Ibid.*, 27-32.

³ *Ibid.*, 49 *seqq.*

He was told that the Emperor's decision was irrevocable, but Mezzabarba replied that the Emperor need not revoke anything, he was only asked to grant to the Christians the free exercise of their religion. What would the Pope say, the Legate was told, if the Emperor of China pretended to decide what customs should be observed in Rome? To this the Legate replied that the Pope had no intention of altering the customs of the Chinese, all he desired was to remove the errors of the Christians. But how could the Pope forbid what his predecessor had allowed? Mezzabarba replied that on closer examination of a question it was quite possible to find that an earlier opinion was a mistaken one. Thereupon the mandarins adopted another tone. They no longer spoke in the name of the Emperor, but speaking as friends they reminded him of the fate of Tournon, Maigrot and Castorano : whosoever followed in their path would fare like them. Mezzabarba replied that he would do all in his power to win the Emperor's favour. At the mandarins' request he then summed up his demands to the Emperor in two short sentences : he prayed for the free exercise of their religion by the Christians, with the observance of the papal Bull on the rites, and for himself liberty to appear everywhere as the Superior of all the Christians in China.¹

On his arrival at the imperial residence of Chamchunyven, Mezzabarba and his companions were accommodated in a neighbouring house : sentries prevented their leaving it.

On the very evening of his arrival the four mandarins handed to the Legate the answer to his demands. It stated that the Emperor granted everything he had asked for, on condition that he left the elder generation of Europeans in the service of his Majesty whilst he took the others with him to Rome, where he might communicate to them the papal decree and exercise his rights as their Superior. The Europeans who remained at Peking, but not the Chinese, would be allowed to comply with the papal ordinance. Only on these terms would he allow the papal ordinance to have any force

¹ *Ibid.*, 87-91.

at all, for his own commands were irrevocable. Seeing that Maigrot was the cause of the disputes, the Emperor expressed his surprise that Mezzabarba had come without him, so that the latter might justify himself. The Emperor had at first intended to receive the Legate amicably but as he perceived that he was opposed to his laws on two points, he had decided not to admit him at all.¹

All the Legate could do for the moment was to express his profound disappointment. Maigrot was unable to accompany him, he said, as he was too old and too ill to undergo the hardships of a long sea voyage; moreover he had nothing to do with the Constitution; hence he prayed his Majesty at least to read the Brief in which the Pope explained the reasons that had led him to publish the Constitution. Impossible to persuade the Emperor to do this so long as the Legate maintained his standpoint, the mandarins replied, impossible to persuade the Emperor to approve the Constitution or to change his mind. On the other hand Mezzabarba's request to the mandarins to intervene with the Emperor on his behalf appeared to make some impression. They asked him to set down in writing his demands to the Emperor, they would bring him an answer on the morrow.²

However, the next day brought no decision. In the afternoon the mandarins presented themselves once more, when they repeated in substance their previous statements. The Pope, they alleged, had not received Provana, the imperial envoy, with the honours due to him, hence, strictly speaking, the Emperor was at liberty to treat the papal delegate in like manner. Yet the Emperor was prepared to overlook the occurrence had Mezzabarba been the bearer of an agreeable message, but since he brought proposals which were at variance with the laws of the land, the Emperor was resolved to send him back to Europe without delay, together with the other Europeans who would present themselves before the Legate on the following day. Mezzabarba repeated his

¹ *Ibid.*, 92 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 93 seq. Cf. Appendix No. 13.

previous answers, renewed his request that the Emperor would receive the Brief or, since the four dignitaries declared that this request could not possibly be granted, that he would at least allow its contents to be brought to his notice, for instance by Pedrini and Ripa. The mandarins replied that they could not meddle with such matters; Mezzabarba accordingly made a last request, namely that he should be allowed to make a somewhat prolonged stay in the country to enable him to recover from the fatigue of the exhausting journey. So reasonable a request was readily acceded to, though not Mezzabarba's further proposal that the mandarins should offer to the Emperor in his name the presents which he had brought from Europe. By way of concession the Legate announced that he was prepared to forgo his second demand, namely, recognition of his supremacy over the Chinese Christians; as for the Constitution, he could not alter it in any way, but he remarked repeatedly that the Brief allowed those Chinese usages which were not at variance with the Christian religion.¹

On the other hand the imperial threats were not to be taken too literally. On the following day the Legate was given lodgings in a monastery of bonzes close to the palace. This was done, so he was informed, in order to facilitate his negotiations with the mandarins, as the moment had not yet come for him to see the Emperor himself. He nevertheless

¹ " Que le Pape avoit porté la condescendance jusqu'à permettre les cérémonies de la nation, qui ne sont pas contraires à la religion chrétienne, quoiqu'elles ne se pratiquent pas en Europe [VIANI], *Journal, loc. cit.*, 98) ; que cet Bref accordoit des permissions fort étendues de pratiquer ce qui n'étoit pas opposé à la foi des chrétiens (*ibid.*, 104). According to this, therefore, the eight modifications published later, were a papal concession. Immediately on his arrival at his summer palace in Peking the Legate communicated the " permissions " to the Mandarins ; he had, therefore, brought them from Rome ready-made. *Anecdotes*, IV., 106, 112, 114, 117. Cf. BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2386 ; Appendix No. 13. On the negotiations of December 27, cf. [VIANI], *Journal, loc. cit.*, 96-105.

received a communication from the latter on the same day. Was it true, Kanghi inquired, that Mezzabarba had two documents to present, the Constitution and a Brief with mitigations? Pedrini and Ripa, whom Mezzabarba wished to use as interpreters, were unsuitable; Pedrini had offended the Emperor and was a disturber of the peace after the manner of Maigrot; and as for Appiani, he owed it solely to the goodness of the Emperor that he was not executed for matters which it was best not to specify in detail. Maigrot was the author of all the contentions. If concord was not achieved, Kanghi would feel compelled to request the Pope either to send that disturber of the peace to China, to have his head cut off, or to punish him himself.¹

Mezzabarba replied that he had a Brief which would satisfy the Emperor, Besides Pedrini, he had also asked for Ripa as an interpreter. Maigrot had had nothing to do with the Constitution.

The mandarins now demanded to see the contents of the Brief. After the Legate had been removed to another house, two miles away from the Emperor's residence, he received an imperial order, in the evening, to state the contents of the Brief in writing. Mezzabarba replied that he had indeed seen a copy of it in Rome but that he could not trust his memory. After further pressure he finally consented to give a short summary of the contents of the Brief as well as of the papal concessions.² The Emperor seemed satisfied; two mandarins congratulated the Europeans on the settlement of the dispute since the Pope granted every one of the Emperor's demands.³ However, on December 29th the Emperor complained once more of Maigrot and Pedrini,⁴ but on the following day he sent one of his nephews with the four mandarins to greet the Legate and to express the

¹ *Ibid.*, 105-7.

² *Ibid.*, 108 *seqq.* Extracts from the Brief, *ibid.*, 114-17; extract from the concessions, *ibid.*, 117-19.

³ *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 120-7.

Emperor's satisfaction at his arrival; by his command a solemn reception of all the Europeans was held at the house of the papal delegate, and on December 31st the Legate was received in solemn audience by the Emperor when Mezzabarba handed the Brief to Kanghi. The Legate was presented with valuable furs; a banquet followed at which he was waited upon by the same mandarins who had questioned him up to this time. With his own hand Kanghi handed to the Pope's representative a draught of wine in a golden cup, but in the conversation which ensued Kanghi put off for another audience a definitive answer to the burning questions.¹

If on this occasion the Emperor treated Mezzabarba with extraordinary regard, the fact that the two Barnabites who had been sent to prepare the ground for the Legate, and who had been thrown into prison, were now set at liberty, could also be considered as yet another favour.² The Legate was likewise assigned more commodious lodgings.³ After the audience Mezzabarba sent the presents he had brought for the Emperor⁴ whilst the mandarins renewed their efforts to induce him to yield.⁵ In his answer the Legate pointed to the many concessions which he was prepared to make in the name of the Pope.⁶ As the Emperor was resolved to send yet another envoy to Rome, a priest in the Legate's suite of the name of Rueda was chosen for that duty.⁷

Accompanied by Rueda, Mezzabarba had a second audience on January 3rd, 1721,⁸ and a third on January 10th, when

¹ *Ibid.*, 132-141.

² *Ibid.*, 127-132.

³ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 141-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150, 153.

⁶ "Que pour faire connoître à S. M. combien le Pape désiroit entrer dans ses sentimens il avoit eu l'honneur de lui envoyer beaucoup de permissions, dont on pouvoit faire usage, et qui suffisoient pour faire connoître que le Pape n'en veut pas aux coutumes de la Chine, mais uniquement à ce qui offense la pureté du culte." *Ibid.*, 153 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 157-166.

he was accompanied by Rueda and Rainaldi, but this time Kanghi did all the talking and gave the Legate no chance to reply.¹ After these somewhat intimate interviews there dawned at last the day which Viani's diary describes as the most splendid one for all the Europeans present, as a day worthy of everlasting remembrance, which would have meant peace for the mission, concord among the missionaries, complete liberty to preach the Gospel, had not "the abominable wickedness of certain godless men" promptly destroyed everything.² On January 14th, in presence of all the Europeans, a solemn audience was held,³ when Kanghi repeated⁴ what he had already told Mezzabarba on January 10th before a few witnesses, namely, that the use of the tablets of the ancestors, which the Constitution forbade, did not derive from Confucius and the classical books; they were but the invention of insignificant scribes, whose writings were hawked in the street for the entertainment of the ignorant populace.⁵ The whole thing was a trivial matter and not worthy of being submitted to the judgment of the imperial tribunal, in fact it was so insignificant that it was not worth talking about. The conversation then turned to the prohibition of "Tien" and "Shang-Ti" as names of God; Kanghi again suggested that they should speak of something else, for the things hitherto brought forward were of such a trifling nature that he failed to understand why there had been so much contention about them. Mezzabarba sought of course to hold the Emperor to these concessions and prayed him to sanction the directions of the papal decree concerning the tablets of the ancestors and the names of God.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 176-180.

² *Ibid.*, 181 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁶ There were at least four accounts of the proceedings at the audience of January 14 (*ibid.*, 208, 217, 218, 219). By order of Kanghi the Mandarins had to keep a diary of Mezzabarba's Legation from December 25, 1720, onwards: further information

The Legate and the missionaries were overjoyed at the issue of the audience for they imagined that, in view of Kanghi's remarks on the veneration of the ancestors and the divine names, the whole question of the rites was now disposed of and that the Emperor would allow the Constitution to be published.¹ The Jesuits alone did not share the universal jubilation.² The Emperor, they said, had not been serious ; he often spoke somewhat cryptically and it was necessary to wait for his decree before one could know his real intentions.³ That they knew and understood Kanghi better than the others was to appear only too soon, but their reserve amid the universal satisfaction was made a reproach to them. It is not difficult to see who were the godless men of abominable wickedness of whom Viani, the enemy of the Jesuits, wrote. Ripa observed to the Legate that he and the other missionaries of Propaganda doubted not that the Jesuits would induce the Emperor to withdraw his concessions.⁴

in *Anecdotes*, V., 210-220, 226-236. The report of the Mandarins on the audiences of January 14 and 19 is given word for word, *ibid.*, 215 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.* On the meaning of the Emperor's words the Mandarins say (*ibid.*, 220) : " Les Européens ne comprirent pas le sens des réponses de l'empereur, qui avait parlé par ironie ; et parce que le légat avoit fait instance sur instance pour obtenir ce qu'il demandoit ; et quelques Européens ont presque été persuadés que l'empereur avoit accordé tout ce qu'on lui avoit demandé." On the audience of January 14, *cf.* the memorial of M. Tamburini, General of the Jesuits to Innocent XIII., in *Anecdotes*, VI., 353-373 ; also Appendix No. 9.

¹ *Anecdotes*, IV., 193 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 192, 194 *seq.*

³ Le P. Morao dit . . . qu'il ne falloit pas chanter avant la victoire ; que l'empereur avoit parlé ironiquement ; qu'il ne falloit pas compter sur les paroles d'un prince accoutumé à être mystérieux dans ses discours ; qu'il falloit attendre le Chy, dont le monarque se servoit pour manifester ses véritables sentimens. . . . Les autres Jésuites entrèrent dans les mêmes sentimens et parlèrent le même langage." *Ibid.*, 199 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 200. Already on January 16 we read that (*Anecdotes*, V., 227) the Emperor had changed his mind.

There is, of course, no evidence of the Jesuits having taken any steps in that sense, but the Emperor's sentiments were soon revealed. In the gladness of his heart Mezzabarba was anxious to dispatch Raimond and Rueda at once with a letter to communicate the great news to the Pope, but after the message had been translated into Chinese and submitted to the Emperor, there was no further question of the embassy.¹

Kanghi now asked to see the text of the papal Constitution.² When it was returned it bore the following concluding observation³: "All that can be said about this decree is that one asks oneself how the Europeans, ignorant and contemptible as they are, presume to deliver judgment on the lofty teaching of the Chinese, seeing that they know neither their manners and their customs nor their letters. To-day the Legate presents a decree which teaches a doctrine similar to that of the impious sects of the Hoxans and Tassus who tear one another with pitiless cruelty. It is not advisable to allow the Europeans to proclaim their law in China. They must be forbidden to speak of it; in this way many difficulties and embarrassments will be avoided."

Mezzabarba replied to the Emperor in a letter in which he once again prayed for freedom to preach Christianity in its pure form, whilst promising complete submission on the part of the Christians in respect to everything else. The Jesuits were of opinion that the letter would only further rouse the Emperor and refused to sign it; were they to do so, they said, their position in China would be untenable and the mission would be doomed. The only thing for the Legate to do was to suspend the Constitution. But this Mezzabarba was not empowered to do.⁴ So the Jesuits sought another way out of the difficulty. The Constitution, some of them argued, was merely a papal "command"; now a command

¹ Viani holds the Jesuits responsible for the disappearance of the letter. *Ibid.*, 209.

² *Ibid.*, 210 *seqq.*, 216.

³ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 220 *seq.*

does not oblige if its execution is fraught with grievously injurious consequences, as was the case with the Constitution.¹

The mandarins now informed the Legate that the Emperor would not receive him any longer, but that he was free to submit in writing whatever he might have to say.² It would seem that only now did Mezzabarba forward to the Emperor the list of concessions which he had brought from Rome.³ Whilst his letter on the subject was being translated into Chinese, Pedrini and Ripa were arrested under his very eyes and taken to prison. When the mandarins presented themselves once more before Mezzabarba, on January 19th, the two missionaries were made to accompany them in chains.⁴ On the same day the mandarins declared in the name of the Emperor that, as a matter of fact, the forbidden rites were equivocal, but that the Chinese put the right interpretation on them, just as the Chinese names for Ripa, Tournon, Mezzabarba were borrowed from the customs of idolatrous sects but were nevertheless perfectly harmless. The Emperor would send his decision immediately ; as a matter of fact it came that same afternoon. It was written in the Emperor's own hand, in red characters, and was a refusal.⁵ Kanghi

¹ *Ibid.*, 222 seqq.

² *Ibid.*, 226 seq.

³ His letter, *ibid.*, 230 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 235. Of Mezzabarba's eight concessions (*ibid.*, 117 seq. ; *Ius pontif.*, III., 77 seq.) the Emperor takes into consideration Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6. The restrictive clause in them is considered unfounded, and the remaining concessions are thereby also disposed of. Regarding the first concession, viz. the use of the tablets of the ancestors, provided only the name of the deceased is written on them, with a short marginal explanation of the meaning of such tablets—Kanghi remarked sarcastically : these are, therefore, tablets of ancestors after the manner of the idolatrous Hoxans. From this it was concluded that the Emperor was ready to grant to the Christians such corrected tablets (notes to Viani's diary in *Anecdotes*, IV., 384). However, among the Hoxans only the (despised) priests used such corrected tablets, whereas their adherents simply followed the usual Chinese custom.

added a lengthy attack on Yentang, viz. Maigrot, who, he alleged, was the cause of all the mischief and who was determined to decide the question though he did not know fifty Chinese characters. The mandarins further explained that the Emperor was thinking of communicating his decision to all the Christian Princes viâ Moscow.¹

Mezzabarba had perforce to admit that his mission was a complete failure : recognition by the Emperor of Clement XI.'s Bull on the rites was not to be thought of. He now yielded to the insistence of those who begged him to suspend it at least to the extent of writing to Kanghi, praying him to extend his pardon to those Europeans who had trespassed in any way, and to refrain, for the time being, from carrying out his threat of informing the Christian Princes. He himself would inform the Pope of the Emperor's sentiments ; meanwhile he would not interfere, or change anything, but would leave things as they were.² The letter also bore the signatures of five Jesuits and seven Propaganda missionaries.³

There was nothing more for Mezzabarba to do in China. However, through the intervention of the Jesuits he was received in audience on January 20th, when Kanghi once more vented his resentment against Pedrini and Maigrot, as the authors of all the trouble, and against the Pope. The Legate prayed for leave to take his departure ; this was granted on condition that he came back to China with a favourable answer from the Pope.⁴ The Emperor's anger vented itself both against Pedrini who had been made to read one of his accusations against the Jesuits in the latter's presence, and against their Superior, Laureati, who had been instrumental in bringing together Mezzabarba and the Emperor. When Laureati was discovered in his hiding place

¹ *Ibid.*, 420.

² " Je m'offre d'aller à Rome informer le Pape des sentimens de Votre Majesté : en attendant je ne changerai rien, je ne ferai aucun acte, et je laisserai les choses en l'état où elles sont." *Ibid.*, 245 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 250-4.

in a house outside Peking, he was thrown into chains¹; at the intercession of the Legate he was, however, set at liberty.²

In the sequel Mezzabarba was repeatedly received by the Emperor. On January 26th Kanghi re-stated his view on the tablets of the ancestors. Nobody, he said, believed that the souls of the dead were present in them, and no one asked or hoped for any favours from them.³ On the 27th, on the occasion of a banquet, the Emperor again singled out the Legate as well as the Russian ambassador, by offering them a cup of wine with his own hands,⁴ a gesture repeated by him at the farewell audience of March 1st.⁵ Mezzabarba had to plead once more on behalf of Pedrini. The Emperor had ordered the mandarins to draw up an account of the various incidents of Mezzabarba's legation, but Pedrini refused to sign the document inasmuch as it accused him of having transmitted lies to Rome. For this the Emperor ordered him to receive the bastinado, whereupon Pedrini allowed himself to be persuaded to subscribe.⁶ But this time Mezzabarba's intercession was in vain; the Emperor condemned him to imprisonment, but allowed him to serve

¹ Laureati to Cerù, February, 1721, *ibid.*, 260; *cf.* 255, 258.

² *Ibid.*, 266.

³ "Le monarque lui dit, que la cause pour laquelle il avoit été envoyé étoit finie, qu'il croyoit devoir encore lui déclarer, que la doctrine des tablettes n'étoit conforme ni à celle de Confucius ni aux loix de l'empire, et qu'elle doit son institution à la fantaisie des peuples, qui depuis deux cents ans au plus, avoient fait des portraits, qu'on a gardés pour conserver le souvenir des ancêtres; que les peuples s'apercevant du peu de ressemblance de ces portraits, leur substituèrent des tablettes avec l'inscription: "Siège de l'esprit," quoique tout le monde fût persuadé que l'esprit des défunts n'étoit pas présent à ces tablettes, uniquement établies pour se rappeler le souvenir des ancêtres; que personne n'en espéroit ni bien ni avantage et que par conséquent on ne leur demandoit rien." *Ibid.*, 268 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 309, 311, 317, 326. *Cf.* above, p. 480.

his sentence in the Jesuit residence at Peking. On the part of the Emperor this meant an act of leniency, but for the Jesuits the fact of their being made the gaolers of a fellow missionary was fraught with the worst consequences.¹ On March 3rd, 1721, provided with presents for the Pope and the King of Portugal, Mezzabarba set out from Peking for Macao which he reached on May 27th,² after a thirteen days' stay at Canton and a few weeks after Clement XI.'s death.

Mezzabarba remained at Macao until the end of the year and from there addressed a pastoral instruction to the Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic and the missionaries.³ After a lengthy introduction he exhorts them to concord, which would be established by the execution of all the Pope's commands of the year 1715. There was no need to promulgate these commands anew and he himself permitted none of the things which they forbade. A passage of his letter, January 19th, 1721, recurs here: "We make no innovations but leave things as they are."⁴ Contrary to what had been asked of him at the imperial residence,⁵ Mezzabarba expressly declares that he in no wise suspended Clement XI.'s Constitution on the rites and permitted nothing that it forbade. Nevertheless, in order to meet certain scruples in connection with the use of the rites, he mentions a few customs which could be tolerated, though the missionaries must see to it that they were gradually abolished and replaced by Christian practices. There follow eight concessions of which there had been question soon after his arrival in China.⁶ Permission is given (1°) to keep ancestral tablets in private houses, on condition that they

¹ Cf. XXXIV, 90.

² *Anecdotes*, VI., 330-8.

³ It is also embodied in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. of October 4, 1742, *Ius pontif.*, III., 73-83; *Collectanea*, 137 seq.

⁴ "Non enim opus est, ut aliquem actum faciamus, ut [Clementis XI.] mandata iam promulgata vobis innotescant. . . . Nihil proinde innovamus, sed relinquimus res prout sunt" (*Ius pontif.*, III., 77). Cf. above, p. 480, n. 2.

⁵ Above, p. 478.

⁶ Above, p. 374.

bore nothing but the name of the dead, that a statement on the meaning of the tablet was put by their side, that there was no superstitious practice in the making of the tablets and no risk of scandal. 2° All ceremonies for the dead which are neither superstitious nor suspect, but bear a purely civil character, are allowed. 3° The cult of Confucius is also allowed in so far as it is a purely civil ceremony: the tablets with his monogram are also allowed, if they are corrected and explained in the same way as the tablets of the ancestors. Candles and perfumes might be burnt before such tablets and food could be set before them. 4° Candles and perfumes may be offered at funerals if accompanied by a written explanation. 5° Inclinations, genuflections and the prostration of the whole body before the corrected ancestral tablets, or before the bier, or the bodies of the dead, are also tolerated. 6° Tables with sweets, fruit, meat and other food may be set beside, or before the bier, provided the ancestral tablet was corrected and explained and every trace of superstition removed and if everything was done solely out of respect and piety towards the dead. 7° The so-called "Kotau" before the corrected ancestral tablet at the new year is likewise permitted. 8° Candles may be lit, perfumes burnt before the corrected ancestral tablets as well as upon the graves, where food may also be placed, but only with the safe-guards indicated above.

There follows an appeal to the missionaries' zeal and an exhortation that all should resume their activities. The concessions may be cautiously brought to the notice of the Chinese Christians in so far as it may be useful or necessary. For the rest the instruction is exclusively addressed to the missionaries and it is forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to translate it into the Tartar or the Chinese language or to communicate it to anyone.

In his Bull on the Chinese rites,¹ Benedict XIV. declared that the last clause in particular clearly betrayed the embarrassment in which Mezzabarba found himself. Shortly before Benedict had written to John V. of Portugal that Mezzabarba's

¹ *Ius pontif.*, III., 79.

concessions tended either to deprive Clement XI.'s Constitution of its binding force, or to destroy it altogether ; either the Legate had exceeded his powers, or his instructions had been given too wide an interpretation, or put in a wrong light by those who wished to do away with Clement XI.'s Constitution on the basis of these concessions.¹ On the other hand it would seem that Mezzabarba did not altogether act on his own initiative. Numerous questions had reached Rome from missionaries in China on which the Pope sought the opinion of Maigrot and Leonessa. Their answers were communicated to Mezzabarba with instructions to exercise his own discretion in acting on them, though of course the Holy See had not bound itself to confirm the use made by the Legate of these opinions.² This much is certain that Mezzabarba's instructions were bound to increase the confusion in China. He had stated that the practices could be tolerated in so far as they were of a purely civil and not of a religious nature. But what rites were purely civil ? That was precisely the burning problem. Hence the core of the question was not tackled and nothing was decided ; those who regarded the Chinese rites as indifferent from the religious standpoint, might very well persuade themselves that Mezzabarba's declarations had practically robbed Clement XI.'s directions of their binding force. For the rest it does not seem that Mezzabarba forfeited the papal favour. He arrived in Europe towards the end of 1721 ; in 1725 he was made Bishop of Lodi ; there he died on December 7th, 1741.³

¹ "Convinti . . . , che le permissioni del Patriarca tiravano o a enervarla [the Constitution of Clement XI.] o a distruggerla, che il medesimo Patriarca o aveva ecceduto i limiti delle sue commissioni, o che le sue determinazioni erano state dilatate, o poste in diverso aspetto da quelle in quelle, in cui le voleva, da chi in seguela di esse pretendeva di ridurre a nulla la costituzione di Clemente XI." Letter of August 11, 1742, in *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXXXIII. (1901), 384.

² BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2386 seq.

³ GAMS, 794 ; CAPPELETTI, *Chiese d'Italia*, XII., Venezia, 1857, 387. JANN (508), relying on PERSICO-STRICKLAND, says erroneously that he died at Macao.

(8.)

The decision of yet another ritual question, that of the Malabar rites, which is likewise linked with Tournon's name, falls into the pontificate of Clement XI.¹ However, in this instance there was question not of rites observed on the Malabar coast but in the interior of the country. The greater part of the coastal territory had long ago been converted to Christianity, but when the missionaries penetrated further inland they met with almost insuperable opposition; only after Robert de' Nobili had adapted himself to Indian ideas in the greatest measure possible did the preaching of the Gospel begin to yield fruits in those parts.² Nobili's colleagues followed his example, in particular, they strictly respected the distinction of castes; there were special missionaries for the pariahs and for the higher castes, and the results were remarkable. By the end of the seventeenth century we hear of 150,000 Christians in Southern India, whose conduct was a credit to Christianity. In 1700 Venantius Bouchet founded a French mission in addition to the existing Portuguese one, which likewise did most fruitful work. To this French mission was due the revival of the question of the Malabar rites which had been seemingly disposed of by Gregory XV. during Nobili's lifetime.

In Pondicherry the spiritual care of the European colonists, as well as the evangelization of the natives, was in the hands of the Capuchins. In 1699 the Bishop of Meliapur transferred the evangelization of the pagans exclusively to the French Jesuits. The Capuchins were dissatisfied with this arrangement; so they sent one of their number to Rome, with mission to protest at the same time against the procedure of the Jesuits in the evangelization of the pagans. When their envoy reached Rome in 1703, Tournon had only just left³ with instructions not only to restore order in China, but

¹ Cf. É. AMANN in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1704-1745; J. BRUCKER, in *The Cath. Encyclopedia*, IX., 558-562; JANN, 394-422, 508-512, 473-485.

² Cf. the present work, XXV., 358 *seqq.*

³ JANN, 412.

with the right also to deal with the situation in India. Tournon arrived in Pondicherry on November 6th, 1703, and remained there till July, 1704, during which period he was mostly confined to bed by illness. In spite of his dislike of the Jesuits he decided the dispute with the Capuchins in their favour and excommunicated the Capuchins when they refused to submit to his verdict.¹ On the other hand, in a decree of June 23rd, 1704, he finds fault with some of the Jesuits' methods of evangelization such as,² for instance, their manner of administering Baptism. From time immemorial, in imitation of the Gospel (Mark vii., 33), one of the ceremonies of Baptism was the breathing upon the neophyte and touching him with saliva. But the Indians felt an insuperable disgust for this rite, with the consequence that the missionaries took the liberty of omitting it, as well as the use of salt, in the administration of the Sacrament. Tournon ordered these ceremonies to be observed, and that quite openly. Moreover the Hindus often bore names derived from pagan divinities, or from famous penitents. Tournon ordered that the neophytes must be given Christian names and that the Baptism of the children of Christian parents should not be unduly delayed. The custom also prevailed in Southern India of marrying children of six or seven years of age, when a so-called "Tally", that is, a small gold tablet with the image, though scarcely recognizable, of a Hindu matrimonial divinity was suspended round the neck of the girl. Tournon took steps against this custom: marriages could only be contracted at a more advanced age and the "Tally" was to be replaced by the image of the cross of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, etc. As for the ceremonies in use at weddings, the Legate found them to be so mixed up with superstition that the best thing was to forbid them altogether. However, he invited the missionaries to make another attempt at weeding out the superstitious elements. The appearance of the first symptoms of physical maturity in girls must not be made the occasion of a family

¹ *Ibid.*, 410 seq. ; *Ius pontif.*, II., 243 seq.

² The full text of the Decree is in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. of September 12, 1744 ; cf. *Collectanea*, 154-7.

feast, nor were women to be debarred at certain periods from the Sacraments, or from entering the church, as if they were unclean. The custom was to carry pariahs, when in mortal sickness, to the church for the reception of the Last Sacraments. Tournon commanded the missionaries to visit them, if possible, in their own houses. Christian musicians were forbidden to play at pagan religious festivals, and this under pain of excommunication. Lastly he forbade the practices by the observance of which Nobili had sought to win for himself the prestige enjoyed by the Saniassi penitents, viz. baths, markings with ashes on the forehead and the wearing of certain cords. Christians were likewise forbidden to read or to keep superstitious or immoral pagan books; this also under pain of excommunication. The Superiors of the Jesuits were ordered to promulgate the decree under pain of excommunication, and their subjects to observe it under pain of suspension. It did not follow that some other superstitious practices were approved because they were not expressly mentioned in the decree. When the Jesuits observed that several of the condemned practices were not in use in their churches, Tournon replied that he did not forbid them *because* they were practised, but *lest* they should be practised.¹

The decree was only communicated to the Jesuits on July 8th, three days before Tournon's departure.² Their consternation was very great; in their opinion the immediate execution of the decree would prove a most serious obstacle to the progress of the mission, yet they had only three days in which to remonstrate with the Legate since Tournon was resolved to proceed at once to China. However, they obtained, though only by word of mouth, a three years' delay for the execution of the decree.³ But the Archbishop of Goa, Augustine of the Annunciation, would not hear of this three

¹ "Non quod fiant, sed ne fiant." AMANN, *loc. cit.*, 1724.

² *Collectanea*, 157.

³ AMANN, *loc. cit.*, describes this oral admission as "absolutely certain": "restriction verbale, mais qui est absolument certaine." JANN (413) speaks of a "supposed" oral declaration by the Legate.

years' surcease. He forbade the execution of Tournon's orders inasmuch as, in his opinion, it would mean the ruin of the Christian communities. He announced that he would report to the Holy See, especially as he was doubtful about the powers of Tournon who refused to exhibit his credentials.¹ In a pastoral letter of May 12th, 1706, he openly opposed Tournon's mission,² for which he was, of course, taken to task by the Pope.³ Meanwhile the Roman Inquisition had decided on January 7th, 1706, that Tournon's decree must be observed until the Holy See, after hearing the other side, should provide otherwise⁴; at the same time the Franciscan Conventual John Damascene was instructed to draw up a brief survey of all the Capuchins' accusations against the Jesuits.⁵

Since the Inquisition had expressed a readiness to listen to any objections against the decision, the Jesuits took advantage of the invitation. The Procurator of the Malabar Mission, the Portuguese Francis Troyano Laynes, defended in Rome, in a detailed dissertation, the standpoint of the Jesuit missionaries.⁶ After Laynes' appointment as coadjutor to the Bishop of Meliapur in 1708 and his return to India, his companion, the Frenchman Venantius Bouchet, received from Clement XI. an oral declaration that Tournon's decree had to be observed, though with the exception of those clauses which, in the opinion of the missionaries, would be contrary to the salvation of souls and the glory of God.⁷ Thereupon

¹ JANN, 413.

² *Ibid.*, 416 seq.

³ Briefs of October 30, 1706, and January 1, 1707, *ibid.*, 418 seq., 420 seqq.

⁴ "Donec aliter a Sede Apost. provisum fuerit, postquam eos audierit, si qui erunt, qui aliquid adversus contenta in huiusmodi decreto afferendum habuerint." *Collectanea*, 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶ Title in SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1595; cf. II., 86.

⁷ "Exceptis iis, quae ipsi patres missionarii in sua conscientia coram Deo iudicaverint obstare bono animarum et maiori gloriae Dei," in AMANN, 1726.

the opinion spread in Southern India that Tournon's decree had been completely abolished and that the Pope had sanctioned at least a good number of the ceremonies which that document condemned. Clement XI. countered this idea with a Brief dated September 17th, 1712¹; at the same time he forwarded the earlier decree of the Inquisition so that all might see what was his will even at this time.

In view of the Pope's oral declaration it is not surprising that Laynes, who soon after his return succeeded to the see of Meliapur on the death of his predecessor, promulgated only parts of Tournon's decree. Rome, too, remained long in the dark as to whether the Brief of 1712 had reached its destination for in June, 1712, Laynes had gone to Bengal.² Accordingly, on July 24th, 1715, the Prefect of Propaganda wrote not to Laynes but to Visdelou, Bishop of Claudianopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Kweitsheu, in China, who, after his expulsion from China,³ had gone to reside at Pondicherry: Visdelou was instructed to promulgate the decrees if Laynes failed to do his duty. Laynes was dead by the time Visdelou tried to get in touch with him, so the latter himself published, on January 11th, 1716, the decree of the Inquisition of 1706 and the papal confirmation of it of the year 1712.⁴ However, Pondicherry was a French colony where the Gallican liberties were upheld. The Royal Council contested Visdelou's authority to make the promulgation and a similar attitude was adopted by the Vice-Provincial of the French Jesuits of Pondicherry and the Procurator of the Jesuit Mission in India. The consequence was a deep cleavage, not indeed among the simple faithful, who were not acquainted with the disputes among their pastors, but among the missionaries.⁵

Visdelou had been obliged to publish the decree of the Inquisition of 1706 which concluded with a statement of the Congregation's willingness to listen to objections, nor

¹ *Collectanea*, 158; *Jus pontif.*, II., 296 seq.

² AMANN, 1726.

³ Above, p. 447.

⁴ JANN, 478 seqq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 483.

was Clement XI.'s oral declaration revoked. The Jesuits, accordingly, had recourse to Rome. The Pope received them kindly ¹ and entrusted the Malabar question for fresh examination to Prosper Lambertini, the future Benedict XIV., but Clement XI. died before Lambertini came to a final decision; only as Pope Benedict XIV. was he to settle the question definitively. It is not improbable that the foundation, under Clement XI., of a special school for diplomatists was prompted by the Holy See's experience with its diplomatists in China.²

¹ "Haud difficilem se prae-buit Clemens XI. audiendis missionariis . . . eorumque preces benigne excepit." Benedict XIV., September 12, 1744, *Collectanea*, 158.

² F. PROCACCINI, *La Pontificia Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici*. Memoria stor., Roma, 1889; P. NARDINI, *L'Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici*, in *Riv. del Collegio araldico*, IV. (1906); JANN, 508.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITY OF ROME AND THE PAPAL STATES—FURTHERING OF SCIENCE AND ART—DEATH OF CLEMENT XI.

(1.)

The difficulties which Clement XI. had to encounter as head of the Papal States were scarcely less than those he met with in the ecclesiastical sphere. Not only did the warlike events during the struggle for the Spanish succession greatly injure his subjects, but physical catastrophes of the worst kind spread fear and terror among the people.

At Christmas, 1701, Rome was visited by an inundation of the Tiber. Clement XI. did all he could to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate people, spending more than 30,000 scudi in alms.¹ Another inundation followed on December 22nd, 1702. Though of short duration, this flood also wrought immeasurable damage.² Again the Pope distributed abundant alms. But he also enforced some very remarkable sanitary laws, as advised by his trusted physician, the celebrated Lancisi. The authorities were instructed not only to clear the streets, squares, and other places in their houses which the flood had reached, of all refuse, but also to clean out the sewers and wells. He likewise gave orders for the heating of the damp rooms, and the inhabitants were enjoined not to occupy them until they had been thoroughly

¹ *Giornale del pontificato di Clemente XI., in *Borghese*, I., 578, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Report of Canon Schedelich to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, dated Rome, December 23, 1702, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna; **Avviso Marescotti*, December 30, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; *Report in *Urb.* 1655, p. 250 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Cf. CECCONI, *Diario*, 622.

dried.¹ On January 4th, 1703, the Ghetto was again flooded, but the river subsided on the following day.²

This calamity was but the foreboding of further misfortunes which were about to befall the Eternal City. On the evening of January 14th, 1703, Rome was shaken by an earthquake accompanied by a hurricane of wind and rain which, though short in duration, was very violent. The Church bells rang of their own accord. Even the bell on the Pope's table sounded of its own accord whilst the secretary of memorials was making his report. Clement hurried into his oratory, where he found several of his household, and made his confession. In all the churches of the city people of all classes gathered to pray. On the following day the Pope went to St. Peter's two hours before sunrise, and said Mass in the presence of a large crowd.³ He then summoned the Cardinals to a consistory and exhorted them to appease God's anger by works of penance.⁴ In Rome, where even strong buildings showed cracks, fear was so great that many people spent the night in the Campagna, sheltering in huts or carriages, in spite of the rain. Reports soon came in of the immense damage caused by the earthquake in many parts of the States of the Church, especially at Norcia, Spoleto, Rieti and Urbino. To all these places the Pope sent generous help.⁵

¹ C. LANGER, *Die Assanierungsfrage in Rom, in den Jahren 1695 und 1714*. Extract from *Mitteil. des Vereins der Ärzte in Niederösterreich*, n. 2. Cf. also HAESER, III.³, 397. *Edict on the "spurgo delle case", January 22, 1703, in *Editti*, V., 51, Papal Sec. Archives. This ordinance was repeated in 1709, 1718, and 1719 (*ibid.*).

² *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

³ Schedelich's *report to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, dat. Rome, January 20, 1703, *loc. cit.*; *Diary of Count Lamberg and *Avviso of January 20, 1703, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein; *Report in *Urb.*, 1655, p. 256, Vat. Library; BUDER, I., 456 seq.; CECCONI, *Diario*, 623.

⁴ *Op., Orat.*, 14.

⁵ *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*; Lamberg's *Diary, *loc. cit.* Cf. LAFITAU, I., 107 seq. On the earthquake of 1703, see G. BAGLIVI, *Opp. medico-practica*, Lugduni, 1704, 501-538, 689-691.

Fresh, though less violent earth tremors followed. The Pope went to the Lateran on January 16th where he proclaimed an Indulgence and a procession of intercession. "To-day," Count Lamberg wrote in his diary, "everyone has been to confession, has fasted and gone to St. Peter's; not even during the Holy Year has such a concourse been witnessed."¹ The plays and fancy dress balls of the carnival were forbidden.² Instead of these amusements popular missions were ordered, and these were very well attended. "The earthquake," a contemporary wrote, "has become a great preacher."³ On January 26th Clement XI. visited the four principal churches and himself heard confessions at St. Peter's. The processions through the streets of the city on the following day were extended to the 29th, to enable everyone to take part in them.⁴ The Pope set up a special Congregation for a more effective relief of the material misery.⁵

On Candlemas Day at nine o'clock in the morning, whilst the usual blessing of the candles was taking place in the Sistine Chapel, there occurred such a violent earthquake that everyone present fled. The Pope alone remained calm and fell on his knees on the altar steps. Afterwards he went to pray in St. Peter's, although he was told that the pillars of Bernini's baldachino had been shaken and that mortar had

¹ Lamberg's *Diary, *loc. cit.*

² *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

³ *Avviso of January 27, 1703 (Lamberg Archives): Enormous concourse, especially of the nobility, at the mission in S. Ignazio: Cardinals also attended, "il che reca gran consolatione al Papa per il gran frutto che fanno, onde si conosce di non essere morta la fede in Roma. In somma il tremoto è stato un gran predicatore a Roma." Luxury was such that on account of the extravagant expenditure by women, both nobles and commoners were unwilling to marry. Cf. also *Avviso of January 23, 1703, in *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich.

⁴ *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Avvisi of January 30 and March 30, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, *loc. cit.*

fallen from the cupola. In the afternoon he visited the holy stairs at the Lateran.¹

The damage done by the earthquake of February 2nd was considerable. The church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso suffered especially. Three arches of the second tier of the Colosseum collapsed; the stones were used for the building of the Ripetta harbour. Cracks could be seen in St. Peter's, the Vatican and the Quirinal. Fontana estimated the cost of the necessary repairs at 700,000 scudi.²

In the night of February 2nd to 23rd the Romans, already in a state of the utmost alarm, were again thrown into the greatest terror. Thieves, with a view to plunder, spread the rumour

¹ Schedelich's *report to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, February 3, 1703, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso* of February 3, 1703, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cf. Gravina's report in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, *Suppl.*, I., 135; LAFITAU, I., 110. REBOULET (I., 100) omits this, the most violent of all the earthquake shocks. Cf. GIOV. ANDREA LORENZANI, " *Racconto delle inondazioni e terre moti accaduti in Roma e Stato Ecclesiastico come in altri dominii " (October 18, 1702, to the end of 1703), *Cod. Barb.*, 1699, Vat. Library, and the extremely rare account of LUCANTONIO CHRACAS (with a wood-cut showing the damage): *Racconto istorico de' terremoti sentiti in Roma, e in parte dello Stato Ecclesiastico, e in altri luoghi la sera de' 14 di Gennaro e la mattina de' 2 Febbraio dell'anno 1703: Nel quale si narrano i danni fatti dal medesimo, etc. . . . i provvedimenti da Sua Santità [Clement XI.], presi con ogni maggiore sollecitudine e amore in sollievo de' luoghi rovinati*, Roma, Per de Martiis, nella stamp. di Gio. Franc. Chracas, 1704.

² Cf. *Avviso* of February 20, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich, and **Giornale di Clemente XI.*, *loc. cit.* On the Colosseum, see CLEMENTI, *Il Colosseo*, Roma, 1912, 202. In 1701 Clement XI. conceived the unhappy idea of making of the lower corridors a saltpetre depôt for the near by Polveriera. On the other hand, in 1712 he undertook repairs and had the railings round the building renovated (*cf. Studi e docum.*, 1897, 139). In 1714 a scientific examination of the edifice was begun; see BABUCKE, *Gesch. des Kolosseums*, Königsberg, 1899; COLAGROSSI, *L'amfiteatro Flaviano*, Firenze, 1919, 216.

throughout the city that Rome would be destroyed within two hours. Thereupon everyone fled into the gardens or the open squares where indescribable scenes were enacted. The half-dressed inhabitants cried for mercy, threw themselves on their knees, and full of contrition, awaited the hour of their death. Mothers kissed their children for the last time, married people and friends embraced each other. Many confessed their crimes publicly; others confessed in the open streets. The air resounded with the cry: "Holy God, have mercy on us." The Pope took immediate measures to calm the people and to safeguard their belongings. At the same time he ordered a search for the originators of the false rumour, but they were never discovered.¹ Only gradually did the inhabitants regain their calm. Many continued to sleep in the open or in the gardens, as did Cardinal Ottoboni and many nobles.²

Clement XI was not content with ordering numerous penitential processions. He saw in the earthquakes a punishment for sin, hence he took steps to raise the moral standard of his capital. Among other things he enforced the observance of Sunday and the law of fasting.³ In a consistory of February 19th he announced that the 22nd was to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the safety of the city. He also ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung every year in the papal chapel on Candlemas Day, and that the day before the feast should be observed as a strict fast day.⁴ This law is still kept by the Romans to this day. A prayer against earthquakes was inserted in the Breviary, and later on a similar

¹ A *report of February 7, 1703, which Lamberg sent to the Emperor, gives a vivid description of the panic; copy in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cf. *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*; BUDER, I., 461 *seq.*

² **Avviso* of February 6, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich.

³ **Avviso* of February 13 and 27, 1703, *ibid.* Cf. BUDER, I., 464 *seq.*

⁴ *Op.*, Orat., 15.

one in the Missal.¹ The Pope also ordered scientific observations to be made with a view to the possibility of foretelling earthquakes.²

While these services and penitential exercises were still in progress, there were evident signs that the earth was not yet completely at rest. Slight shocks occurred again at the end of March and the beginning of April, whilst on April 15th a mighty whirlwind arose. On May 24th there was another earthquake which, though less violent, caused many to flee into the Campagna. The chronicles of Rome report further storms and earthquakes on October 10th.³

The earthquakes did far more damage in other parts of the States of the Church than in the Eternal City, particularly at Norcia, Foligno, Spoleto and Aquila. The Pope sent generous succour to these places. A special Congregation set up by him placed at the disposal of the people who camped in the open the tents of the garrisons of Castel S. Angelo and Civitavecchia. Food as well as money was distributed. Spoleto, which had been specially hard hit, was the object of particular attention; the governor of the city caused an inscription to be erected in memory of the Pope's liberality. As late as 1704 Norcia, Terni and Narni received considerable sums of money for the assistance of their inhabitants.⁴ In November, 1705,⁵ and in April, 1706,⁶ Rome experienced further shocks. These were followed by an unusually hot summer, a severe drought and a bad harvest.⁷

The winter of 1709 was especially severe throughout the whole of Europe. In Rome a sudden and quite unusually cold spell occurred about the middle of January, and until the middle of February there was snow and ice everywhere. This caused an epidemic of influenza of which Lancisi has

¹ *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

² *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, Roma, 1891, 16 *seq.*

³ *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

⁴ BUDER, I., 465 *seq.*, 501 *seq.*, 550.

⁵ CECCONI, *Diario*, 627.

⁶ **Avviso*, April 20, 1706, *Cod. ital.*, 197, *loc. cit.*

⁷ **Avvisi*, June 22 and August 17, 1706, *ibid.*

left us a description. Once again very effective sanitary measures were taken. These were not exclusively due to the memorials of Lancisi, for the Pope also appointed a special sanitary commission of which, besides Lancisi, the famous anatomist Pachioni was also a member. Cardinals Colloredo, Cenci and Este fell victims to the epidemic. In order to restrict its ravages orders were given, under severe penalties, for the streets of the entire city to be cleaned within eight days, and the custom of throwing dirt and offal into the streets and thoroughfares was prohibited. The ditches and marshes in the Leonine city, especially those round Castel S. Angelo, were cleared, and running water was carried from the Vatican gardens, situate at a higher level, through a channel down to the Tiber. A careful watch was kept over the provision market, while physicians were enjoined to devote particular attention to the poorer sections of the population, and to arrange for the immediate removal of the sick from the Campagna to the hospitals.¹

There were a few more earth tremors at the beginning of 1711,² after which Rome was spared this visitation. In 1713, however, the cattle disease, then prevalent over the whole of Europe, also visited the Campagna. There exists a considerable number of edicts which show what steps were taken to arrest the progress of the contagion. In this instance also Lancisi's advice was followed ; the latter rightly recognized that the most effective preventive was the immediate destruction of the diseased animals and the isolation of the healthy ones. Markets were therefore forbidden. To forestall injury to agriculture the farmers received money to purchase cattle and sheep ; measures were also taken to ensure the raising of live-stock. In this connection the Pope saw to

¹ LANGER, *loc. cit.*, 9. Cf. LAFITAU, I., 275 seq., and *Historia epidemiae rheum., quae per hyemem anni 1709 [Romae] vagata est*, cf. I. M. LANCISIUS, *Opera, collegit ASSALTUS*, 2, vol., Genevae, 1718.

² **Avviso*, January 17, 1711, *Cod. ital.*, 198, *loc. cit.*

a regular supply of grain.¹ In the year 1718 the Pope maintained some 8,000 poor people who had fled from the States of the Church to Rome. In the previous year he had provided Avignon with supplies of corn, and in 1720 he did the same when Marseilles was visited by the plague.² The measures against the spread of the epidemic were successful.³

During the whole of his pontificate Clement XI. displayed the utmost anxiety to ensure the provisioning of Rome and the promotion of agriculture, which had been so hard hit by wars and physical catastrophes. But he lacked the strong hand which would have been necessary to effect a complete change.⁴ The old idea of draining the Pontine Marshes was mooted anew. In this matter the selfish interests of Cardinal Barberini clashed with the intentions of the Pope; as Commendatory Abbot of Fossanova, Barberini was afraid lest his lands should be injured by the draining of the surrounding territory.⁵ Extraordinary rainfalls caused extensive flooding of the Po in the Romagna and epidemics in the Marches of Ancona, in Umbria and in the Latium. Clement XI. did all he could to help the victims of these calamities.⁶

The distribution of the States of the Church and the

¹ LANCISI, *De bovilla peste ex Campaniae finibus a. 1713 Latio importata*, Romae, 1715; **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 28, Papal Secret Archives; LANGER, *loc. cit.*, 13, says that even in our own days no better measures could be taken. Abnormal weather conditions prevailed also in 1714; see PELLICANI's notes in the essay by I. GALLI: *L'inverno tardivo del 1712 e le irregolarità delle stagioni nei secoli scorsi*, in *Mem. d. Pontif. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, XXX. (1912).

² NOVAES, XII., 271 *seq.*

³ CRACAS, for 1720.

⁴ See the detailed description in BENIGNI, 68 *seqq.* Cf. DE CUPIS, 292 *seqq.*

⁵ NICOLAI, *De' bonificamenti delle Terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 148 *seqq.* *Documents on this matter in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 18, *loc. cit.* An **Avviso Marescotti* of March 6, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, reports the suspension of the work.

⁶ LAFITAU, II., 147 *seq.*

organization of their authorities remained unaltered under Clement XI. There were twelve Provinces, viz. Rome with its environs and the Patrimony properly so-called, the Campagna Marittima, Umbria, the Sabina, the Duchy of Spoleto, the Marches, Bologna, Romagna, the territories of Ferrara, Urbino and Montefeltre. To these must be added the enclave of Benevento and in France the Counties of Avignon and Venaissin. The first named Provinces were ruled by governors, some of whom were prelates, whilst others were secular jurists. At Bologna, Ferrara, in the Romagna and at Urbino, Cardinals with the title of Legates were at the head, with Vice-Legates under them. Avignon also had a Cardinal Legate.¹

In his biography of Clement XI. the Frenchman Lafitau mentions the Pope's solicitude for the administration of justice. Judges who were not sufficiently impartial were dismissed; those who protracted cases were banished.² Rome was ruled with a strong hand. In the early hours of the morning police officers combed the streets and tore down lampoons. The scandal of prostitution was successfully stamped out.³ It was in keeping with this strictness that a calumnious attack on the person of the Pope was treated as a capital crime and punished by death.⁴

Whilst capital punishment continued to be carried out in the usual barbarous manner, a new idea came into practice in the treatment of prisoners, viz. that of reforming them. In this respect Clement XI. has the distinction of having been a pioneer. When in 1703 he founded in Rome the prison of S. Michele for youthful delinquents, the Pope gave orders for the segregation of the prisoners into various classes,

¹ *Discorso del dominio spirituale e temporale del Sommo Pontefice Romano, in *Cod. VIII.*, G 28, p. 361 *seqq.*, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

² LAFITAU, II., 247 *seq.*

³ P. A. PANCETTI, **Lo stato presente della città e corte di Roma, 1718-1721*, in *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

⁴ See *Relazione della morte dell' abate F. Rivarola* (1708), in *Arch. stor. Rom.*, V., 323 *seqq.* Cf. BRUZZONE, *Un supplicio di un diarista*, in *Messaggero* (Roma), 1913, June 3.

according to age and moral dispositions. He provided single cells, especially for the night-time, whilst he made the prisoners work in common, when silence was enforced. His principal care, however, was their reformation by means of religious instructions and practices.¹ Other salutary measures for the peace of Rome were the suppression, soon after Clement XI.'s accession, of the freedom of the quarter² and his action against the bandits of the Campagna.³

The effect of warlike disturbances and physical catastrophes is reflected by the state of the population of the Pontifical States,⁴ especially that of Rome. At Clement's accession the Eternal City numbered 149,447 inhabitants, though it must be borne in mind that a jubilee was in progress that year; hence the statistics for 1701, which showed 141,789 souls, indicate the normal population. The above number sank to 132,728 by 1707, but by 1716 it had again gradually risen to 137,958. After that year it fell again, so that in the year of the Pope's death Rome counted only 134,254 inhabitants.⁵ There were 315 churches, 38 public and private

¹ *Motu proprio della santa memoria di Clemente XI. sopra il buon regolamento della casa di correzione, tanto per quello riguarda il vitto e trattamento de' ragazzi delinquenti, quanto anche rispetto a gli emolumenti e privilegi, che assegna al Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele*, 1720. HOLTZENDORFF-JAGEMANN, *Handbuch des Gefängniswesens*, 2 vols. (1888). Cf. MORONI, IX., 268 seq.; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII., 311 seqq.

² BUDER, I., 131 seq.

³ TOMASSETTI, II., 286 seqq. Currency edicts of Clement XI. in GARAMPI, *Sul valore*, 101 seqq.

⁴ F. CORRIDORE, *La popolazione dello Stato Romano, 1656-1901*, Roma, 1906, 21 seqq., 64 seqq.

⁵ *Studi e docum.*, XII. (1891), 182 seq. A census taken in the Papal States in 1702 gave, according to BUDER (I., 409), 1,900,000 souls, 300,000 less than in the time of Urban VIII. BELOCH (*La popolazione d'Italia nei secoli*, XVI., XVII., and XVIII., Roma, 1888), gives (p. 16) for 1656: 1,565,338; for 1701, 1,841,937; for 1736, 1,656,585 inhabitants. In *Zeitschr. für Sozialwiss.*, III. (1900), 770, BELOCH gives for 1656 and 1701 the figures 1,878,650 and 1,983,994.

hospitals and other charitable institutions. The number of parishes rose from 81 to 86.¹ The city was guarded by five companies of infantry, a body of light horse and the Swiss Guards.²

The economic situation of Rome was bound to be very adversely affected by the conflicts with the courts of Vienna, Turin and Madrid. In the spring of 1711 there was a dearth of money among all classes.³ How hard hit the Roman Curia had been appears from the accounts at the close of 1718, when the income of the Apostolic Camera and the Dataria showed a loss of half a million scudi.⁴

In spite of the unfavourable financial situation Clement XI. made vast pecuniary sacrifices in 1716 and 1717 for the war against the Turks, and even so he still managed to promote the arts and learning.

(2.)

Clement XI. showed his love of learning above all by enriching the Vatican Library, of which he was one of the greatest patrons. He acquired for the *Vaticana* fifty-four Greek manuscripts from Pius II.'s heirs.⁵ When the niece of the famous traveller, Pietro della Valle, sent him seventy-six oriental manuscripts after her uncle's death in 1652, the valuable Samaritan Pentateuch being among them, he also assigned that collection to the Vaticana.⁶ In July, 1711, the Library was further enriched by the collection of MSS of Abraham Ecchellensis and that of the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph which were acquired by the Pope: these collections consisted of sixty-three Syrian and Arabic, and eighteen

¹ *Studi e docum.*, XII., 198.

² PANCETTI, *loc. cit.*

³ **Avviso* of April 12, 1711, *Cod. ital.*, 198, State Library, Munich.

⁴ BUDER, III., 788 *seq.*

⁵ Duchesne's catalogue in *Bibliothèque de l'École Franç.*, XIII.

⁶ POLIDORUS, *Vita*, 472; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 98.

Chaldean codices. Twenty Greek MSS which the Maronite Abraham Massud presented to the Pope also went to the Vaticana.¹

But Clement was not yet quite satisfied. He was the first to interest himself in the celebrated Syrian manuscripts of the desert of Nitria in Egypt which had their own remarkable history. The codices came from Bagdad which, in the tenth century, had been a seat of literary activity with schools of Syrian Nestorians and Jacobites. When Abbot Moses of Nisibis, of the monastery of St. Mary in Nitria, went to Bagdad in 925 to beg the Caliph Moktadir for a reduction in taxation, he returned to his desert with two hundred and fifty Syriac MSS. which were thus preserved whilst everything perished in Bagdad. The Maronite Gabriel, whom Clement XI. sent to the Coptic Patriarch, was the first to bring tidings of these treasures to the West. Thereupon the Pope sent Elias Assemani, the eldest member of that celebrated family, to Nitria. In 1707 Assemani had the good fortune of bringing to Rome forty valuable MSS. Later, in 1715, Clement XI. sent out Joseph Simon Assemani; however, by this time the monks had become suspicious so that he returned with only a few, though very valuable, documents. The remainder of the precious library was acquired by English gold in 1837 and 1847 and made the British Museum the foremost Syriac Library in the world.² Assemani had more luck in Syria than in Egypt. At the beginnings of 1711 he brought to Rome forty-five Syriac and twenty Coptic MSS. Even in the year of his death Clement XI. ordered a new mission to the Orient in the person of Andrea Scandar, whose booty only reached the papal library under Innocent XIII.³ Clement himself, the real founder of the oriental section of the Vaticana, had the joy of seeing the beginnings of Assemani's celebrated *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*, a publication dedicated to him, which made possible access

¹ CARINI, *loc. cit.*

² H. LAMMENS, in *Études*, LXIV. (1895), 286 *seqq.*

³ CARINI, *loc. cit.*

to a vast number of hitherto unknown oriental MSS.¹ Besides MSS. and numerous printed works, two other gifts to the Library recall the Albani Pope at this day, the one, a Roman sarcophagus, discovered on the Via Prænestina, not far from Tor^e de' Schiavi, which contained some non-inflammable linen of asbestos ; the other an ancient pillar of white oriental alabaster, brought to light near S. Cesario.²

Clement XI. also turned his attention to the treasures in the archives of Rome, especially those of the Vatican and to the celebrated printing press of Salvioni in the University.³ Himself a scholar, he appreciated not only the Greek, Latin and Italian poets, but was also greatly interested in history. As a Cardinal he was in constant relations with contemporary writers in Rome ; these relations continued throughout his pontificate. He bestowed numberless favours on poets and scholars. Giovan Maria Crescimbeni, the *Custode* of the Arcadia,⁴ was made Archpriest of S. Maria in Cosmedin.

¹ The first volume appeared in 1719, the third in 1728. Portrait of Assemani by Pier Leone Ghezzi in **Cod. Vat.* 3117, Vatiean Library.

² FORCELLA, VI., 168 ; PLATNER, II., 326.

³ " *Invigilando N. S. allo splendore di questa dominante ha finalmente ordinato, che si riduchino in buona forma tutti gl'archivii antichi e si ristabilisca l'antica stamperia del Senato Romano " (*Avviso Marescotti*, August 6, 1702, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Roma, f. 158). *Monday " il Pontefice, con il sig. card. Marescotti passò alla visita di tutti gl'archivii essistenti nel Vaticano ad effetto d'ordinare il regolamento di quelli, havendone fatto fabbricare uno di nuovo per le congregazioni che si tengono " *ibid.*, f. 329). **Avviso* of May 10, 1704 : Il Papa fu lunedì all'Archivio Secreto del Vaticano col card. Marescotti, non per altro, dicono, che per far rimettere quelle scritture in miglior ordine, in che sole e cose simili si vale di questo gran cardinalc. Questo luogo è il Sancta Sanctorum della politica, ove essendo rinchiusi li principali arcani e li più nascosti alli stranieri, non si permette ad alcuno l'ingresso " (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the printing press, see BUDER, III., 765 *seq.*, and **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 14, Papal Sec. Archives.

⁴ On the Arcadia, *cf.* the present work, XXXII., 554.

In this capacity he wrote the history of that church.¹ Another member of the Arcadia, Christoforo Battelli, became Secretary of Briefs and papal librarian.² The poet Alessandro Guidi, an old friend of Clement XI., showed gratitude for favours received by rendering six homilies of his distinguished patron into Italian verse.³ How greatly Clement XI. appreciated him was seen when he ordered Guidi's remains to be buried near those of Tasso in S. Onofrio.⁴ The poet Niccolò Forteguerra received a canonry in St. Peter's.⁵ Giovanni Antonio Magnani dedicated a poem to Clement XI. on the earthquake of 1703.⁶ At times the Pope had the poetic works of members of the Arcadia read to him at table,⁷ but his main interest was in scholarly undertakings. He helped the Maurists in their edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great. He allowed the four volumes of the work to be dedicated to him and bestowed gifts on the editors.⁸ He encouraged a revision of Ughelli's *Italia Sacra*, and lived to see an enlarged and improved edition of that great work executed by Niccolò Coleti.⁹

¹ RENAZZI, IV., 124.

² CARINI, *Arcadia*, 313 *seqq.*; *Le Marche*, II., Fano, 1902, 33 *seqq.*

³ CLEMENTE XI., *Sei omelie esposte in versi da ALESS. GUIDI*, Roma, 1712.

⁴ RENAZZI, IV., 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 130. Cf. above, p. 365, n. 5.

⁶ Copy in Bibl. Corsini, Rome. On a panegyric of Clement XI. in verse by Benedetto Menzini, see A. MABELLINI, *Una canzone di B. Menzini*, Fano, 1904.

⁷ O. IUSTINIANUS, *Clementis XI. vita*, Senis, 1738, LXI.

⁸ **Avviso Marescotti*, April 24, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; The *Opera Gregorii* appeared in Paris in 1705.

⁹ An **Avviso Marescotti*, June 7, 1704 (*loc. cit.*), reports: "Ha S. S. pensato di far perfetionare l'Istoria dell'Italia Sacra composta da Ughellio manente di molte notitie traseurate, havendo a quest'effetto fatta una raddunanza di prelati intelligenti, che assisteranno a quest'opera, e mandate lettere eireolari a tutti li vescovi per le notitie antiche e moderne de' loro veseovati per ristamparla." The edition of N. COLETI, with dedication to Clement XI., appeared at Venice, 1717-1722, in ten folio volumes

Domenico Bernino,¹ Alessandro Borgia, subsequently Archbishop of Fermo,² the Oratorian Giacomo Laderchi,³ who continued the Annals of Baronius and Raynaldus, though without equalling his predecessors, also enjoyed Clement XI.'s support. The favour of the Pope was likewise bestowed on the exceptionally versatile Francesco Bianchini, author of an epoch-making historical work by reason of the consideration of monuments.⁴ Bianchini had been held in high esteem by Alexander VIII. Clement XI. favoured him no less, nominating him his chamberlain and *presidente delle antichità* and granting him a title of nobility and a canonry at St. Mary Major.⁵ Bianchini undertook a new edition of

and is still an indispensable work of reference. On another plan of the Pope an **Avviso Marescotti* of July 19, 1704, reports as follows: "Bramando N. S., che sia data in luce la vita et origine di San Benedetto fondatore della religione Cassinense, ha data commissione a Mons. vescovo di Gallas, di farne diligente inquisitione per descriverla, per il che detto prelato, che sino dalla miserabile revolutione d'Inghilterra si trova in questa corte, si è portato alla terra di San Benedetto, dove ha havuto il suo domicilio detto Santo, per prenderne le necessarie informazioni a fine di ponerla in stampa."

¹ D. BERNINO, *Il tribunale della S. Rota Romana descritto*, Roma, 1717 (dedicated to Clement XI.).

² MORONI, VI., 51 *seqq.* *Borgia's letters in *Borg. Lat.*, 232, Vatican Library.

³ On Laderchi, cf. IUNGMAHN in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.², 1316 *seq.* Nearly all the literary remains of Laderchi are in the Barberini Library: XLI., 58-64: Lettere al Laderchi (61-2, *Lettere de' cardinali*); XLII., 6-7: Sermoni di L.; 8: Lettere di Laderchi; 9-18, Lettere al L., 17-18: Lettere di Lorenzo Magalotti al L.; 19, 47-53, 57, 58, 60, 62 *seqq.*: writings of Laderchi.

⁴ *Storia universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi*, Roma, 1697.

⁵ MORONI, V., 208 *seq.* MARINI (*Iscrizioni Albane*, pref., VIII.) calls Bianchini "il maggior uomo che abbia prodotto l'Italia in questo secolo". As CARINI (*Muratori*, I. [1892], 145) remarks, this is somewhat exaggerated though not without justification.

the famous *Liber Pontificalis*, which was at one time ascribed to Anastasius the Librarian. He dedicated the first volume, a beautiful folio, to Clement XI.¹ Bianchini, besides being a historian and archæologist, was also a brilliant mathematician. In that capacity he was employed on the reform of the Calendar.

Already under Innocent XII. various Bishops and mathematicians had urged the correction of some minor errors which still clung to Gregory XII.'s calendar in spite of all the care bestowed upon it. Clement XI. appealed to the most celebrated Universities of Europe² and established a special commission to study the question. This commission consisted of Cardinals Ferrari, Pamfili and Noris, the keepers of the Vatican Library, Zaccagni and De Miro, the two professors of mathematics at the Roman University, Vincenzo Giordani and Domenico Quartaroni, and several learned religious, among them the Jesuit Eschinard. Bianchini acted as secretary.³ The commission decided to have a meridian made like the one which the famous astronomer Giandomenico Cassini had already made at Bologna. The Pope chose the church of S. Maria degli Angeli for the purpose. On October 6th, 1702 the work was completed; Clement himself unveiled it.⁴ The meridian is on bronze with broad marble boarders adorned with the signs of the Zodiac. This work of Bianchini and Maraldi was called the *Linea Clementina*. It recalls to this day the Pope's desire to reform the calendar though it led to no result owing to the circumstance that the

¹ Published in Rome, 1718.

² *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, Rome, 1891, 13 seq.

³ RENAZZI, IV., 152 seqq.; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 196; Cf. LAFITAU, I., 119 seq.; RENAUDOT, I., 105 seq.; SERASSI, *J. Mazzoni*, Roma, 1790, 61 seqq. Bianchini's work *De calendario et cyclo Caesaris* appeared in Rome, 1703-4. The particular interest Clement XI. took in the reform of the calendar is noted in **Avviso Marescotti*, December 23, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

⁴ According to the **Avviso Marescotti* of August 26, 1702 (*loc. cit.*), Clement XI. inspected the new meridian already at that date. On the unveiling, see **Avviso Marescotti*, October 7, 1702 (*ibid.*).

commission gave up the idea of making any alterations as the errors were of little consequence.

In the disputes over the feudal rights in Parma and Piacenza Clement XI., employed the learned Giusto Fontanini who wrote a whole series of works on this affair.¹ At Montfaucon's suggestion, Fontanini, whose work on the town of Orte shows that he was a sound archæologist, introduced Baron Philip von Stosch to the Pope, who in many ways encouraged this student of the arts and antiquities.² Clement XI. summoned from Naples Carlo Majella, a man remarkable as a theologian and a linguist, and appointed him Custodian of the Vatican Library. Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, who was equally at home in Latin and Greek literature, became secretary of Latin Briefs.³

An old friend of the Pope's was the celebrated jurist Gian Vincenzo Gravina, professor at the Roman University since 1699. This versatile savant also devoted himself to theological studies and practised the poetic craft.⁴ The celebrated satires published by Ludovico Sergardi under the name of Quinto Settano were directed against Gravina.⁵ Gravina is the author of the memorials of the papal physician, the celebrated Giovanni Maria Lancisi. The memory of this outstanding savant lives on in Rome through the library founded by him in the hospital of S. Spirito.⁶ Lancisi had been professor of anatomy and surgery at the Roman University since 1684. Clement XI., who paid the Lancisi Library the honour of

¹ See above, p. 168. Cf. also RENAZZI, IV., 102 seq.

² IUSTI in *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, VII., 296 seq.

³ RENAZZI, IV., 178 seq.

⁴ G. PASSERI, *Vita di G. B. Gravina*, in his *Opere scelte*, Firenze, 1826; E. GIUDICE, *Prose di G. B. Gravina*, Firenze, 1857.

⁵ Cf. R. BATTIGNANI, *Studio su Quinto Settano* (Ludovico Sergardi), Girgenti, 1894; G. LEATI, *La satira di Roma di Quinto Settano*, in *La cultura*, 1895, n. 28-9; D. BASSI, in *Bollett. Senese*, III. (1896), 125 seqq., there also the *Carmen ad Clementem XI.* of SERGARDI.

⁶ *Biblioteca Lancisiana descritta dall'abate Cristoforo Carsughi*, Roma, 1718.

a visit, awarded him a canonry at S. Lorenzo in Damaso.¹ The importance of the learned physician's studies on the baleful influence of the marshes on the Roman climate has only been fully appreciated in these latter days. These writings make it quite evident that Lancisi inspired the efforts made for the sanitation of Rome in the years 1695-1714. What he advised in this respect and carried into effect, is valuable even in the light of modern progress, if we allow for the period and the means at his disposal.² In 1715 he set up a scientific institute for medicine, surgery and anatomy in his beloved Hospital of S. Spirito.³ By order of Clement XI., Lancisi published Mercati's description of the collections of natural science of the Vatican founded by Pius V. and laid out by Sixtus V.⁴ Lancisi also undertook archæological studies. In this sphere his interests coincided with those of the Pope.

Soon after his elevation Clement issued an edict for the protection of the ancient artistic treasures of the Eternal City. On July 18th, 1701, he renewed previous decrees forbidding the export of statues, bronzes, gems and paintings. A second edict of September 30th, 1704, reinforced the former and extended it to stuccos, mosaics, manuscripts and documents of every kind. The motive for the prohibition was the desire to maintain the splendour of the city of Rome which, in the judgment of foreign nations, was based on its monuments.

Every discovery had to be reported to Francesco Bartoli, the Commissary of Antiquities, and only with his permission and after special drawings had been made, could an object

¹ RENAZZI, III., 192 seq.; IV., 166 seq. Cf. CRESCIMBENI, *Vita di G. M. Lancisi*, Roma, 1721; FABRONI, *Vitae Italarum*, I., 83 seqq.; ZAPPI, *Illustr. ai busti di medici celebri*, Roma, 1868, 113 seqq.; LANCISI, *Lettere inedite tratte da un manoscritto della bibl. Albani*, Roma, 1841.

² LANGER, *Die Assanierungsfrage in Rom.*, loc. cit., 9. Cf. also *Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege*, XI., 192.

³ RENAZZI, IV., 168.

⁴ *Studi e docum.*, V., 170.

be moved. Inscriptions had to be reported to Francesco Bianchini and manuscripts to the papal archivists.¹

The inexhaustible soil of Rome also yielded fresh treasures under Clement XI. Most of these belonged to profane antiquity,² but in May, 1702, a discovery of supreme importance for Christian archæology was made. To the south-east of the temple of Castor, near S. Maria Liberatrice, at a depth of several metres below the surface, the discovery was made of a great Christian church, viz. S. Maria Antiqua, with frescoes of the time of Paul I. [757-767]. Clement XI. entertained the idea of rendering this most interesting building once more accessible, but he was obliged to give up the idea for fear of the collapse of the surrounding buildings.³

¹ BANDI, V., 70, p. 38, Papal Secret Archives, printed in FEA, *Dei diritti*, 76 seq. Cf. *Bullet. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 131. On the difficulty of exporting works of art, cf. LAFITAU, II., 260, and **Avviso* of February 16, 1704: "Non si possono più estrarre da Roma quadri originali nè antichità di prezzo senza licenza, difficile a concedersi, per non spogliare la città del suo bello." Duke Bonelli was arrested on account of this (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). Cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Esportaz. da oggi di belle arti da Roma* in *Riv. Europ.*, 1871, 181 seq. In 1718 Peter the Great purchased in Rome the Taurine Venus which is now in the Eremitage, Petrograd. The decrees against the exportation of works of art were suggested to the Pope by Francesco Bartoli; see his *memorial to the Pope in which he also proposes that the triumphal Arches should be cleared of vegetation. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 178, Papal Sec. Archives.

² Cf. Reports of the discoveries from the *Diarii di Roma*, 1700-1742, of VALESIO in *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1885, 76 seqq.

³ See the passage from the *Diarii* of Valesio in CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 370. Other reports of discoveries in GRÜNEISEN, *St. Marie Antique*, Rome, 1904, 34 seqq. BAGLIVO, in his *Opera medico-practica*, Lugduni, 1700, 574, mentions a dissertation on the underground Basilica by D. Passionei; see HÜLSEN, *Ausgrabungen*, 1898-1902, Rome, 1903, 86. Cf. also **Avvisi Marescotti* of June 3, 1702: "Nel scavare che si faceva in Campo Bovario, per fare li fondamenti di una chiesa, se n'è scoperta un'altra

The last period of Clement's pontificate saw the beginning of the excavations of Domitian's palace in the Farnese gardens on the Palatine which Bianchini described with great learning, though not always correctly. The archæologist Marcantonio Boldetti had been exploring the Catacombs since 1713¹; Giovanni Marangoni assisted him in these studies. An inscription by him in the Catacomb of Domitilla recalls the fact that this pious priest was in the habit of meeting with a few others of similar tastes in these venerable crypts, for the purpose of honouring the Martyrs, and that on September 7th, 1716, they sang on this spot a *Te Deum* for the victory of Prince Eugene in Hungary and the relief of Corfu.²

Particularly rich remains from ancient times came to light in the autumn of 1704 when a medieval tower near Ripa Grande was demolished. Various precious marbles and lapis lazuli were found. The Pope instructed his nephew Orazio to keep everything "as a treasure", and to take it to the Palazzo Albani. As a matter of fact Clement collected antiquities wherever possible, not only statues, but even antique lead pipes and medals. He had copper-plate engravings made of a great number of these ancient objects; these, with some valuable original sketches and drawings by

sotterranea, fondata da San Paolo I Papa, adornata di bellissime pitture, vedendosi dal lato dritto non ostante l'antichità e l'esser state sepolte dalla terra, tutti li santi latini e la passione di Cristo e nell'altro lato li santi greci et il ritratto di detto Pontefice, e S. S. vuol riddurlo alla publica veneratione," and August 5: "Pervenuto a notizia di N. S., ehe fosse stata riempita di terra senza suo ordine la chiesa ultimamente ritrovata dietro S. Maria Liberatrice, vi spedì Mons. Bonaventura con ordine che fosse di nuovo scavata," Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Lamberg, in his **Diary* (June 7, 1702) also mentions the discovery. Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

¹ LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 330. An **Avviso* of June 14, 1704 (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein), speaks of a discovery in the Catacombs.

² *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XIII., 19 seqq.

famous masters of the preceding centuries, he collected in an art-cabinet at the Albani Palace in which he spent the few free hours which his official duties left him.¹ A choice library adjoined the collection. Boldetti proposed to the Pope that the long corridor leading into the Vatican Library should

¹ **Avvisi*, August 30, 1704: "Essendosi ordinata la demolitione di certe rovine antiche nel Tevere, si è trovato nelle medeme c si trova tuttavia buona quantità di pietre pretiose come di Verde antico, di alabastro orientale, diaspro et altre ora rarissime, e d'ordine del Papa saranno custodite dal S. Don Oratio come un picciolo tesoro," and October 4: "Si cavano tuttavia pietre pretiose dalle rovine dell'antico torrione, che Papa Leone IV. fece far in fretta a ripa nel Tevere, e già ben 20 carrettate sono state trasportate in casa Albani. Fra questi pretiosi fragmenti si trova una quantità di lapislazuli, onde si crede siano delle rovine degli antichi templi degli idoli; e si dice, che voglia il Papa farne una capella sontuosa nella cattedrale d'Urbino. Nelli giorni di vacanza cala il Papa e si trattiene nella libreria fra li due portoni di palazzo fatta comprare per 5^m sc. dall'eredità del cav. del Pozzo, ornata di statuette e medaglie antiche, e fra le belle cose che vi sono si mettono due gran tomi di disegni, tutti di valent'huomini e di molta stima, con che e lo studio del celebre pittore Carlo Maratta si riempirà di cose rare la casa Albani, e diletlandosi S. S. di cose antiche vuole vedere quanto si va trovando nel cavare anche pezzi di statue e canali di piombo antichi, de' quali sono stati portati a palazzo alcuni pezzi, ove si vedono alcune lettere impresse." *Lamberg Archives*, Ottenstein. On the art collection of Clement XI., cf. LAFITAU, II., 261; BUDER, III., 748; IUSTI, II., 276, 290; III., 73. On the valuable drawings of the Albani collection which were taken to England, see *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXII. (1910-11), 281. The Library, enlarged by Cardinals Annibale and Alessandro Albani (see BLUME, 174 seq.), was plundered in 1798 by the French (some of the manuscripts got into the Library of Montpellier; see MAZZANTINTI, *Bibl. di Francia*, III., 61 seq.), the books were sold in 1857 (see *Catalogo d. Bibl. d. principi Albani vendita all' asta*, 2 parts, Roma, 1857-8); the manuscripts were acquired by the Prussian Government but were lost by shipwreck; see L. PASTOR, *Le Biblioteche private e specialmente quelle delle famiglie principesche di Roma* in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Roma, 1906.

be used for preserving the heathen and Christian funeral inscriptions. The idea of such a museum greatly appealed to the Pope, but there was no money to carry it into effect.¹

It has been justly observed that the pontificate of the Albani Pope marks the real turning point for the collection and exhibition of art treasures. The special interest which Clement showed in this respect was the origin of efforts, later on taken up by Clement XII. and continued by Benedict XIV., which in the last quarter of the century resulted in those mighty collections in the Vatican Museum which are the wonder of the artistic world to-day. In greater or less measure all this goes back to Clement XI. It was he who conceived the plan of collecting the inscriptions in the Galleria Lapidaria. He it was, too, who through Bianchini, made the first attempt at a museum of Christian antiquity. He had the long neglected court of the Belvedere cleared and its antique statues protected.² He acquired for the palace of the Conservators the remaining antique statues of the Palazzo Cesi which were exposed to the injuries of the weather in the garden of that palace. Among these, two statues of Barbarians are particularly noteworthy: they are of *marmo bigio*, and the headgear shows them to have been chieftains. These admirable works were placed in the courtyard of the palace of the Conservators by the side of a statue of Rome. The Pope also assigned to the palace of the Conservators some Egyptian statues of kings discovered in the Vigna Verospi, as also the antique objects found in Sallust's gardens.³ Clement visited the

¹ MAI, *Script. vet.*, V., XI.; *Bullet. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 135.

² IUSTI, II., 37, 280 *seq.* On the Museo ecclesiastico di Clemente XI., see HÜLSEN, in *Bullet. d. Commis. archeol. comun.*, III. Series, 1890, 270 *seqq.* On a restoration of the Casino of Pius IV., see FRIEDLÄNDER, *Kasino Pius'*, IV., 10.

³ *Röm. Mittheilungen*, VI., 56. For ten inscriptions by learned men in memory of Clement XI.'s work for the Capitol, see *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 141 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 149, *autograph note of Clement XI. on the inscriptions under the statue of Rome and of the two barbarian princes. Cf. FORCELLA, I., 76.

hall which he had had enlarged in May, 1719, and in October, 1720.¹

In September, 1703, near the Piazza Monte Citorio of to-day, the remains came to light of the monument erected in honour of Antoninus Pius by his adopted sons and successors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The Pope showed great interest in the discovery and immediately conceived the plan of erecting the granite pillar, with its pedestal adorned with reliefs, in front of the palace of justice. Whilst these excavations were in progress the idea arose of setting up the monument first near the Quirinal, then near the Lateran, or the Fontana di Trevi; but in the end the first plan was carried out. The original estimate of 20,000 scudi was too low; by July, 1704, it was reckoned that 45,000 scudi would be necessary. The raising of the column proved exceedingly difficult; it was only effected after Francesco Fontana had taken his father's place. In the autumn of 1705 Francesco transported the column to the place selected for it. The Pope made him a present of 3,000 scudi and entrusted him with the restoration of the reliefs.²

Clement XI.'s interest was not confined to ancient artistic monuments, he was also a great lover of pictures by old and

¹ See CRACAS, *loc. cit.* Clement XI. also restored the statue of Paul IV., which had been destroyed in 1559 (see the present work, XIV., 415). MAFFEI [Rossi], *Racc. di statue antiche e moderne*, Roma, 1704, tav. CLXII.

² On the removal of the pedestal (which was later on placed in the giardino della Pigna, see HELBIG, I.³, 74), and that of the column, CANCELLIERI has published an account in *Effem. lett.*, II. (1821), 214 *seqq.*, based on an inaccurate report, erroneously ascribed by him to Fr. Valesio. The autograph *Diarii of FR. VALESIO in Archives of the Capitol, Rome, give more reliable information (*cf.* *Bull. d. Commiss. archeol. comun.*, 1889, 161). For what is stated above, I have also made use of the very exhaustive **Avvisi Marescotti* of September 29 and October 13, 1703, April 12, May 10, July 12, August 16, October 11, November 8 and 22, 1704, September 19 and 26, October 17 and 24, 1705, and January 23, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Cf.* also CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 196.

new masters. When in 1705 the celebrated picture gallery of the Costaguti was about to be put up for sale, he made it known that he wished to acquire the collection.¹ Both the Quirinal and the Vatican were adorned with numerous pictures.² For the Quirinal the Pope had marble busts made of twenty-four of his predecessors.³ The aged Maratta was entrusted with the restoration of Raphael's *Stanze*, but he contented himself with cleaning them by washing them with wine and restoring what had been completely effaced. Maratta was also charged with the supervision of the pictorial decoration of one of the galleries of the Vatican.⁴ The Pope greatly esteemed the last of the great masters of the Bolognese

¹ " *Havendo il Papa inteso, che in casa Costaguti si trattava di vendere la superba galleria di quadri pretiosi, perchè tutti veri originali delli più famosi pittori, raccolti in molti anni dal defunto cardinale, ha fatto intendere, che non si debbono metter in vendita " (*Avviso* of June 13, 1705, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On other purchases by the Pope, see *Rass. bibl. dell'arte ital.*, XIII. (1910), 152.

² P. A. PANCETTI, **Lo stato presente della città e corte di Roma*, 1718-1721, in *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich. On the new chapel in the Quirinal, see MORONI, IX., 162.

³ **Avviso* of February 23, 1704: " Havendo il Papa gran genio a risarcir et ornare li palazzi Apostolici, s'intende che voglia adornare la galleria del Quirinale con li busti in marmo di 24 Pontefici, che in varii tempi hanno sostenuto con travagli la Chiesa, con iscrizioni alli pedestalli, che si dicono fatte alla Certosa " (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). **Avviso* of March 8, 1701 (*ibid.*): " Si vanno distribuendo alli maestri li busti marmorei delli 24 Pontefici, che si devono collocare nella galleria del Quirinale, tra quali sarà quello di Alessandro VIII. come benefattore del regnante Pontefice, che vi havrà anco il suo. E si vanno parimente continuando gli ornamenti nel palazzo Vaticano, dilettrandosi il Papa delle magnifiche vaghezze."

⁴ " *Ha il pontefice ordinato, che sia dipinto tutto il braccio della galleria nuova al Vaticano da' più eccellenti pittori con la direttione del cav. Maratta celebre pittore, e che si debba terminare l'opera, prima che vi si restituisca la S. S." *Avviso Marescotti*, May 31, 1704. Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

school,¹ but he was likewise willing to encourage living artists. Thus he founded a gobelin factory² and gave to the Academy of St. Luke a new constitution with various privileges.³ Especially famous were the exhibitions which he organized in the Capitol with a view to reviving the arts, and the prizes given to artists, whether painters, sculptors or architects.⁴ From 1702 onwards the distribution of prizes, which consisted of gold, silver and bronze medals, used to take place in the spring of each year, in one of the halls of the Capitol where the prize works were on view. This prize distribution developed into a great festival attended by many Cardinals and other prelates. Speeches and poems by members of the Arcadia and musical performances enhanced the splendour of the fête.⁵ On April 24th, 1704, it was opened

¹ BELLORI, *Vite*, III., Pisa, 1821, 221 seq. An **Avviso* of April 28, 1703, announces: "Havendo il Papa saputo, che il celebre pittore Carlo Maratta come già invecchiato avesse venduto per cinque mila scudi ad un Inglese il suo studio di pittura, lo fece chiamare e gli disse, che non voleva che uscissero da Roma simili studii e raccolte di cose rare, a fine che vi fiorisca; e scusatosi il Maratta con dire di havere già ricevuto mille scudi per caparra, soggiunse il Papa, che per il medesimo prezzo lo voleva lui, per lo che detto Inglese strepita, freme et arrota i denti," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

² A. TOSTI, *Relaz. d. Ospizio Apost. di S. Michele*, Roma, 1832, 7 seqq. A. GALLI, *Cenni economici statistici sullo stato pontificio*, Roma, 1804, 257; G. BOTTIGNI MARSETTI, *La scuola degli arazzi nell'Ospizio di S. Michele*, Roma, 1904.

³ MISSIRINI, 198 seqq. NOACK (*Deutsches Leben*, 47) suspects that jealousy of the Academy of S. Luca was partly responsible for the suppression in 1720 of "Schilderbent", the Dutch Association of Painters.

⁴ MISSIRINI, 157 seqq. The statutes of a similar Academy in Bologna were approved by Clement XI.; likewise the statutes of the Bolognese "Accademia scientiarum"; see *Bull.*, XXI., 681; cf. NOVAES, XII., 211 seq.; see also CAVAZZA, *Le scuole dell'antico studio di Bologna*, Milan, 1896, 286, 288; G. ZANOTTI, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna*, Bologna, 1739.

⁵ **Avviso* of March 4, 1702: "Alli 25 furono distribuiti li

by a speech of Annibale Albani, who pointed out that it was precisely in times of war that the arts should be fostered. The poems subsequently read did not sing the praises of the papal nephew, by command of the Pope. On the same occasion the oldest Cardinal present, Acciaiuoli, handed to Maratta, who had just finished the cleaning of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican, the insignia of the Order of Christ of which he had been made a knight. The Brief began with the same words as those of Leo X. when he nominated Raphael architect of St. Peter's.¹

Maratta, whom the Pope considered as the leading master of the period,² enjoyed the greatest favour up to the day of his death. Clement XI. gave to the aged artist commissions for the cathedral of Urbino. Working up to the last, Maratta furnished plans for the frescoes in the cupola of the second chapel of the left aisle of St. Peter's, but he did not live to see their execution in mosaic. The theme of the frescoes was the Blessed Virgin Mary. Maratta died on December 15th, 1713, and was buried in a sepulchre built by himself in S. Maria degli Angeli. The epitaph was revised by the Pope himself. It states that the master had glorified the Queen of heaven

premi di medaglie d'oro, d'argento e di bronzo dorato alli giovani più virtuosi dell'Accademia di pittura, architettura e scultura in una sala di Campidoglio vagamente apparata, in presenza di molti cardinali e prelati, ove si fece oratione e recita di diverse poesie con musica e concerti d'istromenti, e nell'anticamera si vedevano esposte le prove di coloro, che meritavano li premi, essendovi stato per tre giorni gran concorso a vederle," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. Cf. *ibid.*, **Avviso* of April 21, 1704.

¹ Besides BELLORI, III., 232 *seqq.*, cf. **Avvisi* of April 26 and August 16, 1704, *ibid.* Also MISSIRINI, 170 *seqq.*, and *Accad. di S. Luca, Annuario*, 1909-1911, Roma, 1911, 5 *seqq.*

² See the Brief in *Op.*, Epist., 719. An *original letter of Maratta to the Pope, dated September 8, 1710, in which the artist expresses his thanks that the "quadro del Centurione" was not removed from St. Peter's—his anxiety on this account cost him fifteen sleepless nights—in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 39 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

by innumerable paintings.¹ Besides Maratta other artists also, as for instance Carlo Cignani, Giuseppe Chiari, Sebastiano Conca and Giuseppe Passeri, were favoured by Clement XI.² Carlo Fontana (*ob.* 1714), his son Francesco (*ob.* 1708) and Carlo's nephew, Carlo Stefano, were employed as architects.³ The task of these architects consisted chiefly in the restoration of Roman churches⁴; many of these, besides those damaged by the earthquakes, urgently needed restoration. Much was done by Clement in this respect.⁵

At the very beginning of his pontificate, the Pope had turned his attention to the restoration of the three oldest and most venerable basilicas of the Eternal City. He did not confine himself to restoration, but sought to beautify them in accordance with the taste of the time. Thus at St. Cecilia's he had the coronation of the Saint depicted on the soffit by Sebastiano Conca.⁶ Conca also furnished an altar picture for San Clemente, viz. the "Madonna di Rosario", as well as several paintings for the chapel of S. Dominic,⁷ whilst Carlo Stephano Fontana built a new side entrance to

¹ BELLORI, III., 221, 235. Cf. PASCOLI, I., 141 *seq.*; NAGLER, VIII., 288 *seq.* Maratta's tomb is in S. Maria degli Angeli to the right of the entrance; the epitaph in FORCELLA, IX., 163.

² PASCOLI, I., 166, 213 *seq.*, 222.

³ Cf. THIEME, XII., 172.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 49 *seqq.*

⁵ " *Al presente," P. A. Pancetti writes in his report on Rome, 1718-1721 (see above, p. 499, n. 3), " non vi è chiesa, nè in città, nè fuori delle mura, che non sia stata risarcita, rifatta, abbellita," so that the preachers can no longer complain that one only thinks of palaces. *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

⁶ THIEME, VII., 288. Cardinal Acquaviva, who at the time of the reconstruction of 1725 began to modernize the church, put up a bust to Clement XI. in that building; see FORCELLA, II., 39.

⁷ THIEME, *loc. cit.* Cf. L. NOLAN, *The basilica of S. Clemente in Rome*, Rome, 1914, 56 *seq.* A contemporary " *Nota delli pittori che hanno dipinto nella chiesa di S. Clemente ", in *Cod. Vat.* 8635, p. 45 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

this basilica. Unfortunately the old main entrance, which led into the atrium, was closed and a new façade built. Moreover the old woodwork of the roof was replaced by a heavy, richly gilt soffit, adorned with a painting by Giuseppe Chiari, and the walls of the nave were decorated with paintings by Conca.¹ Otherwise the interior happily escaped the modernization which was the fate of so many ancient Roman sanctuaries at that time. Clement XI.'s great inscription of 1705 inside the building, above the entrance, justly proclaims that the restoration has preserved the appearance of an ancient basilica.² This was the Pope's merit, says a contemporary. Only when a church had become utterly ruinous did he order a complete reconstruction; otherwise he endeavoured to respect as much as possible the ancient glory of the basilicas.³ Clement had a special love for the church of his patron Saint. He raised it to the dignity of a stational church and made it a cardinalitial title which he bestowed on his nephew Annibale. The work began in 1701 but was only completed at the end of 1719.⁴

The ancient basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere, which the Pope often visited, received a new entrance adorned with

¹ TITI, 232 *seq.*; NOLAN, 98 *seqq.* Cf. Appendix No. 17.

² FORCELLA, IV., 509. In *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 192 *seqq.* (*loc. cit.*). Proposals made to the Pope to reopen the crypt under the Presbytery, which had been closed after the inundation of 1590, were carried into effect. The altar is due to Clement XI.

³ PH. RONDININUS, *De S. Clemente Papa et Martyre eiusque basilica in urbe Roma*, Romae, 1706, dedication to the Pope, p. xv *seq.* Here, as in the "Vita di Clemente XI.", 136 *seqq.*, added to the work of O. PISELLI CIUCCIOLI, quoted below, p. 519, n. 4, the architectural undertakings of Clement XI. are enumerated.

⁴ An **Avviso* of November 26, 1701, reports the beginning of the work: On November 23 the Pope visited S. Clemente, "e vista quella chiesa antica in poco buon stato, stante che vi riposa il corpo del santo Pontefice, ha risoluto di farvi le necessarie riparationi e specialmente il soffitto" (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the conclusion of the work, see the inscription of 1719 in FORCELLA, IV., 510.

four granite pillars, after plans by Carlo Fontana. It has the form of a portico which admirably harmonizes with the character of the building.¹

In 1703 Carlo Fontana was likewise in charge of the restoration ordered by Clement XI. in the ancient church of S. Teodoro which, situate as it was on the slope of the Palatine, was seriously threatened by water running down the hill, and had become almost inaccessible. It was isolated by the removal of the surrounding terrain, and before the façade a semi-circular court was laid out to which two flights of steps gave access.² Almost at the same time Carlo Fontana drew up the plans for the façade of S. Marcello.³

S. Maria in Monticelli was reconstructed by Matteo Sassi, who enclosed the ancient columns within the pilasters.⁴ S. Stefano dei Mori, behind S. Peter's, was reconstructed, as was the adjoining hospice of the Ethiopians and

¹ P. MORETTUS, *De S. Callisto Papa et super basil. S. Mariae Transtyb.*, Romae, 1767, 281, 320; FORCELLA, II., 361; cf. 363. An **Avviso* of June 6, 1701, refers to a plan for the portico; *another of November 26, 1701, says: "Per la festa di S. Cecilia il Papa visitò la sua chiesa, e nel passare diede una vista al portico, che fa fabricar in S. Maria in Trastevere con cancelli di ferro, siccome all'altra fabrica dell'Ospitio di S. Michele a Ripa," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

² Cf. the inscription in FORCELLA, X., 286; THIEME, XII., 172. **Avviso* of September 23, 1702: The Pope went from S. Clemente to S. Teodoro "e godè perfettionata la fabrica" (*loc. cit.*); **Giornale di Clemente XI.*, in BORGHESE, I., 578, Papal Secret Archives; **Avviso* of November 10, 1703: The Pope visited S. Teodoro "che ha fatto risarcire", Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

³ TITI, 321 seq.

⁴ O. PISELLI-CIUCCIOLI, *Notizie istoriche della chiesa parrocchiale di S. Maria in Monticelli di Roma, col ristretto della vita del regnante Pontefice Clemente XI. restauratore della medesima*, Montefiascone, 1719. Cf. the inscriptions in FORCELLA, V., 515 seq., 528. A **Supplica* to Clemente XI. to restore the dilapidated churches in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 276, Papal Sec. Archives.

Abyssinians.¹ The church of SS. Peter and Marcellus was completely restored and strengthened and given over to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon.² S. Brigida, in the Piazza Farnese; received a new façade and the interior was decorated by Biagio Paccini.³ Cardinal Annibale Albani had a new façade erected before S. Maria in Cosmedin by the architect Giuseppe Sardi; however, this structure did not harmonize with the interior which is of great antiquity⁴: fortunately the interior was not substantially altered.⁵ The changes were more marked in the restoration of S. Sisto, on the Via Appia.⁶ S. Anna de' Palafrenieri was provided with a new façade.⁷

Further restorations were undertaken or encouraged by the Pope in the churches of St. John before the Latin Gate,⁸ St. Martha,⁹ S. Mary of Egypt,¹⁰ St. Michael the Archangel, St. Chrysogonus, S. Maria in Domnica, St. Adrian, St. Sylvester, St. Gregory on the Coelian Hill.¹¹ The Pope laid the foundation

¹ FORCELLA, VI., 310; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 154; *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft.*, XXXII., 249; **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 13, *loc. cit.* Cf. the valuable essay of M. CHAÎNE: *Un monastère éthiopien à Rome au XV^e. et XVI^e. siècle*, S. Stefano dei Mori, in *Mél. de la Faculté orient.*, V., Beyrouth, 1910, 1-36.

² FORCELLA, XI., 397.

³ TITI, 116.

⁴ It was very properly removed during the most recent restoration. Cf. G. B. GIOVENALE, *La basilica S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Roma, 1895, 22.

⁵ The restoration undertaken by Cardinal De Lanceis in 1758 altered the interior considerably, but now everything has been restored to its primitive condition.

⁶ The **Giornale di Clemente XI.* (*loc. cit.*) says that on September 20, 1703, the Pope visited S. Sisto "per vedere i ristauramenti ordinati".

⁷ See *Vita*, in PISELLI CIUCCIOLI, 142.

⁸ FORCELLA, XI., 164.

⁹ TITI, 24; G. BOSSI, *La chiesa di S. Maria*, Roma, 1883.

¹⁰ FORCELLA, X., 423. On the *spese* for S. Maria Egiziaca, see **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 13, p. 54, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Val.* 9034, p. 19 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Besides this contemporary compilation, cf. also OCTAV. IUSTINIANUS [S.J.],

stone of the new church of S. Francis of the Stigmata and contributed to the building.¹

As a result of the earthquake, extensive restorations of the soffit were necessary in S. Lorenzo in Damaso.² In the adjoining palace of the Cancelleria the great hall was restored and provided with a new floor which displays the Pope's arms; Giuseppe Nasini depicted on the walls, in sixteen medallions, the most important events of Clement's pontificate, especially his building activities.³

In the autumn of 1705 Clement XI. ordered a complete restoration of the Pantheon which had been changed into a church by Boniface IV. The memorandum of Francesco Bartoli, in which he protested against extensive changes, shows how keen was the general interest in antiquity.⁴ The Pope had the roof repaired, the great granite pillars polished, and the niches faced with coloured marbles; he also built a sacristy for the Canons; in the interior he set up several marble statues, among them one of S. Joseph; he also had a splendid new high altar erected, though he did not live to

Clementis XI. Vita, libri III., Senis, 1738. This member of the Arcadia narrates the history of Clement XI. in verse and makes special mention of the trouble the Pope took over the Roman churches.

¹ FORCELLA, IV., 463.

² *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.* Cf. **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 12, *ibid.*

³ TITI, 123. Cf. *Distinta relazione della gran sala della Cancelleria Apostolica ornata nel pontificato di Clemente XI. e aperta al pubblico il 17 febbraio 1709*, Roma, 1719. Cf. *Studi e docum.*, I., 97, note.

⁴ *Riflessioni di Fr. Bartoli antiquario sopra il modo di riattare la Rotonda, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 181 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, on the work in the Pantheon, November, 1713; *ibid.*, 188 *seqq.*: " *Memorie del ritrovamento de' corpi di S. Basco et Anastasio fatto nella Rotonda e della solennità con cui ne fu fatta la traslazione," *ibid.*, October 4, 1714, 4; *ibid.*, p. 168: *Parere di Aless. Specchi sopra la conservazione degli edifici e fabbriche antiche (the roof of the Pantheon must be renovated; the Arch of Janus and that of Septimius Severus must be protected against rain).

see it completed.¹ S. Sebastian outside the Walls was adorned by Carlo Fontana with a chapel in honour of S. Fabian, in which Orazio Albani, the Pope's brother, found his last resting place in 1712.²

The completion of the monument of Queen Christine of Sweden in S. Peter's was a work of piety on the part of Clement XI.³ The mortal remains of Leo I. also found

¹ *FORCELLA, I., 304; EROL, *Iscriz. nel Pantheon*, Narni, 1895, 276, 481. **Avviso Marescotti*, October 17, 1705, says: "Si è dato principio a ripulire il gran tempio della Rotonda dal cornicione in giù, ch'è tutta vestita quella gran mole di finissimi marmi di varii colori e porfidi, et in specie le colonne la maggior parte giallo antico, a spese della Camera, e riesce il lavoro assai bello e farà una vaghissima veduta per composto di tanti marmi, che annegriti dall'ingiuria del tempo non venivano considerati per quello che sono. Questa opera ha avuto il suo effetto dall'istanza d'un povero artista di quella professione, il quale in una publica udienza del Papa espose a questo le sue miserie di non poter vivere colla sua famiglia, chiedendo aiuto colle sue fatiche, essibendosi di voler ripulire la Rotonda per campare, e N. S. li disse, che ritornasse. Intanto informatosi, quanto poteva importare tal manifattura, gli fu risposto sopra 15^m sc., e quando l'artista ritornò, hebbe sul 1. esclusiva per la tanta spesa, et esso esclamando si esibì di farla per 3^m scudi, e stentar solo per vivere e non per arricchirsi, onde ne riportò la gratia. Da Monte Citorio si portò il Papa alla Rotonda, per vedere il suddetto lavoro della ripulitura de marmi antichi, ma se non se li rende il suo lustro, non farà quel bel vedere, che si crede" (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). According to Cracas the unveiling of the High Altar in the Pantheon did not take place until January 1, 1724, and the statues were only finished much later.

² FORCELLA, XII., 154 *seqq.* " *Spese per la fabrica d. capella di S. Fabiano nella chiesa di S. Sebastiano" in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 13, p. 103, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See **Avviso* of March 5, 1701, according to which Clement XI. urged the relatives of Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. to contribute towards the completion of the monuments of these Popes (*Cod. ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich). The Brief to Cardinal Boncompagni, November 21, 1714, *Op.*, Epist., 2027, bears witness to the interest Clement XI. took in the completion

a worthy resting place in the basilica. In the chapels of the Presentation and the Blessed Sacrament the domes were adorned with mosaics, three of the great paintings were replaced by mosaics, the roofing of the domes with lead was begun and partially completed, and the soffit of the entrance hall regilt. The Pope also presented to S. Peter's a portable organ and improved the finances of the Fabbrica. He likewise gave instructions for the execution of the statue of Charlemagne, which was to be erected in the entrance hall, facing the statue of Constantine, and ordered the completion of the statues on the colonnades.¹ During the erection of one of the statues the architect Domenico de' Rossi was fatally injured.² The completion of the colonnade according

of the tomb of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* the present work, XX., 637) He rewarded the artist, C. Rusconi; see Abate Fracassati *Orazione in lode di Clemente P. XI. per aver premiato Camillo Rusconi celebre scultore dopo aver visitato il deposito di Greg. P. XIII. da quello lavorato per ordine del card. Giac. Boncompagni arcivesc. di Bologna, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, K. 19.

¹ MIGNANTI, II., 119; LAFITAU, I., 130 *seq.*; MORONI, XII., 266; CERRUTI, 39, and the *Note in Appendix, n. 17. An *Avviso of December 7, 1700, says: "Nella chiesa di S. Pietro vole [il Papa] che si rifaccino le belle pitture del Domenichino e del Albani che sono nelle cappelle, quali patiscono, si mettino nel Vaticano e le tavole si faccino di mosaico" (*Cod. Ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich). Two magnificent carpets still in use in the basilica, are the gift of Clement XI. They were made in the nineteenth year of his pontificate.

² The *Giornale di Clemente XI. reports on August 29, 1703: "Fu sepolto Domenico de Rossi celebre architetto, quale nel far ponere le statue su le colonnate di S. Pietro, mentre si alzava una di esse, fu preso dalla corda impicciata e sbalzato tanto in aria che giunse sopra il tetto de' porticati, qual caduta gli cagionò la morte" (Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*). Mention must also be made of an *Editto, dat. June 27, 1709: "che non si scarichino cascinacci, terra, immundizie etc attorno la chiesa di S. Pietro e suoi siti adiacenti, piazza e portici, nè si atturino ferrate o chiacchie vicino alle fontane, nè si faccino fosse o cava alcuna per

to Bernini's plan was proposed in 1720 by Sergardi; however, nothing was done, probably because of the death of the Pope.¹

Clement XI. bestowed special care on the basilica of the Lateran. The twelve niches in the pillars of the nave, all decorated with *verde antico*, still lacked the statues for which they were designed. Clement was resolved to remedy this deficiency. It proved, however, a very expensive undertaking since 5,000 scudi were required for each statue, making a total of 60,000 scudi. Of the twice life-size statues of the Apostles, Clement XI. had two made at his own expense. Cardinals Ludovico Portocarrero, Lorenzo Corsini and Benedetto Pamfili, the Duke of Bavaria, the King of Portugal and the Bishops of Würzburg and Paderborn undertook to bear the cost of the rest. Other prelates and princes also helped. Pierre Monnot carved the statues of the Princes of the Apostles; another Frenchman, Pierre le Gros, those of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas and Angelo de' Rossi the statue of St. James the Less. Giuseppe Mazzuoli undertook the statue of St. Philip, Francesco Moratti that of St. Simon and Lorenzo Ottoni that of St. Thaddeus. The statues of SS. Andrew, John, Matthew and James are the work of Camillo Rusconi, whose "St. James" was the most admired of all.² The master was rewarded by the Pope with money

fermare l'aqua di quelle per lavarvi robba o altro, nè si tiri con archebugi, balestre o sassi verso la chiesa." *Editi*, V., 51, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See Sergardi's *letter to Albani, vicario di S. Pietro, dat. di casa, September 29, 1720, which states that the completion of the colonnade will not obstruct the view of the cupola, and that it will provide work for many unemployed in these bad times. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 53, Papal Secret Archives.

² BALDESCHI, *Relaz. d. Nave principale di S. Giovanni in Laterano, in Stato d. chiesa Lat. nell'anno 1723*, p. 10 seqq., 27 seqq.; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 353 seq. VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXV. (1916), 336; *Documents in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 19 seqq., loc. cit. The Pope's plan and the help given by him are mentioned in an **Avviso* of June 30, 1703, Lamberg Arch., Ottenstein. An **Avviso Marescotti* of July 14, 1703, says: "Portatosi domenica a piedi di N. S. lo scultore mandato dal card.

and the Order of Christ.¹ All these statues, by reason of their individual treatment and inspiration and their monumental size, make a most profound impression.² Above the statues, within medallions, busts of the prophets were painted. Here also foreigners bore part of the cost, as for example, the Archbishop of Mayence. The most diverse artists were engaged on the undertaking, so that one sees the work of almost all the painters of the period: Giuseppe Chiari, Benedetto Luti, Luigi Garzi, Marco Beneficiale, Giovanni Odazi, Andrea Procaccini, Francesco Trevisan, Giovan Paolo Melchiorri, Giuseppi Nasini, Domenico Muratori and Pier Leone Ghezzi. Though these paintings were of no great value, the Pope gave presents to all the artists and Cardinal Albani composed a sonnet on their work.³

The restoration of the dilapidated basilica of the Holy Apostles resulted in a complete reconstruction of the building. The Pope, who had been a parishioner of this church, was greatly interested in the work which was supervised by Francesco Fontana. He contributed large sums of money towards the building, which started in the autumn of 1701,⁴ and laid the foundation stone of the new sanctuary on February 27th, 1702.⁵ All that it was possible to save of the

de Medici, per fare la statua di S. Giacomo apostolo nella basilica Later., li presentò il modello della medesima, e dalla SS. fu gradito al maggior segno e lodato per il più bello, che sin hora sia stato fatto" (Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). From a letter of Cardinal Acquaviva to Cardinal Arias, dated Rome, August 15, 1715, it appears that up till then no one was willing to bear the expense of two statues. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

¹ PASCOLI, I., 262.

² Opinion of DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 6.

³ BALDESCHI, 13 *seq.*, 40; PASCOLI, II., 241, 391; CANCELIERI, *Possessi*, 354.

⁴ See the information from Valesio's *Diarii which SCATASSA gives in *Rassegna bibliograf. dell' arte ital.*, XVIII. (1915), 13 *seqq.*

⁵ See Lamberg's *Diary in Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. The inscription of the stone in BONELLI, *Mem. stor. d. basilica dei SS. XII. Apostoli di Roma*, Roma, 1879, 24. Cf. *Avviso of

old building was the atrium built by Julius II. when still a Cardinal. Of the rest, nothing could be preserved. It is particularly regrettable that the "Ascension" in the Tribune, by Melozzo da Forlì, one of the greatest pictorial creations of the period of Sixtus IV., perished in this way. However, thanks to the Pope's solicitude,¹ the figure of Christ remained intact; this was put up on the great staircase of the Quirinal. The matchless "Angels" were also saved and put up in the Chapter-Room of St. Peter's.² On the other hand the monuments of Cardinals Pietro and Raffael Riario, and that of the French knight, Giraud, were removed from the choir of the old church into that of the new. Eight fluted and spiral columns of white alabaster were used to decorate the chapel of the Crucifix. Whilst the foundations were being dug, proofs were found of the Constantinian origin of the church.³ Prince Pamfili who contributed considerable sums for the new soffits at St. Pietro in Vincoli, and for the repairs in St. Peter's and the Lateran, gave 40,000 scudi for the church of the Apostles in April, 1704.⁴ In August, 1714, the vaulting of the new building was completed.⁵ It is the greatest possible simplification of the scheme of the Gesù. The short nave takes one by surprise by its great breadth; the interior, -by its wonderful transition from the brightness

February 25, 1702 : The Pope wants to lay the foundation-stone of SS. Apostoli "per la cui fabrica e risarcimento ha S. S. donato 10 mila sc. e concesso la franchigia de' materiali, essendo stato avanti sua creatione di questa parochia" (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). F. SANTILLI, *La basilica dei Ss. Apostoli*, Roma, 1925.

¹ Valesio in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 33, n. 4.

² Cf. the present work, IV., 464.

³ **Avviso Marescotti*, April 21, 1703 : "Nelli fondamenti della chiesa de' Ss. Apostoli si sono trovate alcune memorie, ch'indicano il fondatore Costantino il Grande, anzi alcune statuine di bronzo, ove si legge chiaramente, che detto imperatore ponesse di sua mano queste memorie," Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Roma.

⁴ Valesio in SCATASSA, *loc. cit.*, 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

of the central nave into the darkness of the side aisles, is a masterpiece of decorative art.¹ In June, 1708, Clement XI. inspected the new Tribune which was broader than the old one.² Neither Francesco Fontana, who died in July, 1708, nor the Pope, saw the completion of this last baroque church in Rome.

The city of Rome has also to thank Clement XI. for the restoration of its walls,³ its waterworks and the cleansing of its fountains.⁴ The fountains built by Pius IV. near Porta Cavalleggeri was repaired.⁵ New fountains were erected in front of the Palazzo Salviati,⁶ and S. Maria in Cosmedin⁷; the square in front of this church was regulated⁸; the piazza of the Pantheon was freed from its ugly additions,⁹ and over the fountain erected there by Onorio Lunghi in 1755 was placed the upper end of a broken obelisk which came from the temple of Isis and had stood near S. Macuto since the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Repairs were also carried out at the Acqua Acetosa.¹¹ The Hospice of S. Michele

¹ BERGNER, 74.

² VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 15.

³ A. NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma*, Roma, 1820, 324, 344, 363. A *Memorial on the restoration of the city walls in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 14, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ LAFITAU, II., 268; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 33. Cf. *Editti V., 51, f. 9: *Editto sopra l'Acqua Felice, suoi acquedotti, fontane et altro* (Camera, November 12, 1710); f. 175: *Editto per quelli, che vanno a natare o a lavarsi nel fiume o a bagnarsi nelle fontane* (August 14, 1705). Similarly, f. 176: July 20, 1706; 1707-1718. Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

⁶ CRACAS, November 2, 1720.

⁷ On this beautiful work, executed from a design of Bizzocheri by Franc. Moratti, see GUIDI, *Fontane*, 80 seq.

⁸ BUDER, III., 657; FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

⁹ FEA, *Dei diritti*, 79 seq., 81 seq.

¹⁰ FORCELLA, XIII., 132; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 177 seq.; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 24; GUIDI, *loc. cit.*, 45 seq.

¹¹ This is recorded in an inscription of 1712 which has been preserved to this day. FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

was enlarged and a reformatory for youthful delinquents added. Clement XI. gave 27,000 scudi for a home for young girls. He also built the Hospital of St. Martha and a house for foreign priests visiting Rome.¹ The granaries near the baths of Diocletian² proved a great boon for the whole population, as did a small harbour on the Ripetta. Alessandro Specchi, taking into account the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, had very cleverly fitted it into the general plan of the city. The harbour was one of the happiest creations of the eighteenth century; it was unfortunately destroyed when the new Tiber bridge was erected.³ The Pope, who repeatedly inspected the work, was not wholly satisfied with it; he found that the fountains erected there yielded too little water, and that the whole scheme was not easily taken in at one glance.⁴

¹ LAFITAU, II., 265 *seqq.* *Inscriptions for the "Casa della correzione de' giovani", in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 134 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* On the assistance given to the restoration of the Hospital near the Forum, *cf.* PERICOLI, *L'ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione*, Roma, 1879, 80.

² FORCELLA, XIII., 186. Plan for the fabbrica de' granari in **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 161, *loc. cit.*

³ Reproduced in LETAROUILLY, plate 349. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*; ESCHER, 33; GUIDI, *Fontane*, 46 *seq.* According to LAFITAU (II., 267), the harbour cost 60,000 scudi. *Cf.* also: A. M. TAJA, *Lettera e poetici componimenti in ragguaglio e in encomio della Nuova Ripa presso al sepolcro de' Cesari in Roma ridotta per ordine di Clemente XI. a foggia di sontuoso navale . . .*, Roma, 1705.

⁴ **Avvisi* of August 18, 1703, and August 23, 1704, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. The latter says: "Il Papa visitò la fabbrica del vicino porto di Ripetta fatta con li denari avanzati dal tribunale delle strade, e non rimase S. S. molto sodisfatto si della scarsezza dell'acqua che getta la fontana, come per non godersi dalla cima il prospetto del teatro, gran difetto, che dall'architetto si attribuisce alla volontà di mons. Giudice soprintendente." *Ibid.*, August 9, 1704: "Per il giorno di S. Rocco sarà finito tutto il porto di Ripetta con la fontana et ornamenti." *Cf.* also **Avviso Marescotti*, August 2, 1704: "Si vede quasi terminata la fabbrica

Outside Rome also Clement XI. displayed great building ardour. Civitavecchia has to thank him for the completion of an aqueduct begun by Innocent XII. and its consequent draining,¹ Porto d'Anzio for repairs to the harbour of Innocent XII. damaged by a storm,² Albano for its development as a city, Narni for the erection of iron smelting works, Nocera for new baths, Pesaro for the diversion of water which constantly threatened the city with fever, Benevento, Urbino and Ferrara for the strengthening of their fortifications, Norcia, Cascia, Ferrara, Gubbio, Sulmona and Sora for assistance for the restoration of their churches, Civita Castellana for the mighty bridge spanning a chasm thirty-six metres deep, and a large part of the Pontifical States for repairs to roads.³

di Ripetta, e per maggior ornamento del porto si fabrica una nuova casa, che doverà servire per dogana e magazzini, e nel mentre che hieri l'altro s'alzava una gran lapide all'inscrizione del Papa regnante, per collocarla in sito a tal effetto preparato, rottasi una corda precipitò la lapide e si ridusse in pezzi ” (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). On the plan for the decoration of the Fontana di Trevi, see Valesio's *Diario in Arte e storia*, XXXI. (1912), 268. On the restoration of this aqueduct which had been damaged by the earthquake (above, p. 491 *seqq.*), “ ch'è il latte della città.”

¹ CALISSE, 489 *seq.*, where there are further details about the disputes of the Camera with the first contractors. Cf. LAFITAU, II., 272.

² **Avviso* of December 22, 1700, *Cod. ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich.

³ Cf. *Vita* in PISELLI CIUCCIOLI (above, p. 519, n. 4), 124 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, 272 *seqq.*, who also gives an account of the work on the Papal Palace, Avignon. On Pesaro, see GALLI, *Cenni economici sullo Stato Pontif.*, Roma, 1840, 45; on Sulmona, cf. LAFITAU, I., 203 *seq.* The restoration of the choir in the cathedral of Ferrara is recorded in an **Avviso* of October 30, 1703, in *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich. An inscription of 1705 on the Rocca of Civita Castellana tells of the restoration carried out there by Clement XI. About the roads, cf. “ Scrittura informativa per una congregazione partic. deputata da Clemente XI. sopra il

Strict with his relatives, the Albani Pope was very generous towards his beloved native town Urbino, which belonged to the States of the Church. In 1710 an inscription was put up in the splendid ducal palace there, giving a list of the benefits bestowed by Clement XI. upon the city of his birth, viz. : the liquidation of debts, the erection of an educational establishment for young noblemen, the restoration of the ducal and archiepiscopal palaces, the provision of a splendid high altar for the cathedral as well as gifts of paintings and tapestries interwoven with gold. The Pope also increased the income of the Canons.¹ To all this was added the present of a magnificent bronze eagle as a reading

buon mantenimento e cura delle strade consolari di tutto lo Stato ecclesiastico", in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 24, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ Clementi Pont. Max. | Quod ad publicum gravissimumque
aes alienum dissolvendum | Opportuno constituto subsidio |
Collegio bonarum artium a fundamentis exstructo | Palatio
Apostolico et archiepiscopalibus aedibus instauratis | Ara prae-
nobilis in onorem S. Crescentini martiris | Geminis insignium pictorum
tabulis | Totidemque magnificis attalicis stragulis | Maiori templo
exornato | Canonicalibus proventibus annuo 'CCCC aureorum
censu amplificatis | Inter Maceratensis et Perusinae Rotae auditores
| Certa civibus in perpetuum attributa sede | Plurinisque aliis
collatis beneficiis | Patriae huic suae veterum temporum felicitatem
restituit et auxit | Sebastianus Antonius tit. Sanct. Quatuor
Coronat. S. R. E. card. Tanarius | Urbini ad novennium de latere
legatus | Quo tempore pontificia fluxit magnificentia | Optimo
sanctissimoque principi vero patriae patri | Aeternae laudis
monumentum posuit | Anno salutis MDCCX. The inscription
is taken from " *Stato della chiesa di Urbino " of 1713, in the
Archiepiscopal Archives, Urbino, where details are also found about
the Pope's donations. The altar, it says, shows the name and the
coat of arms of Clement XI. ; it was made in Rome, put on board
ship at the Ripa Grande in 100 cases, and arrived in Pesaro on
May 26, 1708, after a voyage of two months. It was consecrated
on July 2, 1708. On the restoration of the Duke's palace, see
**Avviso Marescotti*, June 20, 1705, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele,
Rome.

desk for the cathedral from the studio of Federigo of Montefeltro¹; the founding of a public library in the monastery of the Franciscans Conventual; the construction of a church and monastery for the Piarists²; the erection of an obelisk in front of the ducal palace and a statue of his predecessor, Alexander VIII.³ and the restoration of the city walls. The confirmation of all the privileges already granted to the University of Urbino on March 19th, 1721, was only made public after the death of Clement XI. by his successor.⁴

(3.)

Clement XI. never fully recovered from the severe illness which befell him in 1710.⁵ His asthmatic condition, which the heavy air of Rome aggravated, tried him severely.⁶ On this account he spent most of the good season of the year at the Quirinal; in spring and autumn he went out to bracing Castel Gandolfo whose palace and gardens he embellished.⁷ After a few weeks' stay there he always looked better.⁸ With advancing years other infirmities were added to his asthma, but his astonishing mental vigour enabled him to go on with

¹ It is still preserved. It was brought to Rome by Alexander VIII.

² NOVAES, XII., 256. Cf. **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 20, *loc. cit.*

³ The statue was saved during the French revolution by changing the name: "Divo Petro Coelestino P. O. M. Urbino compatrono." It stands to this day in the Via Bramante at S. Spirito.

⁴ *Bull.* XXI., 850.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 70.

⁶ Count Gallas' *report dat. Rome, November 17, 1704, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁷ Cf. the inscription in A. GUIDI, *I paesi dei Colli Albani*, Roma, 1880, 61.

⁸ Count Gallas' *reports of September 27, October 13 and 27, 1714, *loc. cit.*

his duties. He would have been in much better condition had he followed the advice of his physician and allowed himself more relaxation. His sense of duty, however, would not let him think of doing so even in his extreme old age.¹

By the beginning of the winter of 1720 a striking deterioration occurred in the Pope's condition. He suffered from frequent attacks of colic but continued to apply himself to affairs. He himself felt that his end was not far off. In the consistory of November 29th, 1720, he told the Cardinals that he would soon have to appear before the judgment seat of God. In order to prepare himself worthily, he was frequently closeted with his confessor. He bequeathed his small, select library to his nephews. Cardinal Albani was requested to put up a monument to him in St. Peter's, but one as simple as possible. He also dictated to the Cardinal his epitaph, which bears witness to his great humility. It is as follows: Clement XI., Pope, once a Chaplain, then a Canon of this basilica, died on in the year after a pontificate of Pray for him.² On December 3rd Rome learnt that the Pope had had several attacks and that his life was in danger. On the same day Cardinal Acquaviva sent two dispatches to Vienna, the second of which dealt with the conclave.³

At the beginning of 1721 Clement was once more able to deal with current affairs; the religious controversies in France in particular demanded his attention.⁴ He probably hoped to live to see the end of them. He joked about a tactless letter of Cardinal De Mailly to Paolucci, the Secretary of State, by remarking to the Bishop of Sisteron that when the Cardinals came for the conclave, he would address a homily

¹ LAFITAU, II., 147 *seq.*; BUDER, III., 903 *seq.* Cf. *Report to the Emperor, Charles VI., dated Rome, February 18, 1713, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² LAFITAU, II., 210 *seqq.*

³ *Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, dat. Rome, December 3, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

⁴ Lafitau's report to the Archbishop of Cambrai, dat. Rome, January 1, 1721, in MICHAUD, *La fin de Clement XI.*, 43.

to them on the text : " The women came to the sepulchre with the spices they had prepared." ¹ On February 11th it was reported that the Pope had caught a chill ; on the 19th symptoms of an apoplectic stroke were observable.²

Unexpectedly the Pope's condition improved sufficiently to enable him to hold a consistory on March 3rd, 1721, in which the disputed question as to who should be Dean of the Sacred College was decided in favour of Cardinal Tanara³. About the middle of March the Pope, whilst personally examining some important documents, caught a bad chill in a cold room of the Archives which prevented him from appearing at the papal chapel on Sunday, the 16th. In spite of this, Clement said Mass on the 17th as usual and resumed his audiences. By midday he was so unwell that he could take no food and had to take to his bed. His physicians found him feverish but declared that there was no danger. In fact the fever abated ; the Pope even felt better and believed it to have been but another of those attacks of asthma from which he suffered so often. But on the following morning the physicians found that he was suffering from pneumonia and that his condition was grave. The dying Pontiff received the news with perfect composure. He sent for his confessor, made a general confession and arranged everything necessary with the master of ceremonies, so that Holy Viaticum should be brought to him with the customary solemnity. He received Holy Communion with the greatest devotion. After a prolonged thanksgiving he expressed a wish to see Cardinals Albani and Paolucci. He thanked them in moving terms for their devotion and begged their pardon if he had ever offended them. To Albani he said : " See how all the honours of this world come to an end. Only that is great which is great in God's sight. Make it your endeavour to become a Saint ! " A supreme effort of will enabled him to sit up, and he prayed without ceasing. As his sight grew dimmer he was obliged to have the Tridentine Profession of Faith read to him.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Lafitau's reports to the Regent, *ibid.*, 52 and 53.

³ *Op.*, Orat., 179.

On March 19th, at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, he quietly passed away and as had been his desire, on the feast of St. Joseph for whom he had cherished a special devotion all his life as the patron of the dying.¹

For twenty years and not quite four months of the seventy-one and a half years of his life Clement XI. had ruled the Church. It has been observed that reigns of such length have for the most part been allotted only to excellent Popes. As a matter of fact Clement XI. was one of the most worthy successors of St. Peter, though by no means one of the most fortunate. If his long reign was full of innumerable political complications, and Rome herself was threatened with the fury of war, it would be unjust to lay the blame on his shoulders. The fact was that the Powers were arrayed against each other in deadly enmity. On every kindness shown by the Pope to one party, the others put the worst possible construction; it became increasingly evident that complete neutrality was impossible. Even the ablest politician would scarcely have extricated himself from so difficult a position.² A saying of Adrian VI. may be applied to Clement XI.: "How much depends on the time in which the lot of the most virtuous man is cast!" True, it cannot be denied that the timorous and undecided nature of Clement XI., and his inability to give effect to decisions, rendered his situation much worse when, during the Spanish war of succession, he found himself repeatedly between the upper and the nether millstone.

Complications within the Church itself caused him no less anxiety, viz. the question of the rites and the recrudescence of Jansenism in France. To this were added grave conflicts on questions of Church law with nearly every Catholic Power

¹ Detailed *report of Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; *Conclave d'Innocenzo, XIII., descritto dal card. Fr. Barberini, in *Cod. Barb.* 4684, Vatican Library. Cf. LAFITAU, II., 213 *seqq.*; MICHAUD, 54. See also the accounts in CRACAS and *Distinta relazione della malattia e morte di Clemente XI.*, Firenze [1721].

² Opinion of REUMONT (*Beiträge*, V., 330). Cf. also VOIGT in HERZOG-HAUCK'S *Realenzykl.*, IV.³, 151.

in Europe, conflicts intimately connected with the political troubles of the time.

In the face of a world in the throes of a revolutionary process, a world for which the only determining considerations were those of power politics, Clement XI. did his duty manfully and fought indefatigably for the rights and liberties of the Church. Too conscientious to abandon essential rights, he yet strove to restore peace between Church and State, though for the most part in vain. It may be said that he failed to settle satisfactorily any one of the great questions then in dispute. But this was not due to him, but to the spirit of defiance and arrogance which in the various States increasingly displaced the one-time devotion to the Vicar of Christ. "Will you not believe," he wrote to the Bishop of Brixen in 1717, "that as a result of the ceaseless pressure of cares and anxieties we find our life at times a burden? But the more we feel the bitterness that fills our pontificate, the more we are resolved to pursue a resolution once taken, to persevere in it, and always to live in pain."¹ The Pope kept his word. Though almost continuously tried by physical and mental suffering, his most admirable fortitude prevented him from sinking beneath the burden, and he conscientiously discharged all the duties of his office until his last breath. "Everybody has now words of admiration for the dead Pontiff," wrote Andrea Corner, the Venetian ambassador, "even those who until now have found fault with him."² The Jansenist sect, which had pained and insulted him in life by every means in its power, alone pursued him even beyond the grave,³ but it was unable to substantiate its calumnies. The historian of the Bull *Unigenitus* justly praises the apostolic earnestness and

¹ LAFITAU, II., 278.

² *Relatione di Andrea Corner, 1724, State Archives, Venice; extract in RANKE, III., 215 seq.

³ See the revolting examples given by SCHILL (200, n. 1), *Raccolta di pasquinate relative al papato di Clemente XI. in Cod. 701, Bordeaux Library. Some *Pasquinate* also in *Voyage hist. et polit., de la Suisse, de l'Italie et de l'Allemagne, Francfort*, 1735, 203 seqq.

penetrating energy of Clement XI.¹ History has also passed a fairer judgment on the political activity of the Pope now that the original sources have been consulted.² Of

¹ SCHILL, 295.

² Pometti, who has the honour of having been the first to make use in a comprehensive manner of the treasures of the Papal Secret Archives, for a judgment on the political conduct of Clement XI., defends him (XXI., 308 *seqq.*) against Coxe and Ranke, who accuse him of a "politica dubbia e tentennante di carattere malfermo". He writes: "Al qual proposito è istruttivo rivelare che uno storico come il Ranke può anche cadere in errore, quando non si esaminano le fonti alle quali si ricorre. Il suo attaccamento a Luigi XIV. ed a Filippo V. prima, poi quello per Giuseppe I. e Carlo VI., guardati sommariamente, danno ragione a quegli scrittori, che avrebbero voluto un Papa o tutto francese o tutto austriaco. Questo giudizio inesatto deriva dall'ignoranza completa degli atti politici di Clemente XI. e delle condizioni che li determinarono ed in mezzo alle quali si svolsero. Ma, anche a prescindere che la sua opera politica non è stata fino ad ora studiata sulle fonti dirette, sarebbe stato da buon politico che, un Papa si fosse recisamente manifestato partigiano? È ovvio osservare che si può essere apertamente avversario o favorevole d'un partito fino a quando si milita in esso come gregario; ma che diventato capo, obblighi vari impongono un'attitudine meno spiccata, se non nel pensiero intimo, almeno nelle manifestazioni esteriori. E non bisogna inoltre dimenticare che, data la natura del papato, la tradizione vietava di chiarirsi nemico tra Austria e Francia, entrambi paesi cattolici.

"Un complesso di riflessioni consigliava un atteggiamento neutrale e moderatore: fortunata condizione, che permetteva l'esplicarsi d'un concetto politico da poter mostrare a talento e adattare a seconda delle circostanze. Clemente XI. aveva fiducia nella potenza e nella fortuna di Luigi XIV., ma prevedeva che tutta Europa si sarebbe coalizzata contro di lui. Ora, un rovescio delle armi francesi impigliava guai infiniti per la Chiesa. 'Sa finesse d'Italien, dice il LEGRELLE (IV., 183), avait aisément pressenti que l'orage cette fois pourrait bien dépasser les forces de la France. Son incertitude étudiée fait honneur à sa perspicacité politique, mais ne répondit peut-être pas à ce que l'Europe chrétienne pouvait espérer du père des fidèles, chargé de faire

Clement XI.'s action in the struggle against the Turks for the safeguarding of Christendom and Western civilization, a Protestant contemporary has said that by it the Pope has earned for himself imperishable glory.¹ His works of charity during the whole of his pontificate also honour his memory ; so extensive were they that when he died he only left an exceedingly modest sum.² No one questions his services to scholarship and the arts.

For anyone acquainted with history it is impossible to contemplate without emotion the simple stone slab in the choir chapel of St. Peter's, which covers the mortal remains of a man who during the twenty years of his government scarcely enjoyed one moment's peace. His eloquent allocutions, his elegant homilies and his innumerable letters, published by his nephew, constitute a splendid monument to his untiring pastoral zeal which embraced the whole world, his apostolic courage and his unwearied toil.

Clement XI.'s noble sentiments found a most moving expression in the beautiful prayer for the Christian virtues which the Catholic world owes to him. It is as follows :

O my God, I believe in Thee ; do Thou strengthen my faith. All my hopes are in Thee ; do Thou enable me to realize them. I love Thee with my whole heart ; teach me to love Thee daily more and more. I am sorry that I have offended Thee ; do Thou increase my sorrow. I adore Thee as my beginning and origin. I aspire after Thee as my last end. I give Thee thanks as my constant Benefactor. I call upon Thee as my gracious Protector. Vouchsafe, O my God,

régner la foi de l'Évangile parmi eux.' Pensiero questo che ci pare rispondente al vero nella sua prima parte, ma che nella seconda mostra un preconconcetto, nel quale sogliono cadere anche quegli storici autorevoli, che non sanno, o non vogliono distinguere, nell'essenza del papato, la sua duplice natura, spirituale e temporale."

¹ See BUDER, III., 380. Cf. IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 247.

² According to a report there were no more than 60 scudi. However, a list was also found of 600 families which he secretly supported ; see NOVAES, XII., 273. Cf. also above, p. 11.

to guide me by Thy wisdom, to restrain me by the thought of Thy justice, to comfort me by Thy mercy, to defend me by Thy power. To Thee I consecrate all my thoughts, words, actions and sufferings, that henceforward I may think of Thee, speak of Thee, act in accordance with Thy will, and suffer willingly whatever Thou shalt appoint. Lord, I desire that in all things Thy will may be done, because it is Thy will, and that it may be done as Thou willest, where and when Thou willest. I beg of Thee to enlighten my understanding, to inflame my will, to purify my heart, and to sanctify my soul. Let me not be puffed up with pride, deluded by flattery, deceived by the world, and ensnared by Satan. Give me grace to purify my memory, to bridle my tongue, to guard my eyes and to watch over all my senses.

O my God, strengthen me that I may bewail my sins, overcome future temptations, subdue my evil inclinations, and acquire every virtue. Grant me love for Thee, hatred of my faults, zeal for the souls of others, and contempt for the world. Let me ever remember, O Jesus, to be submissive to my superiors, considerate towards my inferiors, true to my friends and charitable towards my enemies.

Help me, O God, to overcome anger by meekness, sensuality by mortification, avarice by liberality, and tepidity by devotion. O my God, make me prudent in my undertakings, courageous in danger, patient in contradiction, and humble in prosperity. May I never omit to have a right intention in my actions and sufferings, may I be attentive at prayer, temperate at meals, diligent in the duties of my office, and constant in my resolutions.

Grant, O Lord, that I may diligently strive ever to have a good conscience, a modest bearing, an edifying conversation and a seemly conduct; that I may continually labour to overcome my evil nature, correspond with Thy grace, keep Thy commandments and work out my salvation. Show to me, O my God, the nothingness of earthly things, the greatness of heaven, the shortness of time, the length of eternity, the evil of sin and the greatness of Thy love. Grant that I may prepare for death, fear Thy judgments, escape hell, and

finally obtain heaven, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

This prayer, which includes everything that man needs for eternal salvation, is a memorial to Clement XI. destined to outlast brass and marble.

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